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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

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GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,

CENSOR DEP.

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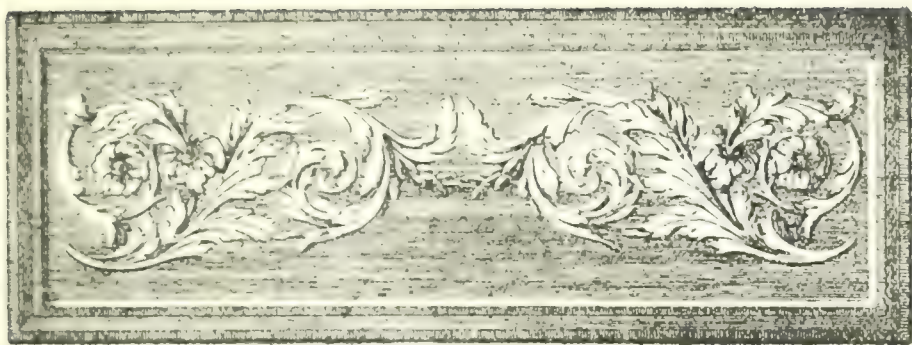
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ADDRESS OF THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP
OF ARMAGH AND OF THE IRISH ARCH-
BISHOPS AND BISHOPS TO HIS HOLINESS
POPE LEO XIII. ON THE OCCASION OF HIS
PONTIFICAL JUBLILEE

BEATISSIME PATER,—Orbis terrarum gaudet
hodie et exultat in auspicatissimo isto eventu, et
tanto plane insolente, quod Divina Providentia Tibi,
B.P. concedere dignatus est, ut ad quintum supra
vigesimum annum Pontificatus Supremi feliciter attingere
valueris.

Summas gratias Omnipotenti Deo Nos, Praesules Catho-
licae semperque fidelis Hiberniae, in annuo nostro conventu
congregati, ex imo corde et incessanter effundimus; simulque
cum Patribus Nostris, per universam Ecclesiam dispersis, in
gaudio et gratulationibus Nos conjungere desideramus.

Et sane, quam justa haec tripudia et sensus grati animi!
Te, etenim, Petri naviculam conscendente gubernatore, inter
crebras undique insurgentes procellas, quis non miratus est,
quo modo indefessum vigilasti, et omni ope destitutus humana
cursum tenuisti felicem!

Sapientissime Regnum Christi in terris amplificasti et con-
solidasti. Custos unitatis fidelissimus fratres confirmasti. Vin-
dex iustitiae et libertatis cuique Ecclesiae, cuique populo
procellis divexatis, opem tulisti, Pacis amantissimus totus in

eo fuisti ut concordia mutua inter diversos gradus, sive cleri sive populi, tuta atque illibata servaretur. Tot tantisque exantlatis laboribus, in aetate plusquam profecta subactis, magnam Deo gloriam, Christifidelibus salutem, Tibi ipsi fulgidiorē eamque immarcescibilem coronam comparasti.

Et quid de officio Doctoris dicendum est?

Constitutus Rex super Sion montem magnum, ab Illo qui est Lux Vera illuminans omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, quam indeficienter et luculenter Ecclesiae Dei inservisti, miserasque populorum qui ambulant in tenebris efficaciter sublevasti. Nullus error hodiernae societatis bono et paci minitans, perspicaciam et eruditionem Tuam evasit; nullaque veritas, hoc nostro tempore ad salutem animarum accommodata, quam pastoralī eloquio fidelibus non tradideris addiscendam.

Nec immemores esse possumus quam intīme Tibi cordi fuit ut Divinum Cultum omni studio promoveres, et sacrorum ministrorum pietatem fovendo, fideliumque devotionem adaugendo, omnibus patefaceres efficacem Ecclesiae sanctitatem.

Paucis abhinc mensibus universae Ecclesiae Hibernicae ingens gaudium contulisti, quum summa benignitate, confirmasti cultum publicum ecclesiasticum ab immemorabili tempore praestitum illis Servis Dei qui Nobis sunt Patres in fide, et columnae veritatis et sanctitatis usque in hodiernam diem.

Pignora innumerabilia benevolentiae Tuae atque amoris Paterni erga Nos gregesque Nostros incessanter et peramanter praebuisti; et conscius afflictionum et praevagationum quae super dilectam Patriam Nostram a sacculis ingravescere solebant, et adhuc, magna ex parte, ingravescunt, verba paterna et consilia opportuna Nobis porrigere nunquam praetermisisti.

Dignetur igitur, Sanctitas Tua, filialis Nostrae pietatis altissimaeque venerationis significationem acceptam habere, quam pro Nobismetipsis, pro Clero Nostro universo et pro fidelissimo populo nunc declaramus.

Tuam Apostolicam Benedictionem efflagitantes, Divinam interim Majestatem adprecamur, ut Te sospitet, Te fortunet, Tuisque filiis in Petri annos et diutius ac diutius servet.

[Signed by the Cardinal Primate and all the Irish Archbishops and Bishops.]

LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL RAMPOLLA.

No. 73877.

LEO ET REVMO. SIG. MIO OSSMO,—Ho l'onore di trasmettere all' Eminenza Vostra l'acclusa lettera Pontificia che in attestato del vivo gradimento onde Sua Santità accolse gli auguri che Le sono stati presentati di V. E. e dagli Arcivescovi e Vescovi di Irlanda per la fausta circostanza del Giulileo Pontificale, la Stessa Santità Sua si è degnata dirigere a lei e agli sullodati Pastori di cotesta regione.

E in questo incontro godo confermarle i sensi della profonda venerazione con cui Le bacio umilissimamente le mani.

D. Vostra Eminenza,

Umo., devmo. Servitor Vero,

M. Card. RAMPOLLA.

Sig. Card. MICHELE LOGUE,

Arcivescovo di Armagh.

REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS.

Dilecto Filio Nostro Michaeli Tit. S. Mariae de Pace, S. R. E.

Presb. Cardinal Logue, Archiepiscopo Armachanorum, ceterisque venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Hiberniae. Armacham.

LEO PP. XIII.

Dilecto Fili Noster ac Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Traditam a majoribus pietatem animosque in Apostolicam Sedem praeclare affectos placuit Hibernis pluries Nobis ac signis minime dubiis testari. Majorem autem in modum obsequii testimonium probavimus quo Personam Nostram faustis hisce Jubilaei Pontificalis solemnibus prosequi maturastis. Qua quidem in re utrunque vehementer gaudemus et idem vos cum Beato Patricio Hiberniae Apostolo sentire adhuc et velle et addictissimae venerationis sensus quos ille in Petri Cathedram docuit fideliter vos vestro in grege fovere. Profecto manere apud vos spiritus magni Patris videtur, itemque luculenter apparet esse unde *spem*

percipiendae in posterum segetis amplae ac laetae. Quapropter dum meritam vobis laudem de sollertia vestra tribuimus gratiasque de patefactis voluntatibus habemus, hortari unumquemque vestrum non praetermittimus ut partam a patribus gloriam, quemadmodum quaesita Catholico nomine fuit, ita Catholicis etiam sensibus operibusque servare ne desistatis. Hisce autem bonis assequendis adjumento erit Apostolica Benedictio quam testem benevolentiae Nostrae divinarumque gratiarum auspicem vobis ac populis vestris peramanter in Domino impertimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXVI. Novembris, MCMII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ADDRESS.]

MOST HOLY FATHER,—To-day the whole world rejoices and gives expression to its delight at that most auspicious event, at that altogether uncommon occurrence—that Divine Providence should have enabled you, Most Holy Father, to reach the twenty-fifth year of your Supreme Pontificate.

We, the Prelates of Catholic and ever-faithful Ireland, assembled at our annual meeting, give thanks for this great blessing from our inmost hearts to Almighty God, and desire to join with our brethren dispersed throughout the Universal Church in joy and congratulations.

And how fully justified are these rejoicings and expressions of gratitude! For who does not admire the unwearied vigilance with which, since you took charge of the bark of Peter, you steered its happy course through so many threatening storms, deprived as you were of all human assistance.

With supreme wisdom you have extended and strengthened the Kingdom of Christ throughout the world. The ever-faithful guardian of unity, you have confirmed your brethren. The defender of justice and liberty, you have lent your aid to every Church and to every people harassed by persecution. A devoted lover of peace, you directed all your

energy to preserve, safe and inviolate, a good understanding between all ranks of the clergy and people. Having borne the burden of so many labours, of such great undertakings, at an age which is more than advanced, you have secured glory to God, salvation for the faithful of Christ, and a bright and incorruptible crown for yourself.

But what is to be said of the office of teacher which you have discharged? Appointed as a king on the great mountain of Sion by Him who is the True Light 'which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world'; how unfailingly and how happily you have served the Church of God! How effectively you have come to the assistance of the people who were walking miserably in darkness! No error threatening the welfare and peace of modern society has escaped your keen scrutiny and your profound knowledge. No truth adapted to the needs of our time or required for the salvation of souls has failed to be expounded in your pastoral pronouncements to the faithful.

Nor should we forget how earnestly you have desired to promote the divine worship, to foster piety amongst the ministers of the altar, to kindle devotion amongst the faithful, and make clear to all men the living sanctity of the Church.

A few years ago you gave joy to the whole Church of Ireland, when, with supreme benignity, you confirmed the public ecclesiastical cult which from immemorial time has been given to those servants of God who are our fathers in the faith and are regarded by us as pillars of strength and sanctity to the present day.

Unceasingly and with the greatest affection you have shown innumerable marks of paternal benevolence and love to us and to our flocks. Aware of the miseries and oppressive laws that weighed down upon our beloved country in the past, and still in a great measure, continue to afflict her, you have never failed to assist us with paternal words and opportune counsel.

May your Holiness, therefore, deign to accept the assurance of filial love and of profound veneration to which, for our elves, for all our clergy, and for our most faithful people we now give expression.

Humbly asking the Apostolic Benediction, we pray the Divine Majesty that He may keep you, that He may favour you, and preserve you for your children to the years of Peter, and longer and longer still.

[Here follow the signatures.]

[TRANSLATION OF CARDINAL RAMPOLLA'S LETTER.]

No. 73877.

MOST EMINENT AND MOST REV. LORD,—I have the honour of transmitting to your Eminence the enclosed Pontifical Letter which His Holiness has been pleased to address to you and to the other pastors of your country as a testimony of the sincere pleasure with which He has received the congratulations addressed to Him by your Eminence and by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland. I take advantage of the occasion to renew to your Eminence the sentiments of profound veneration with which I most humbly kiss your hands.

Your Eminence's most humble and truly devoted Servant,
M. Card. RAMPOLLA.

[ENGLISH VERSION OF THE REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE ADDRESS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY.]

To Our Beloved Son, Michael Logue, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, Titular of S. Maria della Pace, Archbishop of Armagh, and to Our other Venerable Brethren the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland.

Beloved Son and Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction!

It has pleased the Irish on many occasions and by no doubtful tokens, to give proof to Us of that piety which has been handed down to them by their forefathers, and of their renowned devotion to the Apostolic See.

We have experienced, however, greater pleasure than usual at the testimony of regard which you hastened to send Us on the occasion of this happy solemnity of Our Pontifical Jubilee. In this message there are two things that cause Us the greatest joy, viz., that you are stimulated by the same feelings

and desires as the Blessed Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, and that you faithfully foster amongst your flocks the sentiments which he taught of veneration and love for the Chair of Peter. It is clear, indeed, that the spirit of your great father still lives amongst you, and it is also happily manifest that the future of your country promises an abundant and joyful harvest.

Whilst, therefore, We give to your zeal the tribute of praise that is due to it, and thank you for the expression of your devotion to Us, We must not fail to exhort each one of you to spare no pains in your efforts to maintain the glory handed down to you by your fathers as the honour of the Catholic name demanded. Seeking to obtain these favours, you will be assisted by the Apostolic Benediction, which as a pledge of Our Good Will and of all divine favours We lovingly in the Lord impart to you.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on this 26th day of November, 1902 in the Twenty fifth year of our Pontificate.

LEO PP. XIII.

OUR IRISH MARTYRS : THEIR CANONISATION

THE list printed at the end of this paper is published in compliance with a suggestion made to me by his Eminence Cardinal Moran during his recent visit to Ireland. The names contained in it are those of a number of Irish bishops and priests, and of members of the Irish laity, men and women, who were put to death in Ireland in the days of persecution under Henry VIII., Elizabeth and Cromwell.

There were, no doubt, hundreds of others who suffered death for the faith in Ireland in those days of trial. But the historical records of the time are sadly incomplete. The list now published gives the names of those in respect of whom a definite claim has been put forward as capable of being made good by historical evidence, first, that they were put to death for the faith, and, secondly, that in their deaths were fulfilled the conditions recognised by the Church as entitling those who have so died to a place upon the roll of canonised martyrs. Cardinal Moran, when made aware that such a claim had been definitely formulated, suggested to me that the names of those in respect of whom it has been made should be published in the *I. E. RECORD*, with a statement explanatory of the steps that are being taken in furtherance of it.

It is a pleasure to be in a position to give effect to any such suggestion from his Eminence. From the earliest years of his priesthood,—probably even from the time when he was still a student in Rome,—he has looked forward with confidence to a day when the belief which has been traditional in the Irish Church for centuries, as to the

¹ It is of course to be understood that words such as 'martyr' and 'martyrdom,' when used in reference to the death of any person not authoritatively recognised by the Church as a martyr, are used in the popular, as distinct from the technical, or official, sense of the words. Such words must not be used so as to anticipate in any way the judgment of the Holy See.

martyrdom of numbers of those who suffered death in the days of persecution in Ireland, will be ratified by the solemn definitive judgment of the Holy See.

Dr. Moran's personal efforts towards the realisation of this confident hope date back to a time long previous to his coming from Rome to take up the work of an Irish priest at home in Ireland. In 1861, whilst Vice-Rector of the Irish College in Rome, he published the first edition of his *Life of Oliver Plunkett*.² That work, as even the most cursory reader of it cannot fail to see, was the fruit of years of laborious research in the archives of the Vatican and of Propaganda, and in many other storehouses of historical information in Rome. The one object for which the labour without which no such work could have been produced was gladly undertaken, is clearly indicated by not a few passages in the work itself. I need make but one quotation. In the interesting thirtieth chapter, on the 'Veneration shown to Dr. Plunkett after his Death,' Dr. Moran refers to a suggestion which was made as early as 1684, that steps should be taken for the canonisation of the martyred Primate. Of this he says :—

The Holy See did not, as yet, deem it opportune—such were the then existing circumstances of the English nation—to declare our holy prelate 'a martyr.' We may, however, fondly hope that the day is not now far distant when our long-afflicted Church will be consoled with the solemn declaration of the Vicar of Christ, that he who in the hour of trial was the Pillar of the House of God in our country, and who so nobly sealed with his blood the doctrines of our faith, may be ranked among the martyrs of our holy Church.³

Prefixed to the *Life of Oliver Plunkett* was a compendious, but at the same time comprehensive, historical essay, 'On the Persecution of the Irish Catholics by the Puritan Parliament and Cromwell, from 1641 to 1658.'⁴ In

² *Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland, who suffered death for the Catholic Faith in the year 1681.*—Compiled from Original Documents, by the Rev. Patrick Francis Moran, D.D., Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome (Dublin, 1861). A second edition of this important work was published in Dublin in 1895.

³ *Memoirs of Oliver Plunkett.* (Dublin, 1861), pages 369, 370.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Introduction, pages vii.—lxviii.

the following year, 1862, this Essay, very notably expanded, was published as a separate volume,⁵ the Preface of which plainly shows what Dr. Moran's object was in compiling a general account of the persecution of the Catholics of Ireland in the Cromwellian time. Catholic Ireland was confronted with the prospect of a great and irreparable loss. From the lack of any careful examination of the mass of unpublished contemporary records, and of a number also of printed works that had become so rare as to be very difficult of access, even the names of many of our Irish martyrs were in danger of being forgotten. Unless some practical effort was made to avert the danger, one lamentable result could easily be foreseen. If a claim should ever be made to have those martyrs canonised,—as a number of the Japanese martyrs of the seventeenth century were in that very year being canonised in Rome,—the claim would inevitably fail from want of historical evidence to sustain it. Dr. Moran meant to do his part towards averting that danger and the reproach which the existence of it implied.⁶

Again, three years afterwards, whilst still Vice-Rector of the Irish College in Rome, Dr. Moran published the first volume of another, and not less learned, work, the *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin*.⁷ To this he prefixed an Introduction containing a detailed account of the sufferings

⁵ *Historical Sketch of the Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland under the rule of Cromwell and the Puritans*. By the Rev. Patrick Francis Moran, Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome. (Dublin, 1862-1865.) This *Historical Sketch* was republished, with further additions, in a volume of nearly 500 pages, in 1884.

⁶ I quote, as pointing to a case remarkably similar to our own, the following passage from an interesting article on 'The English Martyrs,' in *The Month* for January, 1887, by the late Fr. John Morris, S.J.:—

'If we may judge a matter so supernatural by human appearances, we should say that it is by a special mercy of Almighty God that our English Martyrs have not been forgotten altogether. In their own time the affection borne to them by English Catholics was of the very keenest. Their relics were sought after and treasured. The narratives of their martyrdoms were carefully preserved. Their names were held in the liveliest veneration.

'That age passed away, and for the edification of those that were to follow, by a particular favour of God's Providence, Bishop Challoner wrote their Memoirs with a painstaking care and an accuracy for which we cannot be too grateful. Challoner's *Missionary Priests* saved the Martyrs from oblivion.' (*The Month*, vol. 59, n. 271, page 2.)

⁷ *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin*. By the Rev. Dr. Moran, Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome. Vol. i. (Dublin, 1864.)

of the Catholics of Ireland in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth,—a further most valuable contribution to the store of historical information,⁸ the bringing together of which was a necessary preliminary to the taking of any formal proceedings for the canonisation of those who had suffered death for the faith in Ireland.⁹

The zealous labours of the Vice-Rector of the Irish College in furtherance of the work to which he had so earnestly applied himself in Rome were not interrupted by his coming to Ireland in 1865. Of that work, indeed, Dr. Moran never allowed himself to lose sight. It occupied no small share of his attention even when he was engaged, as he was for years, in the discharge of the multiplied and varied duties imposed upon him by his twofold office of secretary to Cardinal Cullen, and of professor of Sacred Scripture and of Hebrew in our Diocesan College, Clonliffe. And the canonisation of the Irish martyrs was prominent amongst the works of national as well as of Catholic interest for which he laboured, and towards the accomplishment of which he notably contributed, after he had been transferred to a position of wider influence in the See of Ossory.

Whilst Bishop of Ossory, Dr. Moran republished, in 1884, the *Annals* of David Rothe, his predecessor in that See in the memorable days of the Confederation of Kilkenny.¹⁰ By the re-issue of this historical work, Dr. Moran rendered a most signal service to those who were afterwards to be charged with the responsibility of carrying to a successful issue the preliminary proceedings for the canonisation of our Irish martyrs, when, in the judgment of the

⁸ See especially the fourth chapter of the Introduction (pages 97-171), under the title, 'Persecution of the Irish Catholics under Elizabeth.'

⁹ Two important works, published since the time referred to above—each of them a warehouse of information of the very first importance in reference to our Irish Martyrs—should be mentioned here:—

Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries. Collected and edited by M. O'F. Miles O'Reilly. London, 1863. This valuable work was re-published in New York, with important additions, in 1890.

Our Martyrs. By the late Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A. (Dublin, 1896.)

¹⁰ *The Annals of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory.* Edited, with Introduction, by Patrick F. Moran, Bishop of Ossory. (Dublin, 1884.)

Bishops of Ireland, the time had come for that work to be taken in hand.

Rothe was Bishop of Ossory from 1618 to 1650. He was the author of a number of works, of which, unfortunately, only one has come down to us. This is the work commonly spoken of as the *Analecta*. Its full title is a rather cumbersome one:—*Analecta sacra, nova, et mira, de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia pro Fide et Religione gestis*. The importance of this work, in view of the proceedings necessary to be taken for the canonisation of those who died for the faith in Ireland, is shown by the following account of it, which I transcribe from an interesting paper by the late Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., published in the I. E. RECORD in August, 1892. Of the *Analecta*, Fr. Murphy says:—

It is divided into three parts. The first was published at Cologne in 1618. It was reprinted in the following year, considerably enlarged, with a second part added. The third part was published in 1619. . . .

The first part treats chiefly of the laws made against Catholics during the reign of James I. The second part opens with an *Epistola Paraenetica*, addressed to Cornelius O'Devany (Bishop of Down and Connor) and to others of the clergy and laity lately imprisoned for professing the faith. . . . The third part, styled *De Processu Martyriali quorundam Fidei Pugilum in Hibernia*, contains a list of the bishops, priests, both secular and regular, and of the laity, who up to that time had suffered martyrdom, imprisonment, and exile. . . . The lives of some are given at considerable length, and contain many details concerning them not to be found elsewhere.¹¹

As Fr. Murphy tells us, this important work, before it was reprinted by Dr. Moran, had become very rare. Dr. Moran himself mentions that it had become so rare that Mr. Myles O'Reilly, when publishing his *Memorials of those who suffered for the Catholic Faith in Ireland in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries*,¹² was unable to discover a complete copy in any public or private library throughout Ireland or Great Britain.¹³

But Dr. Moran was not content with a mere reprinting of David Rothe's work. With untiring industry he prepared for

¹¹ I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xiii. (August, 1902), page 721.

¹² See page 11, footnote 9.

¹³ See the *Analecta*, Dr. Moran's Introduction, page xi.

it a historical Introduction of singular value. The contents of this Introduction are described as follows by Dr. Moran himself :—

In this Introduction I propose to select a few instances of those whose imprisonment and sufferings are described in particular detail in the following work [the *Analecta*], to test by the witness of contemporary records and official documents which, for the most part, have come to light in our own days, the accuracy of the history which the *Analecta* presents.

I have chosen for this purpose the sufferings of Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh, and Cornelius O'Devany, Bishop of Down and Connor. They were bright ornaments of the Irish Church in their days, and by the martyrdom which they endured, and the heroism they displayed, shed lustre on the Irish Episcopate.¹⁴

The value and importance of the further contribution thus made by Dr. Moran to the history of a troubled but glorious time in the history of the Church of Ireland, is sufficiently indicated by the fact that this Introduction—a minutely detailed narrative, copiously illustrated by quotations from original documents and from the works of historians of repute,—extends to over 115 pages. Of these, 33 pages are devoted to the life of Dermot O'Hurley of Cashel, 47 to that of Richard Creagh of Armagh, and 35 to that of Cornelius O'Devany of Down and Connor.

And here, once more, Dr. Moran gives expression to the idea that inspired the compilation of these valuable records :—

There is a special reason why the publication of this work may not be regarded as inopportune at the present time. . . .

Enjoying, as we now do, a period of comparative calm, many friends of Ireland have begun at home and abroad, to give expression to the wish, that, although our whole people might justly be regarded as a nation of martyrs, yet some few names, at least, among the most remarkable for constancy and heroism, would be laid before the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and, if found worthy, be enrolled among the privileged martyrs of Holy Church.

While such a matter is being discussed, and such a project is being matured, it cannot but be advisable to place this authentic narrative within the reach of everyone who may have at heart the cause of religion, and Ireland's best interests.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Analecta*, Introduction, page xi.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, page xiii.

Close upon twenty years have gone by since Dr. Moran, shortly after the publication of his edition of the *Analeccta*, was called away from his Irish diocese to take up the missionary work of an Australian bishop. But neither the many years of his absence from amongst us, nor the thousands of miles that separate Australia from Ireland, have in the least degree diminished the ardour of his zeal for the canonisation of those amongst our Irish martyrs as to whose sufferings and death for the faith sufficient historical evidence may be found to exist.

Of this we had abundant proof during his Eminence's recent visit to Ireland. It would be difficult indeed to say in what particular the steadfastness or the freshness of Cardinal Moran's zeal for the advancement of every interest of our country, whether in the spiritual or in the material order, was made most manifest to those who had the opportunity of frequent intercourse with him during the few months of his stay amongst us last year. As to his Eminence's public addresses, there was hardly a topic of interest to Irishmen of the present day upon which he did not contribute to a stirring up of the public mind to a renewed and profitable activity. It is to be hoped that those addresses will be published in some permanent form. Never surely has there been put forward a more outspoken statement of the claims of the people of Ireland as a whole, and of the Catholics of Ireland in particular, to the introduction of a thorough-going reform both in the existing laws, and in the system both of legislation and of government, in this country. And never has there been put forward a more emphatic fore-warning of the certain failure that is in store for any statesman who may be unwise enough to attempt to meet those claims upon lines of procrastination, of compromise, or of experiment,—in a word, upon any line other than that upon which alone any plan or system that is meant to be permanent, or even stable, in Ireland, can be constructed with any prospect of success, the line of unfaltering even-handed justice.

All this is well known to every reader of the newspapers of the day. Not so well known to the public, probably indeed

known only to a very few amongst us, was the untiring perseverance with which his Eminence laboured during his recent visit to Europe—and not less assiduously in Rome than in Ireland—for the hastening of the time to which he has never ceased to look forward, when some at least of the heroes, men and women who for centuries have been believed by their fellow-countrymen to have died for the faith in Ireland, shall be pronounced by the infallible authority of the Holy See to be worthy to receive from the faithful throughout the world the veneration due to those who have won the crown of martyrdom.

In the case of our Irish Martyrs, until about ten years ago, matters were not sufficiently forward to make it possible even to take in hand the work of direct preparation for the holding of the judicial inquiry before a local ecclesiastical tribunal, which is the first formal step in the long process of canonisation.¹⁶

As a general rule, in the case of martyrs, this local inquiry is held by the bishop of the diocese in which the person whose martyrdom it is sought to establish was put to death. If a number of cases are to be inquired into that have many incidents or circumstances in common, the bishops concerned may agree to have the inquiry held by one of their number. In the case of the Irish Martyrs, the holding of the preliminary judicial inquiry has been entrusted by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to the Archbishop of Dublin.

The case of Oliver Plunkett, however, stands apart, and it stands, fortunately, in a position of advantage, already fully secured. Our martyred Primate suffered death at Tyburn, which is within the present district of Marylebone, in London.¹⁷ His case, then,—along with those of between five and six hundred others, who were English by nationality, as well as English martyrs by reason of

¹⁶ See Benedict XIV., Lib. 2, cap. ii., n. 1. In all cases of reference to Benedict XIV. in this paper, it is to be understood that the reference is to his work on the Beatification and Canonisation of Saints.

¹⁷ A place amongst the names of Tyburn, and of the place of execution there, will be found in the article 'London' in *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The reference (vol. 6, page 125) is given under the word 'Tyburn.'

the place of their martyrdom,—had come nearly thirty years ago, into the hands of the diocesan tribunal of Westminster, and had consequently made considerable progress some years before any definite step was taken for the canonisation of those who had suffered for the faith in Ireland.

This may be the most convenient place to state the precise point upon which evidence has to be brought before the diocesan tribunal. It is not, at least directly the fact of martyrdom, but the *fama*, or sufficient repute, of martyrdom, that the local tribunal has to deal with.

The Holy See will not even allow a petition for canonisation to go for investigation before a special tribunal to be constituted under its authority, until it has first been satisfied that the case to be submitted to that tribunal is one that has not been put forward merely by some few devout persons, inspired, possibly, by an exaggerated sentiment of piety. There must be, to begin with, in the judgment of a local diocesan tribunal,¹⁸ something in the nature of a general belief, resting upon tangible facts, that the person whose case the Holy See is called upon to investigate, lived the life of a saint, or died the death of a martyr, and consequently has a claim to be enrolled amongst the canonised saints of the Church.

‘It may be asked,’ says Fr. Denis Murphy, ‘how can witnesses [such, for instance, as those who gave testimony before the diocesan tribunal of Westminster in the case of the English Martyrs] depose to facts that happened long before they were born? The answer is, the Church has in view,’—in the preliminary local inquiry,—‘to establish the *public repute* of martyrdom . . .

‘Witnesses can speak as to the traditions of a locality, of a family, of a religious order. To this oral testimony is added the knowledge that is derived from books written at different times and by different persons. Indeed, some of the most valuable testimonies on behalf of our martyrs are found in the works of Protestant writers.’¹⁹

¹⁸ See Benedict XIV., Lib. I, cap. i.

¹⁹ I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xiii. (February, 1892), pages 129, 130.

The grounds upon which the diocesan tribunal is to be asked to decide that the repute of martyrdom is sufficiently established, are set out in a number of definite statements put before the tribunal by the Postulator, an official who is appointed to prepare the case for it in this way.²¹ The *Postulator* is usually selected from amongst the secular or regular clergy of the diocese in which the inquiry is held. The statements thus prepared are technically called 'articles,' *articuli*.²² In the later stages of a case, its progress is notably facilitated if not merely the existence of a general repute of martyrdom, but also the various facts and circumstances upon which that repute is based, have been proved at the first local inquiry. The *Postulator*, then, usually frames the 'articles' in such a way as to bring the case as fully as possible before the diocesan tribunal.²³

Another important official concerned in the proceedings before the local tribunal is the *Promotor Fidei*—an official popularly known as the Devil's Advocate. The *Promotor Fidei* is sworn to raise every point that occurs to him as tending to weaken in any way the force of the evidence brought forward in support of the case made by the *Postulator*.

²¹ See Lauri, *Codex pro Postulatoribus*, vol. i., p. 4.

²² As to these, see Lauri, vol. i., pages 4-17.

²³ See the 'articuli' in the case of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett, in the I. E. RECORD for last November (I. E. RECORD, Fourth Series, vol. xii., [2nd] 35-115).

These 'articuli,' it will be observed, have been prepared in connection, not with the preliminary local inquiry, but with the *Processus Apostolicus*, or inquiry to be conducted by direction of the Holy See, after the case has been 'introduced' in the technical sense which will be explained in the course of this paper.

The case of the Ven. Oliver Plunkett, as we shall see, was one of those that were successfully carried through the initial stage by the diocesan tribunal of Westminster, and it was consequently 'introduced' in December, 1871. Some years afterwards, it was detached from the other Westminster cases with the view of having it brought more expeditiously through the intervening stages to the solemn ceremony of Beatification.

The 'articuli' are formally presented in the name of the *Postulator*, the *Postulator* in the case of the Ven. Oliver Plunkett, for the purposes of the *Processus Apostolicus*, being the Right Rev. Mgr. Murphy, Rector of the Irish College, Rome. In the case of the *Processus Apostolicus*, the articles to be presented by the *Postulator*, are drawn up, as a rule, not by the *Postulator* himself, but by the 'advocate,' usually a layman, to whom is entrusted the conducting of the case generally. (See the reference to 'the advocate Achille Martin,' in Cardinal Moran's letter published in the November number of the I. E. RECORD, page 386.)

The Westminster tribunal having had charge of the case of Oliver Plunkett in its initial stage, it is necessary here to devote some consideration to the course of the proceedings in that tribunal, down to the point at which they ceased to have any special reference to this particular case.

The necessary steps for the formation of the Westminster tribunal were taken in 1873.

It was not from any lack of devotion to the memory of those who had died for the faith in England that the taking of any formal action for their canonisation was delayed until then. A singularly interesting account of what had been done in reference to this matter from the year 1628 onward, will be found in an article in *The Month*²³ for January, 1887. The article is from the pen of a writer who has been truly described by his biographer²⁴ as the apostle of the cause of the English Martyrs, the late Fr. John Morris, S.J.

At one time, in the seventeenth century, when the taking of active steps for the canonisation of the martyrs was in contemplation, Parliament itself interfered. A Father Francis Bell, of the Order of St. Francis, had been selected to aid in the preliminary local investigation of the case, and it has been conjectured, not without reason, that it was in consequence of this that Fr. Bell was himself put to death in London.²⁵ Later on, when the policy of bare and almost contemptuous toleration had taken the place of that of open persecution,—down indeed to the passing of the measure known as the Catholic Emancipation Act, in 1829,—the Bishops of England were naturally deterred by considerations of prudence from raising questions such as those upon which judgment would have to be pronounced by ecclesiastical authority, if men and women who had been put to death

²³ 'The English Martyrs.' See *The Month*, vol. 59, n. 271 (Jan., 1887), pages 1-17.

²⁴ See *Life and Letters of Father John Morris, S.J.* By Father J. H. Pollen, S.J. (London, 1896.)

²⁵ See *The Month*, January, 1887, pages 3, 4.

in England by the State as guilty of treason, were to be glorified by the Church as martyrs.

About sixty years ago, some of the English Bishops, Fr. Denis Murphy tells us,⁶ brought the question of the canonisation of the English Martyrs under the notice of the Holy See, asking whether it would not be well that the matter should then be taken in hand. They were advised, in reply, to defer it to a time, perhaps not far off, when it could be taken up with less risk of danger to Catholic interests in the country.

Of this application I find no mention, either in the article in *The Month*, or in the *Life of Fr. John Morris, S.J.*, already referred to. It may be that the incidents mentioned by Fr. Murphy were those that occurred, as we shall see, in 1871.

At the Third Provincial Synod of Westminster, held in 1852, attention was again directed to the matter. In view of the difficulties by which the carrying through of the complicated Ordinary Process of canonisation is beset, it was at that time assumed by the Bishops of England that if the English Martyrs were to be canonised, it could only be by means of some simpler form of procedure, the adoption of which might be allowed by special privilege. The ground for hoping for the concession of such a privilege was the honour in which, according to tradition, the victims of the persecution in England in the days of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth were held at the time by the Holy See itself.

Pope Paul V., for instance, had permitted the Colleges from which the missionaries had gone forth, to sing a Mass of Thanksgiving, when the news of a martyrdom was received, with the grant of a Plenary Indulgence to all who should assist at it. But then the Pope expressly ordered that the word *martyr* or *martyrdom* should not be used; and the concession, cheering as it must have been to those whose hearts exulted at the thought that their College had one martyr more, was in itself no help whatever to obtaining for that martyr the honours of the altars.⁷

⁶ See I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xiii. (January, 1892), page 42.

⁷ Fr. Morris, S.J., in *The Month*, January, 1887, page 7.

Again, there was credible testimony that Gregory XIII. had granted permission, in 1582, that, in the consecration of altars, if the relics of ancient martyrs could not be had, relics of those who had been put to death for the faith under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth might be used for the purpose. But there was no evidence as to who the martyrs individually were that were thus honoured by the Holy See.²⁸ Now there is no such proceeding known to ecclesiastical law as the consecration of a *turba martyrum*, in contradistinction to the canonisation of a number of martyrs individually. However numerous the cases may be, each individual case must be dealt with on its own merits. It was plain, then, that no progress could be made on the ground of this permission alone.

Another point, the significance of which, we are told by Fr. Morris, was not at all appreciated in England when the matter was under consideration there, was that certain frescoes—which had long perished—representing the English Martyrs and the sufferings they had endured for the faith, had at one time been painted on the walls of the Church of the English College in Rome.²⁹ This point, which was subsequently found to be of the utmost importance in the case, will be noticed in detail further on.

At the Westminster Provincial Synod of 1859, all these matters were considered, but the only action then taken was the forwarding of a petition by Cardinal Wiseman and the other Bishops of England to the Holy See, for the establishment of a feast of All the Martyrs of England—*Omnium Angliæ Martyrum*—with a special Mass and Office. The feast, with its 'proper' Mass and Office, was to be in honour, not of the martyrs of any special period, but of all the martyrs of the English Church, beginning with the Protomartyr of England, St. Alban. In the proposed Lessons of the Second Nocturn, after a reference by name to several of the martyrs already canonised, there was a general statement, —which was undoubtedly capable of being understood as referring to the uncanonised martyrs of the

²⁸ See *The Month*, Jan., 1887, page 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pages 7, 8.

Tollat times,—*nee defuere* *alli utriusque sexus et omnis ætatis qui pro Sanctæ Sedis honore sanguinem suum fundere non dubitarent.* This petition was unsuccessful.⁵⁰

But the English Bishops, to their credit, were not easily put off. In 1871, they presented another petition. In the case of the Cornish Martyrs, shortly before, the Holy See had accepted letters of the local Vicars Apostolic, as supplying the place of the formal inquiry prescribed by the Pontifical Decree, in the subject as the first step in the Ordinary Process of canonisation. The English Bishops, then, sought for a similar concession. They asked that, in the case also of the English Martyrs, the ordinary procedure—the adoption of which seemed at that time to be regarded in England as something lying quite out of the range of possibility—might be dispensed with. In reference to the English Martyrs, as was mentioned in the petition, two documents of great authority, carefully compiled by English Vicars Apostolic, were forthcoming:—a Catalogue of Martyrs, drawn up in 1628, by Bishop Richard Smith, Bishop of Chichester, and Vicar Apostolic of England; and the well-known *Memoria* compiled by Bishop Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, which were published by him in 1741, and were reprinted in 1803 and again in subsequent years.

After some correspondence,⁵¹ the official answer was given in June, 1872: *Non expedire*. And in the April of the following year, Cardinal Manning was recommended to take up the case in the exercise of his ordinary jurisdiction, and proceed to the holding of the usual judicial inquiry which is the first step in the Ordinary Process of canonisation. The matter was then at once taken in hand. The necessary initial formalities were promptly complied with. The tribunal constituted by his Eminence held its first sitting on the 19th of June, 1874. And it completed its work in the September of the same year.

⁵⁰ See *The Month*, Jan., 1887, page 6.

⁵¹ *Memoria of Miraculous Events and other Certificates of Faithful Men, who suffered Death or Imprisonment in England for Conscience's sake, from the year 1577 till the end of the reign of Charles II.*

See *The Month*, Jan., 1887, page 9.

The number of those for whom it was at first sought to secure the honours of martyrdom was between five and six hundred. As the proceedings, however, before the Westminster tribunal went on, about 200 names were, for one reason or another, put aside. There remained 353; and to these, on grounds of a singularly interesting character, six others were afterwards added in Rome.

Of the 359, no fewer than 94, headed by Sir Thomas More, once Lord Chancellor of England, were of the laity; three of these were Knights of Malta. Cardinal Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, represented the episcopate; with these, there were 39 Jesuits, 19 Benedictines, 18 Carthusians, 14 Franciscans, an Augustinian, a Bridgettine, and the striking number of 173 secular priests.

By the time that the first official document in reference to the case was published by the Holy See, on the 29th of December—the Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury—1886, the 359 cases that had been submitted to the Holy See had become separated into three distinct groups. In the first of these there were placed 48 of the cases, making, with the six that were added in Rome, 54 in all; in the second group there were 261; and in the third, 44.

As the name of Oliver Plunkett was placed in the second of these three groups, it is of importance to explain what the difference of the groups represents, and upon what principles the different cases were placed in each.

The 44 cases forming the third group may be briefly disposed of. These cases were put back by the Sacred Congregation on³³ the ground that the evidence collected by the local tribunal was not sufficient to warrant their being put before the Holy Father for what is technically designated the signing of the Commission for the 'Introduction' of the case,—*Signatura Introductionis Commissionis*.

³³ As a matter of convenience, I speak throughout of the Sacred Congregation of Rites itself. The matter, however, as is usual in all such cases was dealt with by a Special Commission, composed partly of Cardinals, taken from amongst the members of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and partly of leading officials of the Congregation.

Of the Commission as thus signed, Benedict XIV. says: 'nihil aliud est quam supplicatio . . . Summo Pontifici exhibita, et ab eodem admissa atque subscripta, per quam impertitur facultatem Congregationi Sacrorum Rituum procedendi in causa Beatificationis et Canonizationis alicujus Servi Dei.'³⁴

This formal 'Introduction' of the case is a step of great importance in the proceedings. It is preceded by a discussion in the Sacred Congregation, of a *Dubium* the terms of which are: 'An sit signanda Commissio Introductionis causae in casu, et ad effectum, de quo agitur?'

One of the standing rules of the Congregation is that the petition for the discussion of this *Dubium* shall not be presented for ten years after all the documents in the case have been forwarded to Rome from the local tribunal by which the preliminary inquiry has been held, and have been duly deposited with the Official of the Sacred Congregation appointed to have custody of them. As to this, however, on sufficient reason being shown, dispensations are frequently granted by the Holy See.

Amongst the papers submitted to the Sacred Congregation for its guidance in the discussion of the *Dubium* as to the Introduction of a case, is an elaborate printed Report from the *Promotor Fidei*—the official of the Sacred Congregation, popularly known as the Devil's Advocate, whose duty it is to raise every adverse point that is suggested to him by his wide knowledge of canonical procedure, or by the nature of the evidence in the case.³⁵

³⁴ Lib. 2, cap. xxxv., n. 1.

³⁵ The office of *Promotor Fidei*, attached to the Sacred Congregation of Rites, is an office of great dignity and importance. It is one of the positions known as Cardinalitial, the holder of it,—except in the event of his being cut off by death,—being invariably raised to the Cardinalate.

Benedict XIV. at one time held this important post. In the Preface to his work on the Beatification and Canonisation of Saints, he speaks of himself as 'ab anno 1703, ex singulari memorati Pontificis [Clementis XI.] beneficio ad spectabile Fidei Promotoris officium evecti, eodemque perfuncti usque ad annum 1728.' In the discharge of his duty in this office, he opposed, on various grounds, the canonisation of many Saints. And not the least interesting passages in his treatise are those in which he mentions the objections which he presented upon the Sacred Congregation, sometimes with, sometimes without, effect.

Of the 359 cases of the English Martyrs, the Promoter of the Faith, Mgr. Caprara, objected to the signing of the Commission in 76 instances. In the course of the discussion, however, he yielded to some extent to the further arguments of the lawyers by whom the signing of the Commission was advocated, and consequently withdrew his objections in 32 of the cases. There remained 44, as to which he continued to oppose the '*Introductio Causae*,'—or rather 43, there being one case as to which he held himself neutral.

The decision of the Congregation was in accordance with Mgr. Caprara's view. The 44 cases were put back; the decision as to these being: *Dilata, et coadjuventur probationes*. The evidence collected by the diocesan tribunal at Westminster was, then, to this extent, insufficient: as to those 44 cases, unless stronger proofs could be put forward, no further progress could be made.

We may now take the second group of cases. These, as we have seen, numbered 261. In these 261 cases,—one of them being that of Oliver Plunkett,—the Sacred Congregation recommended the signing of the Commission.

As a rule, but not altogether as a matter of course, the recommendation of the Sacred Congregation ensures the signing of the Commission by the Holy Father. The recommendation is in the form: *Signandum esse Commissionem si Sanctissimo placuerit*. It may be of interest to notice the peculiar form in which his Holiness affixes his signature to this particular document. He writes *Placet*, adding the initial letter of his baptismal name.³⁶ Thus, for instance, the present Holy Father, signs, in this case, not as Leo, but as Joachim. He writes³⁷ *Placet, J.*

By the 'Signing of the Commission' the Sovereign Pontiff authoritatively recognises that, in the case which he thus empowers the Sacred Congregation of Rites to investigate,

³⁶ 'Addita prima littera sui nominis, quod habebat ante Pontificatum' Ben. XIV., Lib. 2, cap. xxxv., n. 30.

³⁷ See Lauri, vol. i, page 30.

them — for the sake of the proposed canonisation of a martyr — sufficient evidence of the *fama martyrii*, and that the petition for canonisation is worthy of investigation by the Holy See.

In the cases of this second group, the favourable decision of the Sacred Congregation was given on the 4th of December 1886, and the Commission was signed by the Holy Father on the 9th of the same month.

At one of the 261 champions of the faith, in respect of whom this point in the long process was now reached, our martyred Primate received the title of Venerable, or Venerable Servant of God. Of this title, Benedict XIV. says:—

Servus Dei . . . dicitur ille qui moritur cum fama sanctitatis. Venerabilis autem Dei Servus ille vocatur cujus sanctitatis fama potest fieri probata est. . . et ita quidem, stricte loquendo, Venerabilis Dei Servi sunt illi, secundum consuetudinem Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum, in quorum Beatificationis et Canonizationis causis Commissio signata est.

The title Venerable is, in fact, officially used in the published Decrees of the Sacred Congregation, by which it is made known that the Commission has been signed.

It was at one time discussed as a practical question whether the signing of the Commission did not imply that the Venerable Servant of God in whose case the Commission had been signed might not be honoured with a public religious cultus. Here, once more, we may refer to Benedict XIV. He says:—

Quod ubi disparatur ad a signatura Commissionis aliquod public cultus huius venerationis argumentum desumi posset, huiusmodi quæstiones quælibet cessat controversia; cum ex decreto edito die 19 Februarii anno 1753 colligitur signaturam Commissionis nullum cultum inferre importare.

In illustration of the extent of the prohibition to give public religious veneration to one not yet beatified, I

¹ Lib. 1. cap. xxxvii., n. 4.

² Lib. 2. cap. lxxv., n. 11.

may transcribe the following passage from another chapter of Benedict XIV.'s classic treatise :—

Non solum Sedes Apostolica cultum publicum prohibuit erga Dei Servos non beatificatos neque canonizatos, verum etiam exclusa voluit ea omnia quae ad publicum ipsum cultum referri possunt, et quae populum ad eum inducere valent, ante iudicium a se proferendum. Quamobrem . . . videmus tabulas votivas, et horum Servorum Dei imagines, non posse in ecclesiis retineri, nec eas pingi posse cum laureolis et diademate.⁴⁰

Hence, one of the intervening steps between the Signing of the Commission and the subsequent Beatification of the Saint, is the holding of a special judicial inquiry, technically designated *de Non cultu*, the object of which is to ascertain whether this prohibition has been obeyed.⁴¹

It can hardly be necessary to add that, in numerous instances, after the formal signing of the Commission and the consequent 'Introduction' of the case at Rome, no further progress was made. In the case of the English Martyrs, Mgr. Caprara, whilst withdrawing, as he did in several instances, his objection to the Introduction of a case, intimated that he did so only for the particular purpose then under consideration. The *fama martyrii* was sufficiently established to allow those cases to proceed as worthy of being inquired into by the Holy See. But he made it known that there were certain objections which would have to be pressed when the fact of martyrdom eventually came to be proved with a view to Beatification.⁴²

So far, then, for the second of the three groups into which the cases sent forward by the tribunal at Westminster were divided by the subsequent proceedings in Rome.

We come now to the first group. This, as I have said, comprised 54 cases. In those 54 cases there was neither a *Signatura Commissionis Introductionis*, nor a reference back to the diocesan tribunal for further evidence. The first decree issued in reference to them was a Decree which was equivalently a Decree of Beatification.

⁴⁰ Lib. 2, cap. i., n. 9.

⁴¹ As to this, see Benedict XIV., Lib. 1, cap. ii., n. 3; and Lauri, vol. i., pages 37-42.

⁴² See *The Month*, Jan., 1887, page 15.

It will probably be asked how it was that our Venerable Primate, Oliver Plunkett, was not included in this group. Was he not as clearly entitled to Beatification as any of those comprised in it? To answer this question it is necessary only to state the peculiar circumstances in which it became possible in these 54 cases to arrive so promptly at a definite result.

I assume it to be generally known that Beatification, as distinct from Canonisation, is an official act by which—to quote the commonly received definition, from which Benedict XIV. sets out in his exposition of the subject,—

*Romanus Pontifex indulgendo permittit aliquem Dei servum coli posse in aliquo parochia, Diocesi, et itere, aut religiosa familia, cultu quodam determinato . . . usquequo ad solemnem ejus Canonizationem deveniatur.*⁴³

On the other hand, as Benedict XIV. says:—

*Canonizationem dicunt esse Summi Pontificis sententiam de iustitia qua foremit aliquem, antea inter Beatos recensitum, in Sanctorum catalogum esse referendum, et coli debere in toto orbe Catholico.*⁴⁴

The ecclesiastical cultus in question usually consists in the assigning of a special feast day, with a Mass and Office of the saint, or with at least a commemoration of the saint in the Mass and Office of the day. It is important, then, to note in what sense those words of the definition of Canonisation—*coli debere in toto orbe Catholico*—are to be understood. As a modern writer, in his exposition of this matter, puts it:—

*Præceptum non intelligitur quo universa ecclesia obligatur ad officium et missam de Sancto dicendam, quia non omnes Sancti canonizati habent officium præscriptum pro universa ecclesia, sed præceptum in eo est, quod omnes fideles obligantur et illum imitantur pro Sancto habentibus, id est, pro tali qui publico [totius ecclesiae] cultu dignus sit.*⁴⁵

⁴³ Benedict XIV. (Lib. 1, cap. xxxvii., nn. 8-14), whilst accepting the common received definition of beatification as applicable in the great majority of cases, criticises those definitions in detail, sustaining his criticisms by many illustrations drawn from the inexhaustible stores of his knowledge both of the law and of the practice of the Church in this matter. For the purposes of this paper, however, the definitions as given in the text above may be taken as sufficiently correct.

⁴⁴ Lib. 1, cap. xxxix., n. 5.

⁴⁵ *Verbalis Theologia et Theologiae* [Friburg: Dr. J. J. Friburg, 1894, vol. i, p. 129].

Incidentally I may here point out that the distinction between those two acts of Pontifical authority, only one of which—that of Canonisation—is obligatory upon the Church throughout the world, sufficiently explains the general teaching of theologians, that whilst Canonisation comes within the sphere of the infallible *magisterium* of the Holy See, Beatification does not.⁴⁶

For many centuries, it was left free to Bishops—to each, of course, for his own diocese only,—to decide as to whether a person who had died with the repute of sanctity might be publicly honoured as a saint. Such action on the part of a bishop was, from the nature of the case, of merely local application. The so-called Canonisation, then, of those days differed but little from Beatification, as the term is now understood.

Gradually it became evident that a system in which the giving of religious cultus to persons who had died with the repute of sanctity could be sanctioned by merely local authority was open to abuse, and that the only real safeguard lay in a reservation of the matter to the Holy See. The decretal *Audivimus*,⁴⁷ issued by Alexander III. in 1170, is generally regarded as the first formal act of Pontifical reservation in this matter. The reservation, however, was not, all at once, very stringently enforced,—not at least to the extent of excluding action taken by Bishops with what might be regarded as a presumed sanction from the Holy See. The present practice of the Church in the matter of canonisation was not, indeed, finally settled until the Pontificate of Urban VIII. It was Urban VIII. who, in a series of Decrees, issued in 1625, and confirmed in 1634, formulated

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Benedict XIV., Lib. I, capp. xlii.—xlv.; and Murray, *De Ecclesia Christi*, Disp. xvii., nn. 194-202.

⁴⁷ The Decretal *Audivimus* will be found in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, in the 1st chapter of the 45th title in the 3rd book of the Decretals of Gregory IX.

The occasion of its being issued by Alexander III. was that Adalbert, Bishop of Luxeuil, reported to the Holy See that in a district of his diocese a former Procurator of a monastery, who had met with his death in circumstances not easy to be reconciled with a title to sanctity of any kind, was being publicly honoured as a martyr.

The story of this strange 'martyrdom' is briefly narrated by Bishop Adalbert as follows:—'Is, quem [Abbas, iter quoddam suscepturus] Procuratorem reliquerat, ebrius in refectorio super coenam duos de fratribus cultello percussit, atque ab eis incontinenti pertica, quam casus obtulit, interfectus est.' (See Benedict XIV., Lib. I, cap. x., n. 3.)

the procedure which, with some few trifling modifications in matters of detail, is followed to the present day.

The bearing of all this upon the process for the canonisation of the English Martyrs, and, amongst them, of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett, may not perhaps, at first sight, be apparent. But these references to the nature of Beatification as distinct from Canonisation, and to the former discipline of the Church in this matter bear directly on the matter in hand. For they make it easy to explain why it was that a certain number of those whose names were sent forward by the Westminster tribunal were beatified,—or, to speak with strictly technical accuracy, were ‘equivalently’ beatified, *equipollenter beatificati*,—by the Decree of the 29th of December, 1886, whilst, on the other hand, hundreds of others, including our martyred Primate, Oliver Plunkett,—whose names had been similarly sent forward by the tribunal in Westminster,—were recognised, at Rome, only as having a claim worthy of being inquired into by the Holy See.

The explanation of the matter is this. When Urban VIII. fixed the rigorous procedure to be followed in the beatification and canonisation of saints, he abstained from interfering with any case of public cultus, whether of martyrs or of other saints, that had been sufficiently established before his time. Hence, in prohibiting the giving of public religious cultus to any but those who were canonised, or at least beatified, under the form of procedure which he prescribed, Urban VIII. expressly excepted all those cases in which the giving of such cultus was, at that time, sanctioned in any of the four following ways:—

1. *Per communem Ecclesiae consensum;*
2. *Per immemorabilem temporis cursum;*
3. *Per Patrum vicorumque sanctorum scripta; vel,*
4. *Longissimi temporis scientia ac tolerantia Sedis Apostolicæ vel Ordinarii.**

The nature of these four exceptions is explained by Benedict XIV., in great fulness of detail, and with abundant

* See Benedict XIV., Lib. 2. cap. xvii., n. 1.

wealth of illustration, throughout eight chapters of his monumental work.⁴⁹

A case coming under any of those heads was to be exceptionally treated: it was to stand, in fact,—as regards the giving of public religious cultus,—as if a Decree of Beatification had already been issued. In such a case, then, the only proceedings that remain to be taken at Rome are those that in ordinary cases lead on from Beatification to Canonisation.

The exceptional cases thus marked off by Urban VIII. being cases in which public religious cultus had been given under certain conditions recognised as authorising it, all other cases,—that is to say, all those cases that are not to proceed *per viam casus excepti*, in other words, all ordinary cases,—are technically said to proceed *per viam Non cultus*.⁵⁰

In such cases, under the procedure established by Urban VIII. a special judicial inquiry is to be held with a view of ascertaining whether the prohibition imposed by that Pontiff against the giving of public religious cultus to any one not canonised, or at least beatified, has been obeyed. This special proceeding is called the Process *de Non cultu*, or *super Non cultu*.⁵¹ In the more recent practice of the Holy See, this special inquiry need not be held until after the case has been 'introduced' at Rome.⁵²

In a case proceeding *per viam casus excepti*, as in all other cases, the proceedings must begin with a judicial inquiry before a local tribunal. But in such a case, the point to be established before that tribunal is, that the condition which is relied upon as bringing the case within one or another class of excepted cases is really verified. If there is question, for instance, of the establishment of a *casus exceptus* on the ground that a religious cultus had been publicly given *per immemorabilem temporis cursum*,—

⁴⁹ Lib. 2, cap. xvii.-xxiv.

⁵⁰ See Lauri, vol. i., page 1.

⁵¹ As to this, see Lauri, vol. ii., pages 37-42.

⁵² See Lauri, *ibid.*

which, as is declared by Urban VIII. himself, is to be understood of a period of at least a hundred years⁵³ before the issuing of his final Decree on the subject, in 1634,—there must be, in the first instance, a judicial finding of the local tribunal that *cultus* was so given.

In the subsequent proceedings at the Holy See, there is, in 'excepted' cases, no such stage as the '*Signatura Introductionis Commissionis*,' and the first *Dubium* to be discussed by the Sacred Congregation is:—

An sententia lata a iudice . . . super cultu ab immemorabili tempore praestito Venerabili Servo Dei N., seu super casu excepto a Decretis Urbani VIII., sit confirmanda in casu, et ad effectum, de quo agitur? ⁵⁴

If the decision is in the affirmative, a Decree to this effect is published, and thereupon, without even the celebration of the usual solemn ceremonial of Beatification,—which is never held in a case that proceeds *per viam casus excepti*⁵⁵—the Beatification is complete.

All this is explained by Benedict XIV. with characteristic lucidity:—

Si sententia Ordinarii . . . faveat casui excepto a decretis Urbani VIII., eademque confirmationis robur obtineat a sacra Congregatione, et sacrae Congregationis responsum a Pontifice approbetur, Dei Servus in cuius causa haec fuerunt obtenta dicitur *aequipollenter* Beatificatus. Cum enim Beatificatio nihil aliud sit, quam *permissio cultus pro aliquibus determinatis locis*, de cultus autem permissione dubitandum non sit quotiescumque casus exceptus a decretis Urbani approbatur, de equipollenti idcirco Beatificatione minime dubitandum esse videtur.⁵⁶

The Decree issued in such cases is technically designated *Decretum Confirmationis cultus*. It may be noted here that this was the procedure under which the case of the Blessed Thaddeus Machar,⁵⁷ Bishop of Cork, was dealt with in 1895.

⁵³ See Benedict XIV., Lib. 2, capp. xxii., xxiii.

⁵⁴ Lauri, vol. i., page 70.

⁵⁵ 'In hac Beatificatione equipollenti nulla fiunt solemnia . . . unde coetus illi quorum interest casum exceptum a decretis Urbani VIII. fuisse approbatum, gratiarum tantum actionem Domino Deo deferre possunt illis modis et formis quibus gratias agere possent pro quocumque alio spirituali recepto beneficio.'—Benedict XIV., Lib. 1, cap. xxxi., n. 5.

⁵⁶ Lib. 1, cap. xxxi., n. 4.

⁵⁷ As to the family name of this holy man, see an interesting discussion in the I. E. RECORD, vol. i., nn. 8, 9, (May and June, 1895), pp. 375-382 and 401-408.

The *Decretum Confirmationis cultus* in that case may be seen in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*⁵⁸ for October, 1895.

Now the case of the 54 English Martyrs who were declared *Beati* by the Decree of the 29th of December, 1886, was dealt with by the Holy See as a *casus exceptus*. The ground, however, of the exception in those cases was not that public cultus had been given for the 'tempus immemorabile' specified by Urban VIII. For the purpose of that particular ground of exception, the cultus should⁵⁹ have been begun, at latest, in the year 1534—a hundred years before the issuing of the Decree of Urban VIII. in 1634. But the date of the execution at Tyburn of the three Carthusian Abbots,⁶⁰ who were the Protomartyrs of the persecution under Henry VIII., was the 4th of May, 1535.

As we have already seen, one of the grounds of exception recognised in the Decree of Urban VIII. is the acquiescence of the Holy See, after the Sovereign Pontiff has undoubtedly become aware that a reputed saint is being publicly honoured with a cultus such as may lawfully be given only to those who have been at least beatified.⁶¹ Now this was the ground of exception established in the case of those English Martyrs who were declared *Beati* by the Decree *Confirmationis cultus*, of the 29th December, 1886.

⁵⁸ *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, vol. xxviii., page 186.

⁵⁹ See *ante*, page 31.

⁶⁰ See the narrative of the execution in Lingard (vol. 5, chapter 2), and in Froude (vol. ii., pages 375-382.)

Of the Carthusian Protomartyrs in the persecution, Froude, in his chapter on 'The Catholic Martyrs,' after recounting the address of the Prior of the London Charterhouse, John Houghton, to his community, exhorting them to prepare for death as the summons to take the Oath of Supremacy was at hand, says:—

'Thus, with unobtrusive nobleness, did those poor men prepare themselves for their end; not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving the everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred who in the summer morning sat combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ. . . .

'The influence of the Carthusians, with that of the two great men [Fisher and More] who were following the same road to the same goal, determined multitudes in the attitude they would assume, and in the duty they would choose. . . . They fell gloriously, and not unprofitably. They were not allowed to stay the course of the Reformation, but their sufferings, nobly borne, sufficed to recover the sympathy of after ages for the faith which they professed.' (Froude, *History of England*, vol. ii., pages 371-375)

⁶¹ As to this particular *casus exceptus*, see the exhaustive chapter in Benedict XIV. (Lib. 2, cap. xx.)

The case was not, indeed, one of mere acquiescence on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff. The acts in question, by which an ecclesiastical cultus of the most distinct kind had been given to a number of the English Martyrs, were acts of the Sovereign Pontiff himself.

The Decree of 1886 recites the permission granted by Gregory XIII., that, failing the relics of ancient martyrs for the consecration of altars, relics of the English Martyrs might be used for the purpose. This, however, as we have seen, would not of itself have sufficed,⁶² for there was no distinct evidence as to the individual English martyrs to whose relics this permission had reference. But there was in it, undoubtedly, a recognition by Gregory XIII.—which was but an expression of the recognition by the whole Catholic world at the time—of the martyrdom, in the fullest sense of the word, of those who had been put to death in England for their refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy. And, through a strange combination of circumstances, the application of this to a number of the martyrs individually was so clearly established, that not even a technical difficulty in the way of the recognition of the case as a *casus exceptus* remained.

Gregory XIII. was Pope from 1572 to 1585. It was during his Pontificate, and indeed by his directions, that the famous frescoes representing the Christian martyrs and the tortures undergone by them, from the earliest ages of the Church, were painted by Nicholas Circiniani on the walls of the well-known Church of the Protomartyr, Santo Stefano Rotondo, on the Caelian Hill at Rome. These pictures suggested to a wealthy Englishman, George Gilbert, a personal friend of the Jesuit martyr, Father Edmond Campion, that it would be a specially appropriate commemoration of the constancy of those who had died for the faith in England, to have a similar series of paintings, representing the sufferings and martyrdom of at least the more prominent and best known amongst them, painted by Circiniani in fresco on the walls of the Church of the English College in Rome. The project

⁶² See *ante*, page 20.

was inspired by the desire of honouring those who had died for the faith in the persecution of the time. But the frescoes were to represent the series of English Martyrs from the beginning.

There could, of course, be no more distinct act of public ecclesiastical cultus than that offered to a martyr by the representation of his sufferings and death, for the veneration of the faithful, in a public church. But the frescoes in the Church of the English College were not merely to represent the deaths of the recent English Martyrs. They were to represent them in a continuous series with those of St. Alban, the Protomartyr of England, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the other canonised English martyrs of former ages.

Permission to have the project carried out had, of course, to be obtained from the Sovereign Pontiff. As it happened, Gregory XIII., then Pope, was himself the founder of the English College. He had founded it only four years before, with the object of securing the training of a number of missionary priests, who might, to some extent, fill the places left vacant in the ranks of the priesthood of England by the imprisonment, and, in not a few cases, the martyrdom, of those who had refused to take the Oath of Supremacy.⁶³

⁶³ The Apostolic Brief, dated 24th April, 1579, by which the English College was founded by Gregory XIII., is printed in the *Propaganda Bullarium*, edited in 1840 by Cardinal Cullen, then Rector of the Irish College, Rome. (See the *Bullarium*, vol. ii., pages 302-309.)

The Brief recites the need that had arisen for making special provision for the education in Rome of priests for the English mission. Referring to the fidelity and constancy with which the faith established in England by the preaching of the missionaries sent from Rome by St. Gregory the Great had been preserved, the Brief goes on to say, '*quae etiam in tanta nostrorum temporum caligine, in aliquibus insignibus illis quidem et illustribus viris refulsere qui pro hujus Sedis dignitate et Orthodoxae fidei veritate vitas suas cum sanguine ponere non dubitarunt; versanturque quotidie ante oculos nostros juvenes ex illo miserrimo Regno huc profugientes, qui divino spiritu ducti, patria, parentibus, et bonis relictis, sese Nobis ad Catholicae Religionis, in qua nati sunt, institutionem suscipiendam miserabiliter offerunt, eo animo ut salutem sibi primum comparent, deinde vero ut post adeptam divinarum rerum scientiam in Angliam ad alios qui a via veritatis declinarunt, erudiendos revertantur.*'

A munificent provision is made in the Brief for the endowment of the College for the maintenance of fifty students, and the Pope afterwards increased the number to seventy-five.

These were the future missionaries whom St. Philip, then living close to their College, when they passed him on their daily walk through the streets of Rome, used to salute with the greeting, '*Salvete, flores martyrum.*'

Fully informed as he was of every detail of the fierce conflict then being waged in England, the Pope had no difficulty in granting the permission sought for, and thus a series of frescoes, representing the sufferings of the Martyrs of England from the earliest times, including a number of those who had then recently suffered under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, found a place upon the walls of a Roman church, under the personal sanction of the Sovereign Pontiff himself.

Fr. Morris, S.J., in the article to which I have more than once referred, remarks that the importance of the fact that those pictures had been erected in a Church in Rome was not appreciated in England when the preliminary inquiry was being carried on in the Diocesan Court of Westminster. He mentions at the same time the significant fact that in answer to a question put by one of the Vicars Apostolic in Scotland, in reference to stained glass windows in a church within his jurisdiction, upon which were represented a number of the English Martyrs, the Congregation of Rites

It needed no prophet to see that no greeting could be more appropriate. When Gregory XIII., the founder of the College, died, only six years after its foundation, six martyrs were already numbered amongst its former students. There are forty of its pupils amongst the priests declared Blessed or Venerable by the Decrees of the 9th and 25th December, 1888.

The story of the personal relations between St. Philip and the future martyrs, thus turning 'material for confessorship and martyrdom,' has been told, more fully, by Dr. Newman in his sermon, 'The Second Spring :—

Whence it that called the fair Saxon youths as they passed him in the streets of the great city, with the salutation, "Salvete, flores martirum?" And when the time came for each in turn to leave that peaceful home, and pass forth to the conflict, to whom did they betake themselves before leaving home, to receive a blessing which might nerve them for their work?

'They went for a blessing; they went to a calm old man who had never seen blood, never in controversy who had lived indeed to die for Christ, and then, one great Sabbath, turned the way to the far East, but who had been fixed as a constant in the holy city, and walked up and down for fifty years on one beat, while his brethren were in the battle. Oh! the feebleness of the heart, too great for its frail tenement, which tormented him to be kept at home, when the whole Church was at war! and therefore, every day, a hundred strangers to him, ere they set out for the scene of their passion, that the full zeal and love pent up in that burning breast might find a vent, and flow over, from him who was kept at home, upon those who were to face the foe.

'Therefore, one by one, each in his turn, these youthful soldiers came to the old man: and one by one they persevered and gained the crown and the palm: all but one, who had not gone, and would not go, for the salutary blessing.'

had replied that this was not lawful, as it was a mark of religious cultus.⁶⁴

The decision thus referred to was given⁶⁵ in 1860. It is not republished in the collection of *Decreta Authentica*. But there is published in that collection a Decree dealing with the subject generally. This Decree, dated 27th of August, 1894,⁶⁶ makes plain the grounds of the ecclesiastical prohibition, which applies to all cases in which the pictures, 'aliquod cultus vel sanctitatis indicium praeferunt,' as was manifestly the case in the paintings representing the sufferings of the English Martyrs, of modern as well as of ancient times, in the Church of the English College at Rome.

There was but one link wanting to complete the chain of evidence. In the frescoes as painted, the names of the martyrs represented—Cardinal Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and the others—were painted upon the picture in each case. But the frescoes had been destroyed nearly a century before.⁶⁷ And, as a matter of course, the *Promotor Fidelis* insisted that unless trustworthy historical evidence were forthcoming as to the identification of the individual martyrs represented in the frescoes, the claim for the procedure *per viam casus excepti* could not be sustained in any of the cases that were before the Sacred Congregation.

Fortunately, however, the missing link was supplied. In 1584, on the completion of the frescoes in the church, a Roman engraver, Cavalieri, had published a set of engravings

⁶⁴ See *The Month*, January 1887, page 8.

⁶⁵ See Gardellini, Appendix III. (5305).

⁶⁶ See the interesting *Suffragium* of a Consultor, upon which this Decree is clearly based. *Decr. Authentica*, vol. v., page 401.

⁶⁷ In the words of the Decree of the 29th of December, 1886. 'nefarioium hominum injuria sub finem elapsi saeculi perierunt.' It was the old story,—they were destroyed by the French.

Whilst in possession of Rome in 1798, the invaders used the College as a storehouse and a hospital. The College Church, not being required for any special purpose of theirs, was allowed to go to ruin.

In the first chapter of his *Last Four Popes*, Cardinal Wiseman describes the condition in which the Church was found when the College was re-opened in 1818—the roof fallen in, the altars removed, and 'the wreckage of the recent storm' piled on one side,—'the skulls and bones of, perhaps, Cardinal Allen, Fr. Parsons, and others, whose coffins had been dragged up from the vaults below, and converted into munitions of war.' Naturally, the frescoes had not survived.

⁶⁸ See page 23.

of them, *cum privilegio Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max.*; and a copy of the engravings had been preserved in the library of the English College. The names were there, and thus the martyrs who had been represented in the original frescoes were identified, the *causa exceptus* was fully established, and the Decree *Confirmationis Cultus* was issued.

Of the 54 champions of the faith thus honoured as *Beati*, there were six whose names had not been sent forward from Westminster. These were Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole; three secular priests, John Haile, Thomas Woodhouse, and Thomas Plumtree; and two laymen, John Storey and Thomas Sherwood. The 48 others, whose cases had been sent forward by the tribunal at Westminster, comprised, in addition to Cardinal Fisher and Sir Thomas More, two laymen, 20 secular priests, 18 Carthusians, three Jesuits, an Augustinian, a Franciscan, and a Bridgettine.

Of the entire list, the Decree speaks in terms of splendid, but surely not exaggerated, eulogy:—

Huic praeclarissimae catervae nihil penitus deest quod eam tum compleat, tum ornet: non purpuræ romanæ majestas, non venerabilis Episcoporum honor, non Cleri utriusque fortitudo, non sexus infirmioris incompugnabilis firmitas. Hos inter eminent Ioannes Fisher Episcopus Roffensis et S.R.E. Cardinalis, quem in suis Litteris Paulus III. appellat *sanctitate conspicuum, doctrinâ celeberrim, aetate venerabilem, illius regni ac totius ubique Cleri decus et ornamentum*. A quo sejungi nequit vir sæcularis Thomas More, Angliæ Cancellarius, quem idem Pontifex meritis extollit laudibus, utpote *doctrinâ literarum sacrarum excellentem, et veritatem adserere ausum*.¹⁰

The *causa exceptus*, of course, was strictly limited in its application, to those who were represented in the pictures.¹¹

¹⁰ See the Decree in the I. E. Record for February, 1857 (Third Series) vol. viii, page 182, or in the *Archæologia* S. 23 for February, 1857 (vol. xix, page 347).

¹¹ It was, in fact, limited, not merely to those represented in the pictures, but to those named in them.

Among the martyrs of Henry VIII.'s time whose cases were before the Westminster tribunal, were three Benedictine Abbots, Richard Whiting, Abbot of Ely, Robert Hall, Abbot of Reading, and Thomas Beche, Abbot of Colchester, with John Thomas and Roger James, monks of Gloucestery, and John E. and John Rugg, monks of Reading. There could be but little doubt that these seven Benedictines were amongst these

Thus the case of our martyred Primate and those of the 260 others whose deaths were of later date than 1583,—or who had suffered death in 1583 or in any earlier year, but were not represented in the frescoes,—could be dealt with only by the ordinary procedure *per viam Non cultus*.⁷¹

In the case of our Irish Martyrs, none of the four grounds recognised as establishing a claim to the procedure *per viam casus excepti* would seem to be at all applicable. The case, then, has to follow the ordinary course, which, of necessity, is a slow one.

represented in the frescoes as martyrs. For, one of the frescoes, representing some monks hanging from a gibbet, has beneath it the inscription: 'Three Reverend Abbots of the Order of St. Benedict are slain, and some of their monks are suffocated by the halter' (I quote from an article 'The Blessed Richard of Glastonbury and his Companions,' by Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., in *The Month* for July, 1895.)

Hence, the three Abbots and their four companions were, it is said, named in the list of *Beati* in the Decree of the 29th December, 1886, as originally drawn up. At the last moment, however, the *Promotor Fidei* objected that the evidence of identification was not satisfactory. His objection prevailed, and the names were struck out. In the article from which I have just quoted, it is stated that 'so late in the day was it, that some copies of the decree had already been issued and sent off,' and that 'they were recalled, and a new decree brought out, omitting the Benedictines altogether.' (*The Month*, July, 1895, page 365).

It took eight years to surmount this difficulty, even in part. In 1894, as a result of the labours of Dom Gasquet and of some other learned and painstaking members of the Benedictine Order, evidence was brought together which the *Promotor Fidei* recognised as conclusive in respect of the three Abbots. He still demurred as to their fellow-martyrs, the four monks. Eventually this remaining difficulty also was overcome, and in May, 1895, the Congregation of Rites approved a new Decree, by which the seven Benedictines were beatified, as the 54 already mentioned had been by the Decree of December, 1886.

By the same Decree of May, 1893, two other *Beati* were added to the list,—Sir Adrian Fortescue, a Knight of Malta, and Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland. (See the Decree in the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, for July, 1895, vol. xxvii., page 746; and Fr. Pollen's *Life of Fr. John Morris*, page 216.)

I have throughout this paper dealt with the proceedings that were begun before the Westminster tribunal, only in so far as they had some bearing, direct or indirect, upon the case of the Ven. Oliver Plunkett. But it may not be out of place to add to this footnote the brief statement that, in 1888, a new process was begun at Westminster, dealing with those whose cases had been put aside during the proceedings in 1874,—the *prætermissi*, as they have come to be called,—and also with the 44 *dilati*, whose cases were put back by the Sacred Congregation in 1880. The proceedings before the local tribunal in this second set of cases were completed, and the documents forwarded to Rome, in 1889.

In the cases dealt with in this second process, no Decree has yet been issued by the Holy See.

⁷¹ See page 30.

It has also to be borne in mind that, as compared with the case of the English Martyrs, our Irish case is hampered by a drawback that adds enormously to the labour involved in bringing together the requisite historical evidence. In the case of numbers of the English Martyrs, the judicial proceedings by which they were condemned to death are on official record. In some instances an almost verbatim report of the trial is to the present day at hand for reference: and the official evidence thus preserved makes it obvious that the 'treason' in punishment for which the sentence of death was inflicted⁷² consisted simply in a refusal to deny the Catholic faith by recognising that the headship of the Church in England was vested, not in the Chair of Peter, but in the English Crown.

In mentioning the special difficulty that exists in this respect in the case of our Irish Martyrs, I do not, of course, refer to the case of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett, who, as we know, was tried in England. But, speaking of our Irish Martyrs generally, who were put to death in Ireland,—even of those who were put to death after some form of judicial procedure,—it cannot but be a matter involving much prolonged and painstaking labour to bring together such evidence of the grounds upon which they were put to death as will satisfy the inexorable requirements of the Holy See.

⁷² There is a remarkable footnote in reference to this point in Hallam's *Constitutional History* (Chapter 3). It begins by a quotation—

'Though no Papists were in this reign [the reign of Elizabeth] put to death purely on account of their religion, as numberless Protestants had been in the worst days of Queen Mary, yet many were executed for treason.' (Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 147.)

Hallam's pungent comment on this is as follows:—

'Thus it is, when the impulses of very strong partiality operate on a naturally obtuse understanding. . . .

'Treason, by the law of England, and according to the common use of language, is the crime of rebellion or conspiracy against the government. If a statute is made, by which the celebration of certain religious rites is subjected to the same penalties as rebellion or conspiracy, would any man, free from prejudice, and unwilling to impose upon the uninformed, speak of persons convicted on such a statute as guilty of treason, without expressing in what sense he uses the word, or say that they were as truly punished for their religion as if they had been convicted of heresy? A man is punished for religion when he incurs a penalty for its profession or exercise, to which he was not liable on any other account. . . .

'This is applicable to the great majority of capital convictions on this score under Elizabeth. The persons convicted could not be traitors in any fur sense of the word, because they were not chargeable with anything properly denominated treason.'

One single fact, which is attested by the best possible evidence, the evidence of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett himself as to a personal act of his own, is sufficient to illustrate the extent to which documents of historical importance have perished in Ireland. Speaking of the many letters that he had received from time to time from Rome, especially from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, he says, in a letter written to the Cardinal Prefect in October, 1670:—‘How many letters I have written to your Excellency and to the Sacred Congregation, and how many letters I have received! You have my letters, but, in a certain emergency, when an outburst of persecution was feared in Armagh, *I had to burn all my foreign letters, even the Brief of my Consecration.* This happened last June twelvemonths, on the Vigil of S. John’s, when it was circulated by the Presbyterians that the Catholics had conspired to murder on that night all the Protestants. The Viceroy was then in London.’⁷³

The proceedings that are in progress for the canonisation of our Irish Martyrs cannot but be viewed with sympathetic interest, especially by every Irish Catholic. They have now reached a stage at which it is possible to anticipate that before very many months have passed, the local tribunal charged with the judicial investigation of the evidence brought before it, will have finished its work.

The time, then, has come to make an appeal to all those, in Ireland or elsewhere, who may be aware of the existence of trustworthy historical information that can be of help in the investigation of any of the cases enumerated in the appended list, or that may point to the advisability of adding to that list any name not at present found in it.

Close upon 200 of the cases submitted for investigation to the Westminster tribunal were held by that tribunal to be insufficiently sustained by evidence, and consequently were not sent forward to Rome.⁷⁴ In the nature of things, it

⁷³ See the letter in Cardinal Moran’s *Memoirs of Oliver Plunkett*, pages 119, 120.

⁷⁴ See page 22.

would not be at all surprising if a number, and even a considerable number, of the names in our Irish list, now published, have similarly to be struck out. Each individual case must be separately dealt with, in view solely of the evidence brought forward in respect of it. And it has to be remembered that—save as regards the mere publication of the list of cases submitted for investigation,—the proceedings in such an inquiry are, according to ecclesiastical law, conducted under the most stringent obligation of secrecy, an obligation which all who take part in the inquiry, including the Bishop, or other ecclesiastical judge by whom it is conducted, are sworn to observe. Thus whilst the proceedings are in progress, no indication can be given as to whether the evidence in any individual case has been found sufficient or not, or even as to whether, in some individual case, the *Postulator* may not have found it impossible to bring forward any trustworthy evidence at all.

The present, then, is the time for our *cultores martyrum* to give practical proof of their zeal in the cause, by making available for the purposes of the inquiry any information they may happen to be in possession of, or may know to be in the possession of others less practically zealous than themselves. To do this they have only to put themselves into communication on the subject with the Jesuit Father who has been placed in the responsible position of *Postulator* in the case—Fr. Conmee, the present Rector of St. Francis Xavier's, Upper Gardiner-street, Dublin.

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH.

Archbishop of Dublin.

LIST OF IRISH MARTYRS¹

CATALOGUS SERVORUM DEI IN HIBERNIA AB ANNO 1540 USQUE AD
ANNUM 1707 PRO CATHOLICA FIDE INTERFECTORUM²

1540.

Guardianus et Socii, o.s.f., Conventus Monaghensis

1541.

Robertus et Socii, Ord. Cist., Conventus Dublin.

1565.

Conatius Macuarta (MacVarra), Rogerius Congall (MacCongall), o.s.f.

1569.

Daniel O'Neilan (O'Duillian), o.s.f.

1575.

Joannes O'Lorcan, o.s.f.
Donatus O'Ruarch, o.s.f.

Edmundus Fitzsimon, o.s.f.,
Fergallus Ward, o.s.f.

1577.

Thomas Coursy, Sacerdos, v.g.
diœc. Corcag.

Gulielmus Walsh, Ord. Cist.,
Episc. Midensis.

1578.

Patritius O'Hely, Episc. Mai-
nensis, o.s.f.

Thomas Moeran, Sacerdos,
Decanus Corcag.

Cornelius O'Ruarke, o.s.f.

Phelim O'Hara, o.s.f.

Daniel O'Hurley, Sacerdos,
Decanus Imelac.

Henricus Delahoyd, o.s.f.

1579.

Thaddæus Daly et Socii, o.s.f.
Edmundus Tanner, Ep. Cor-
cag.

Joannes O'Dowd, o.s.f.
Thomas O'Herlahy, Ep.
Rossen.

1580

Edmundus MacDonough
(M'Donnell, Donatus, Dun-
allus), s.j.

Daniel O'Nielan, o.s.f.
Daniel (Donatus) Hanrichan,
o.s.f.

Laurentius O'Moore, Sacerdos,
diœc. Kerrien.

Mauritius O'Schanlan, o.s.f.
Philippus O'Lee (Lews), o.s.f.

Oliverus Plunkett, laicus.

Prior et Socii, Ord. Cist.,

Gulielmus Walsh, (de Wallis),
laicus.

Monasterii Graeg.

¹ See *ante*, page 8, footnote 1.

² It will be observed that in this List of the martyrs whose claims to canonisation are now the subject of inquiry, the forms of the names are, in many instances, peculiar. In all such cases, the form or forms in the List are those that occur in one or more documents of historical importance.

1581.

| | |
|---|--|
| Nicolaus Nugent, laicus. | Robertus Giraldinus (Fitzgerald), laicus. |
| David Sutton, laicus. | Matthæus Lamport, Parochus Diœc. Dublin. |
| Joannes Sutton, laicus. | Ricardus Frinch, Sacerdos diœc. Fernen. |
| Gualterus Layrmus, laicus. | Robertus Meiler (Miller), laicus. |
| Thomas Eustace (Aylworth), laicus. | Eduardus Chevers, laicus. |
| Joannes Eustace, laicus. | Joannes O'Lahy, laicus. |
| Gulielmus Organ (Wogan) laicus. | Nicolaus Giraldinus (Fitzgerald), Ord. Cist. |
| Robertus Scurlock (Sherlock), laicus. | Patritius Hayes, laicus. |
| Joannes Clinch, laicus. | Patritius Canavanus, laicus. |
| Thomas Netherfield (Netterville), laicus. | |

1582.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Thaddæus O'Meran, o.s.f. | Rogierius O'Hanlon (Henla), o.s.f. |
| Phelim O'Corra, o.s.f. | Thaddæus O'Morochu, o.s.f. |
| Eneas Penny, Sacerdos Prov. Tuamen. | Henricus O'Fremlamhaid, o.s.f. |
| Rogierius Donnellan, o.s.f. | Joannes Wallis, Sacerdos Prov. Dublin. |
| Carolus Goran, o.s.f. | Donatus O'Reddy, Parochus diœc. Connor. |
| Petrus O'Chillan (Goillanus), o.s.f. | |
| Patritius Kenna, o.s.f. | |
| Jacobus Pillenus (Pilanus), o.s.f. | |

1584.

| | |
|---|---|
| Dermittus O'Hurley, Archiepiscopus Casseliensis. | Eugenius Cronius (Cronin), Sacerdos Prov. Tuam. |
| Gelasius O'Cullenan, Ord. Cist., Abbas. | Joannes O'Dalaigh, o.s.f. |
| Hugo (Joannes) Mulcheran (Kieran), Ord. Praemonstr. | Eleonora Birmingham, Vidua. |
| | Thaddæus Clancy, laicus. |

1585.

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| Ricardus Creagh, Archiep. Armacanus. | Patritius O'Connor, Ord. Cist. |
| Mauritius Kenraghty (Kinrechtin), Sacerdos diœc. Limeric. | Malachias O'Kelly, Ord. Cist. |

1586.

| | |
|--|---|
| Moriarthus (Mauritius) O'Brien, Episc. Imelac. | Donatus O'Hurley (O'Murheely), o.s.f., et Socius. |
|--|---|

1587.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Joannes Cornelius (Cornelius), o.s.f. | Gualterus Farrell (Ferrall), o.s.f. |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

1588.

| | |
|--|---|
| Dermotus O'Mulruony (Mul- chonry), o.s.f., Frater | Patritius Plunkett, laicus, Eques |
| Thomas et Socius. | Petrus Miller (Meyler), Sacerdos diœc. Fernen. |
| Mauritius Eustace, laicus. | Patritius Meiler, laicus. |
| Joannes O'Molloy, o.s.f. | Patritius O'Brady, o.s.f. |
| Cornelius O'Dogherty, o.s.f. | Thaddæus (Teigh) O'Boyle, o.s.f. |
| Godefridus Farrell, o.s.f. | |

1590.

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Matthæus O'Leyn, o.s.f. | Christophorus Roche, laicus. |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|

1591.

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Terentius Magennis, o.s.f. | Loglain Oge Mac O'Cadha, |
| Magnus O'Fredliney (O'Tod- hry), o.s.f. | o.s.f. |

1594.

Andreas Strich, Sacerdos diœc. Limeric.

1597.

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Joannes Stephens, Sacerdos | Gualterus Ternanus, o.s.f. |
| Prov. Dublin. | |

1599.

Georgius Power, Sacerdos, V.G. diœc. Ossor.

1600.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Joannes Valesius, Sacerdos. | Jacobus Dudal, laicus. |
| V.G. diœc. Dublin. | Nicolaus Young, Sacerdos |
| Patritius O'Hea, laicus. | diœc. Miden. |

1601.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Redmundus Gallagher, Epis. | Donchus O'Croninus, Clericus |
| Derrien. et tres Socii. | Bernardus Moriarty, Sacerdos, |
| Daniel O'Mollony, Sacerdos, | Vic. Gen. diœc. Dublin. |
| Vic. Gen. diœc. Laon. | |
| Joannes O'Kelly, Sacerdos | |
| Prov. Tuam. | |

1602.

Dominicus Collins (O'Colinus, O'Calan), s.j.

1606.

| | |
|---|--|
| Bernardus O'Charnel (O'Caro- lan) Sacerdos Prov. Dublin. | Eugenius (Hugo) O'Gallagher, Ord. Cist. |
| Eugenius MacEgan, Episcopus | Bernardus O'Trevir, Ord. Cist. |
| Ross. desig. | |

1607.

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| Dermitius Bruodinus, o.s.f. | Joannes Olvinus, o.p. |
| Nigellus O'Boyle (O'Buighill), o.s.f. | Patritius O'Derry, o.s.f. |
| Donatus (Gulielmus) Olvinus (O'Luin), o.p. | Franciscus Helam, o.s.f. |

1610.

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| Joannes Luneus (Lune), Sacer- dos diœc. Fernen. | Joannes de Burgo, laicus, Eques. |
|--|-------------------------------------|

1612.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cornelius O'Deveny (Devanius) Episc. Dun. et Connor. | Patritius O'Locheran, Sacerdos diœc. Corcag. |
|---|---|

1614.

Gulielmus MacGillacheni (Gillachoine), (MacGollen), o.p.

1617.

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Thomas Giraldinus (Fitz- gerald), o.s.f. | Joannes Honan, o.s.f. |
|---|-----------------------|

1621.

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Franciscus Tailler, laicus, Decurio (Alderman) Dublin. | Jacobus Eustace, Ord. Cist. |
|---|-----------------------------|

1628.

Edmundus Dungan, Ep. Dun. et Connor.

1641.

Petrus O'Higgin, o.p.

1642.

| | |
|--|--|
| Philippus Clery, Sacerdos. | Robertus (Malachias) Shiel, Ord. Cist. |
| Hilarius Conerius (Conræus), o.s.f. | Edmundus Hore, Sacerdos diœc. Waterford. |
| Fergallus Ward, o.s.f. | Joannes Clancy, Sacerdos diœc. Waterford. |
| Cornelius O'Brien, laicus. | Raymundus Keoghy, o.p. |
| Franciscus Matthew (O'Mahony), o.s.f. | Connallus MacEgan, o.p. |
| Thomas Aquinas à Jesu, o.d.c. | |
| Angelus à S. Josepho, o.d.c. | |

1643.

Petrus a Matre Dei, o.d.c.

1644.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Cornelius O'Connor, o.ss.t. | Giraldus Giraldinus (Fitz- gerald), o.p.; alias Gibbon. |
| Eugenius Daly, o.ss.t. | Christopher Ultanus (Dunlevy), o.s.f. |
| Hugo MacMahon, laicus. | David Fox, o.p. |
| Cornelius Maguire, laicus. | |

1645.

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Henricus White, Sacerdos | Malachias Queely, Archiepis- |
| diœc. Miden. | copus Tuamensis. |
| Edmundus Mulligan, Ord. | Thaddæus O'Connell, o.s.a. |
| Cist. | |

1647.

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Ricardus Barry, o.p. | Theobaldus Stapleton, Sacerdos |
| Gulielmus Boyton, s.j. | diœc. Cassel. |
| Ricardus Butler, o.s.f. | Eduardus Stapleton, Sacerdos |
| Jacobus Saul, o.s.f. | diœc. Cassel. |
| Elisabeth Carneus. | Thomas Morrisæus, Sacerdos |
| | et duo Socii diœc. Cassel. |

1648.

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Donaldus O'Neaghten, o.p. | Andreas Hicquæus, o.s.f. |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|

1649.

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Stephanus Petit, o.p. | Petrus Costello, o.p. |
| Robertus Netterville, s.j. | Raymundus Stafford, o.s.f. |
| Joannes Bath, s.j. | Paulus Synnott, o.s.f. |
| Thomas Bath, Sacerdos Prov. | Joannes Esmond, o.s.f. |
| Armac. | Petrus Stafford, o.s.f. |
| Dominicus Dillon, o.p. | Didacus Chevers, o.s.f. |
| Ricardus Oveton, o.p. | Josephus Rochford, o.s.f. |
| Petrus Taaffe, o.s.a. | Gulielmus Lynch, o.p. |
| Bernardus Horumlœus, o.s.f. | Gulielmus O'Connor, o.p. |
| Ricardus Synnott, o.s.f. | |

1650.

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Boetius Egan, Episc. Ross. | Jacobus O'Reilly, o.p. |
| Mylerus Magrath, o.p. | Thomas O'Higgin, o.p. |
| Franciscus Giraldinus (Fitz- | Æneas Cahill, o.p. |
| gerald), o.s.f. | Thomas Plunkett et alii duo- |
| Gualterus de Wallis, o.s.f. | decim, o.s.f. |
| Antonius Musæus, o.s.f. | Bernardus O'Ferrall, o.p. |
| Joannes Dormer, o.s.f. | Eugenius O'Teman, o.s.f. |
| Nicolaus Uganus (Ulagan), | |
| o.s.f. | |

1651.

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Dionysius Nielan, o.s.f. | Laurentius O'Farrall, o.p. |
| Thaddæus O'Carighy, o.s.f. | Ludovicus O'Farrell, o.p. |
| Hugo MacKeon, o.s.f. | Franciscus Sullivanus, o.s.f. |
| Roger de Mara (O'Mara), o.s.f. | Gulielmus Hicquæus, o.s.f. |
| Daniel Clanchy, o.s.f. | Philippus Flasberry, o.s.f. |
| Jeremias O'Nerehiny, o.s.f. | Jacobus O'Moraen, o.p. |
| Edmundus O'Bern, o.p. | Carolus O'Dowd, laicus. |
| Bernardus O'Farrell, o.p. | Donatus O'Brien, laicus. |

Jacobus O'Brien, laicus.
 Bernardus O'Brien, laicus.
 Daniel O'Brien, laicus.
 Joannes O'Kennedy, laicus.
 Jacobus O'Kennedy, laicus.
 Patritius Purcell, laicus, Eques.
 Galfridus Galwey, laicus.
 Thomas Stritch, laicus, Praefectus civit. Limer.
 Dominicus Fanning, laicus.

Daniel O'Higgin, laicus.
 Donatus Niger, o.p.
 Daniel Clanchy, laicus,
 Henricus O'Neill, laicus.
 Theobaldus de Burgo, laicus.
 Gulielmus O'Conor, o.p.
 Vincentius Giraldu Dillon, o.p.
 Gulielmus Lynch, o.p.
 Thomas O'Higgin, o.p.

1752.

Rogerus Ormilus, Parochus
 Prov. Tuam.
 Hugo Carrigi, Sacerdos Prov.
 Tuam.
 Eugenius O'Cahan, o.s.f.
 Bernardinus Bruadinus
 (McBriody), laicus.
 Antonius Broder, o.s.f.
 Bonaventura de Burgo, o.s.f.
 Thaddæus O'Conor, laicus.
 Joannes O'Cullen (Collins), o.p.
 Nielanus Lochran, o.s.f.
 Terentius Albertus O'Brien
 Episcopus Imelac.

Cornelius MacCarthy, Sacerdos
 diœc. Ardfert.
 Jacobus Wolf, o.p.
 Eduardus Butler, laicus.
 Joannes O'Conor Kerry, laicus.
 Antonius O'Ferrall, o.s.f.
 Joannes Ferrall, o.s.f.
 Thaddæus O'Conor Sligo,
 laicus.
 Constantinus O'Rorke, laicus.
 Bernardus Fitzpatrick, Sacerdos
 diœc. Ossor.
 Brigida Darcy (Fitzpatrick).

1753.

Joannes Karneus, o.s.f.
 Thaddæus Moriarti, o.p.
 Raymundus MacEagha
 (Keaghy), o.p.

Bernardus O'Kelly, o.p.
 David Roche, o.p.
 Daniel Delany, Parochus diœc.
 Dublin.

1754.

Bernardus Connæus, o.s.f.

Domina (Lady) Roche.

1755.

Lucas Bergin, Ord. Cist.

Daniel O'Brien, Decanus Fernen.

1779.

Felix O'Conor, o.p.

1791

Stephanus Kochelius, o.s.f.

1700.

Dominicus Egan, o.p.

1704.

Clemens O'Callaghan, o.p., alias O'Colgan.

1707.

Felix Mac Dowell, o.p.

Annis incertis.

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Quadraginta Fratres Ord.Cist., | Michael Fitzsimon, laicus. |
| Monasterii de Magio. | Conacius O'Keananus |
| Daniel O'Hanan, laicus. | (Okiennanus), Sacerdos. |
| Donatus O'Kennedy, o.s.a. | Daniel O'Boyle, o.s.f. |
| Donatus Serenan, o.s.a. | Dermitius MacCarrha, |
| Fulgentius Jordan, o.s.a. | Sacerdos. |
| Raymundus O'Maly, o.s.a. | Donchus O'Falvius, Sacerdos. |
| Thomas Tullis, o.s.a. | Joannes Maeconnanus (Makon- |
| Thomas Deir, o.s.a. | anus), Sacerdos. |
| Jacobus Chevers, o.s.f. | Joannes O'Gradius, Sacerdos. |
| Jacobus Roche, o.s.f. | Thomas Fleming, laicus. |
| Joannes Mocleus, o.s.f. | Ludovicus O'Lavertagius, |
| Joannes O'Loughlin, o.p. | Sacerdos. |
| Joanne O'Moroghue, o.p. | Margarita de Cassel, o.s.dom. |
| Duo Patres, o.p., Conventus | |
| Killoensis. | |

'A SHORT CATECHISM ON RELIGIOUS LIFE'

WE have received from his Eminence Cardinal Svampa, Archbishop of Bologna, a communication in reference to the notice that appeared in our November issue of the English version of the *Little Catechism on Religious Life* for nuns, novices, and postulants, of which his Eminence is the author.¹ It may be remembered that our reviewer praised this little work very highly for the accuracy of its doctrine and the conciseness of its style. He also laid stress on the weight that should be attached to anything coming from so experienced and eminent an author. He expressed, however, some doubt as to whether the Catechism would prove suitable to the convents of this country. The reviewer, whilst considering the little work decidedly very useful, could not see his way to recommend it indiscriminately to all aspirants to convent life in Ireland. He feared that it might in certain cases frighten away from the cloister persons who might otherwise become excellent nuns. He suggested, accordingly, that ~~confessors and superiors~~ should secure it for their own guidance, and for the use of others when they thought it judicious, but that it need not be placed in the hands of all aspirants to religious life.

It seemed to our reviewer that the minute analysis of the motives of the vocation and of the virtues of the religious state might easily shake the resolution of timid postulants, and that both the aim of the vocation and the knowledge of the virtues it demands are more surely and safely inculcated under the experienced training of a superior than they could be by the bare words of any book. This was an opinion which, when conscientiously held, we think our reviewer was quite entitled to express. There was here no question of difference as to doctrine, as to what the motives of a vocation should be, nor as to the necessity of the virtues of the religious state. It was merely regarded as a matter of temperament, of character, of difference of manners and customs—that in the method of developing the vocation and inculcating the

¹ See I. E. RECORD, November, 1902, p. 480.

virtues what was suitable in Italy might not be suitable in Ireland. Even the Catechism of the Christian Doctrine used in other countries is not the same in all respects as that in use in Rome. It is right to note, however, that the reviewer did not commit himself very definitely on the subject. He was merely doubtful, and his reserve was expressed with perfect deference to the eminent author of the Catechism.

We think it due, however, both to his Eminence and to ourselves to explain that the great weight of authority seems to indicate that no such reservations as those made by our reviewer are necessary. His Eminence assures us that in preparing his little book for publication he consulted all the works, both ancient and modern, that treated of the subject, that he condensed into a few pages and presented in the most elementary form the bare essentials.

Before publishing his work he submitted it to the revision of canonists, theologians, and consultors of the 'Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.' Whilst preparing the second edition he got the advice and assistance of the most learned and experienced bishops and ecclesiastics in the Church. He got, moreover, the approval and encouragement of a great number of Cardinals. His Eminence then proceeds to deal *seriatim* with the observations of our reviewer; and lest we should do his Eminence any injustice we think it better to quote his own words:—

Now I proceed to answer the observations:—

1. It is said that the temperament and climate of different countries necessitate a different method of instructing young ladies called to religious life. I reply: That is true of the application of principles and of the regulations of discipline; but the juridical and moral conceptions of the vocation, the religious state, the novitiate, profession, vows, are the same everywhere. I have simply laid down and explained these fundamental conceptions.

2. It is said that in my catechism there is too minute an analysis of the motives of the vocation and of the virtues of the religious state.² I answer: As regards the vocation, I confine the matter within the limits of eleven questions and answers. Having given the idea of the vocation, I point out the marks of

² This explanation of our reviewer was given to his Eminence by us in a private letter

it and speak of the duty of following it. Could I be more discreet?

On the question of the religious state I declare the nature of the holy vows, and as experience has taught me that in this matter the doctrine has to be clearly set forth in order not to fall into laxism on the one hand or rigorism on the other, I thought well to develop the argument in the parts most necessary to be kept in mind. The matters that I have expounded correspond to what every well-ordered institution has in its rules or constitutions or manuals of piety.

On the subject of poverty, I have only six questions, six on chastity, about twenty on the vow of obedience, which in practice gives rise to greater difficulties. And yet it appears that I have gone too far!

3. It is said that such details frighten away many, divert them from the cloister, and are a cause of trouble of conscience. I reply: Before embracing the religious state one should know the obligations it imposes. It would be a serious error to conceal the gravity of the duties of religious life in order the better to attract people to become nuns. Moreover, those who withdraw from convent life as a result of a knowledge of its obligations, show either that they are not called by God, or that they have little strength of purpose or of judgment, and are therefore unsuited for the life of perfection. As far as the scrupulous ones are concerned the rule which they have in their hands also disturbs them. If, then, they are capable of being cured, it is better they should be set right by an explanation of the fundamental conceptions and realities of virtue than to be left in the confusion of their incomplete ideas.³

We are thankful to his Eminence for having thus taken

¹ 1° Ora rispondi alle osservazioni: 1° Si dice che i temperamenti e i climi diversi possono divenire maniera d'istruire le donzelle chiamate alla vita religiosa. Rispondo. Ciò non riguarda alle applicazioni dei principii, ed alle forze dell'istruire. Ma i concetti giuridici e morali che riguardano la vocazione, lo stato religioso, i sacramenti, la perfezione, sono gli stessi in qualsiasi luogo. Io ho semplicemente dichiarato e dilucidato tali concetti fondamentali.

² 2° Si dice che nel mio catechismo si fa un'analisi troppo minuziosa dei nomi della vocazione e delle virtù dello stato religioso. Rispondo. Quanto alla vocazione ho trattato la materia in undici domande e risposte. Dallo il concetto della vocazione ho indagato i segni, e parlo del dovere di seguirli. Parlo come tutti debbono fare? Rispondo alle virtù dello stato religioso in dodici la natura dei voti, e dico che l'esperienza mi ha insegnato che in questa materia bisogna chiarir bene il dottrinale, per non cadere o nel lassismo o nel rigorismo ho creduto bene di aver ere l'argomento delle virtù necessarie a conoscerle. Le cose che ho trattato corrispondono a ciò che ogni istituto religioso ha nelle sue regole, costituzioni, o manuali spirituali. Sull'obbedienza ho destinato due domande, 6 sul voto di castità, circa 20 sul voto di povertà che in pratica dà luogo a maggiori dubbi. Tutto questo è forse un' esposizione eccessiva?

³ 3° Si dice che tanti dettagli spaventano molte e le distolgono dal

the trouble to correct any doubtful impression that may have been conveyed in our notice of the Catechism. If our reviewer was mistaken he could scarcely be set right, apart from the Holy See, by a more competent authority. We also note the fact that the Catechism has been welcomed and highly recommended by several bishops both in Ireland and England. Finally, we are informed by the translator that the proceeds of the sale of the English version will be applied to the building of a church of the Sacred Heart in Bologna, so that those who purchase the little Catechism will have the satisfaction of knowing that they are at the same time contributing to a good work.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

chiostro, e son causa di agitazione di coscienza. Rispondo. Prima di abbracciare lo stato religioso convien conoscere gli obblighi che si vanno ad assumere. Sarebbe grande errore dissimulare la gravità dei doveri per allettare meglio le giovani a farsi religiose. Del resto quelle che si ritirano dalla vita monastica, in seguito alla conoscenza delle obbligazioni di essa, mostrano di non esser da Dio chiamate, ovvero di aver poca forza di giudizio o di volontà, e di essere per ciò inette alla vita di perfezione. Per le scrupolose poi, anche la regola che hanno in mano le mette in agitazione. Se poi sono suscettibili di cura meglio si guariscono collo spiegare i concetti e fatti della virtù che col lasciarle nella confusione delle loro idee incomplete.'

LORD RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN

LORD BOWLEN, who was his predecessor as Lord of Appeal, and himself a great judge, with Irish blood in his veins, and a man of the highest literary culture, once described the late Lord Russell of Killowen in those apt terms:—

Some of us may know more law; some of us may have what is called more culture; but Russell differs from us all at the Bar or on the Bench in this—he has genius

And genius he undoubtedly had. The story of the life of Lord Russell—a life so full of energy and so filled with great performance—told, with unaffected simplicity and sympathy, by his friend and biographer, Mr. Barry O'Brien, reveals him in many variable aspects no doubt but it shows more conspicuously all through a strong man and a powerful personality. To the outside world—that which derives its knowledge of men and their characters from the reported records of their doings in newspapers—Charles Russell was an assertion and strong personality, with an imperious manner somewhat, too, with very much of the *fortiter* and little of the *suaviter* or *modice* with little of the manner that savours and softens social intercourse. To those who read of him in the Courts he was represented as a commanding and over-bearing man at the Bar, one who carried all before him in a case and broke down all duplicity and fraud by his skill as a cross examiner, reaching to a degree of almost dramatic perfection in his last great case where he appeared as an advocate in the *Times* and *Thornhill* controversy, when under his fire the unfortunate Pigott confessed to the crime of forgery. For over twenty years Charles Russell was the leading lawyer in every great case of *Novo Regis* tried in the English Courts, and he won for himself the reputation of being the greatest advocate of his day. During that period of activity and energy he always was the same vigorous and able lawyer.

**The Life of Lord Russell of Killowen*. By R. Barry O'Brien of the Middle Temple, Author of the *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell*.

one with a thorough grasp of the facts of his case, full of the passion of enthusiasm in his cause, an 'elemental force,' as Lord Bowen once described him. His was a great career; one of the most successful, judged by any standard, of the many successful careers won by sheer merit at the English Bar. And, though but six short years a judge, it is certain he would have left behind him a reputation as such at least the equal to any of his great predecessors in the exalted and responsible office of Chief Justice of England.

He showed in the administration of the law the same strength of purpose and power of will which he displayed in advocacy, and from the first possessed qualities that gave great promise of eminence and usefulness. His judicial action in the famous case of the *Queen v. Jameson and Others*—a prosecution in June, 1896, for acts that arose out of the misguided and unfortunate Rhodes-inspired Raid into the Transvaal—was adversely criticised as showing too plainly perhaps, a desire for conviction; yet his charge lucidly explained the law and necessarily, in the circumstances, was not open to any doubt or misconception that might have led to a failure of justice in the hands of a weak judge. His conduct of the case was never impugned as other than that of a high-minded and strong judge. He was even criticised for the lenity of his sentence by other critics.

His creditable actions and utterances on and off the Bench in the desirable direction of enforcing commercial morality and a higher code of public morals in the conduct of business stands, by universal testimony, as the most creditable and beneficent acts of a man in high judicial position, and who as such used such influence upon public opinion as to ultimately induce the passing of a special law to deal with the abuses he exposed so fearlessly. This action would alone serve to make the memory of any man memorable, and it is to be regretted that Lord Russell was not longer spared to more largely influence for good in this respect legislation and the administration of the law.

Throughout his life he was pre-eminently a fighter, a man who rejoiced in conflict, who enjoyed more than many the *gaudia certaminis*, whether in a case at Bar or a legal

controversy. He loved to take sides and fight strongly for his side. This was peculiarly and conspicuously his *metier*. It was truly said of him when he died that 'he had noble instincts: he maintained the traditions of English justice; he loved the best in public and private life, and while ever a fighter, ever passing from struggle to struggle, there was in him a fund of tenderness, a remarkable capacity for winning and keeping affection.'

The story of his eventful life shows it to have been, in many senses, a remarkable one. Charles Russell was born in Newry in 1832, and died on the 10th of August, 1900, sixty-eight years of age. He practically died 'with the harness on his back,' for only a fortnight before his death he was a presiding judge at Assizes, and returned from his uncompleted circuit to his home at Taunton for medical advice, going a few days afterwards to London for an operation which was considered necessary from the seriousness of his complaint. He was descended from an old and respected Catholic family in the North of Ireland. A brother of his (who survives him) the Rev. Matthew Russell is a distinguished Jesuit priest, an author, and a poet whose sweet sonnets are inimitable: three of his sisters became nuns, one (Mother Mary Emmanuel) but recently died at Newry Convent, while his father's brother, Dr. Russell, was the distinguished President of Maynooth College, and as such we read of him in the *Apologie* as the friend and adviser of Cardinal Newman. His father was Mr. Arthur Russell, of Seafield House, Killowen, from which latter place the illustrious son took his title, in 1834, when he was raised to the Peerage, as Lord Russell of Killowen. During his early years Charles Russell was an ardent and advanced Nationalist and was once near being arrested in Newry for illegal drilling during the troubled times of 1848.

He was the only one of his family who did not embrace a religious life—his only brother being a Jesuit, his three sisters nuns. He was educated first at a day school in Newry, Harkins', and afterwards at St. Malachy's College there, and in May, 1845, went to another day school, Nolan's, in the same town, going next year to St. Vincent's College, Castleknock,

where he remained until 1847, when he left. One of his companions there, Monsignor Molloy, writes of him thus:—

Charles Russell, Colonel Irwin, and I were in the same class. Colonel Irwin was then considered the cleverest boy in the school, and far more gifted than Charles Russell, who was rather regarded as plodding than pushful. At the same time those who knew him well had no doubt that he would achieve success in life if he got the chance.

Colonel Irwin himself described Russell as ‘one who had great confidence in his powers without any trace of presumption or self-sufficiency, but with a very resolute determination to make the most of his undoubted abilities. Though full of courage and spirit he was not quarrelsome.’

Such was the boy, and so the man grew—an assertive, strong, pushful personality.

In 1849 he was articled to Mr. Cornelius Denver as a solicitor, and then, like all young men in his country of that time, fell under the influence of the brilliant men who formed the Young Ireland Party. He read Davis, drew inspiration from his writings, and ever repeated that imperishable sentence of that gifted genius: ‘In a climate soft as a mother’s smile, on a soil fruitful as God’s love, the Irish peasant mourns.’ In 1851 the Newry Institute offered a prize for the best essay ‘On the age we live in and its tendencies and exigencies.’ Charles Russell competed, won the prize, and on a memorable occasion read his essay in public.

In 1852 Charles Russell was transferred as apprentice to finish his time to Mr. Alexander O’Rourke, solicitor, of Belfast, his former principal having died, and there he finished his apprenticeship career. During this time he made the acquaintance of the Mulholland family—that gifted group afterwards to become so well known in literature and one of them to have such a sweet influence over his life. Ellen, the eldest daughter of Dr. Mulholland, later on became his wife. Rosa, so well known for her writings, became the wife and now the widow of Sir John Gilbert, and William is now County Court Judge for Staffordshire.

In 1854 Charles Russell entered upon the practice of his profession as a solicitor in Belfast, with characteristic courage choosing the most daring and difficult post. The Police and

County Court of Belfast was then the arena where two legal gladiators every day contested for supremacy, and these were the notorious John Rea and Alexander O'Rourke. Russell boldly entered the lists with those experienced and able men, no small proof of his courage, and his struggle was well sustained and creditable. He defended Catholic interests with chivalrous tenacity and success, and in certain celebrated prosecutions arising out of the Cushendall riots, acquitted himself so well as to win a certain amount of provincial renown.

In 1856 his career as a solicitor, however, practically ended. He never liked the work, and had a longing for the Bar wherein he felt he would have more scope for his particular qualities as an advocate, and the result showed that he had not overrated those peculiar abilities which better fitted him for the forum than for the drudgery of the solicitor's office. Two Protestant friends who heard him in a case advised the course, and the strongest coercion from outside his own inclinations came from the future partner of his life, who, throwing aside all considerations of the folly of surrendering a certainty for an uncertainty boldly told him 'that if he did not go to the Bar she would never speak to him again.' That settled all doubt. Russell left Belfast, burned his boats professionally, and coming up to Dublin entered Trinity College as a student under John Kells Ingram the author of the immortal ballad 'Who fears to speak of Ninety-eight.' He did so to prepare for admission to the Bar. His tutor says of him at this period: 'I was not struck by his ability at the time. What did strike me about him was his submission to superiors and his readiness to listen to any one who could give him information.' In October, 1856, Russell entered Lincoln's Inn as a student, and in 1858 he passed his final examination for admission to the English Bar, and that same year in August he married Miss Ellen Mulholland. The marriage took place in Belfast, Dr. Russell, his distinguished uncle, performing the ceremony. The honeymoon was spent in the romantic and picturesque island of Baffin off Clifden, in the County of Galway, and staying a short time *en route* at Liverpool, the newly married couple came to London in September,

and took up their residence in a small house at Earl's Court. In January, 1859, Charles Russell was called to the English Bar, taking up his quarters at Pump Court Temple.

Thus Charles Russell, after a few years' experience of the solicitor's profession, like Lord Truro in England, abandoned the calling for the Bar. The choice was undoubtedly a happy one. He won place and preferment honourably and fairly amid the rivalry of the best brains at the Bar—such men as Holker, Aspinall, and Herschell were on the same circuit with him—and a fame which was not possible for him at home, and he gained emoluments from that practice which were unattainable in Ireland. He gained a great name as an advocate, and left a memory of a career of brilliant forensic distinction. In taking this step and launching upon the then unknown and perilous sea of practice in England, Charles Russell showed great courage of conviction and a consciousness of capacity that were remarkable and singular. He never regretted or had cause to regret the act. Fortune favoured him as it rarely favours. Had he remained in Ireland and entered upon the inevitable politico-professional career of the Irish Bar with all its uncertainties, its intrigues and peculiar accidents, it is difficult to say what would have been his future. It was not given him to wait long for recognition and the substantial reward that follows recognition at the English Bar. The weary waiting that rendereth the heart sick, and which some great men had known and felt, so much so as to embitter their after-lives, was not his lot. From the first he acquired a competence, and in a few years made money beyond the dreams of many struggling juniors. But the story circulated at his death in the gossip columns of newspapers that in those early years he had to struggle hard, to toil in comparative poverty and 'eat the bread of idleness and indigence' as graphically put, was a myth. He never was in such straitened circumstances. When he came to England he came with a modest but a sufficient competency, and from almost the first, briefs poured in upon him, particularly in the Liverpool courts, where he was a constant practitioner from the first, and where for nearly twenty years he was the best-known lawyer there. The other story told of him that

he took to Journalism as a means of livelihood and sought that *regnum* of the briefless barrister for a living, and, that he even reported in the House of Commons is also imaginative.

He had not, as too many of his profession, to lean upon the Press for a living, and divide his time between the courts in the Strand in the day-time and some back office in Fleet Street at night. He wrote for the Press, but it was not a necessary occupation with him—only a diversion, more perhaps to let off his surpassing intellectual energy than otherwise. His weekly letters as a correspondent to a Dublin journal were far different work from the drudgery of a writer hired by that most imperious of all masters—the *res angustiae avari*—to write whether he liked it or not. Russell wrote when and as it pleased him, never except upon a subject he liked, and to the length he liked. He was a fluent and forcible pensman, and twice attempted authorship, one of his publications being a treatise on practice in the Court of Passage at Liverpool, and the other the reprint of a series of letters that first appeared as contributions in the *Daily Telegraph* upon the condon of the Lansdowne Estates in Ireland and the Land Question generally. His writings had none of the culture of a Bowen, whose prose translation of Virgil is so beautiful, nor its classic turn. As he was not a scholar, or even a great reader, his style was necessarily bare, but it possessed a nervous vigour. It was not like the writing of his own brother—the sweetest singer of song—but what it lacked in imagery it made up in pellucid vigour, clearness and lucidity.

Charles Russell did not, as was said, first settle in Liverpool as a provincial practitioner. He lived in London, but practised largely in the Liverpool courts. His first important case in which he was engaged was what appears in the Reports as *Re parr. Chancery Re Gilchrist & Co.*, wherein it was laid down that a contract made with the owner of a blockade runner was not necessarily an unlawful contract. Lord Westbury, who was the judge who tried the case, was so impressed by the able and ingenious argument of young Russell, that, when Chancellor, he subsequently offered him a County

Court judgeship, which, with characteristic courage and self-reliance, Charles Russell refused, as later on in 1884 he refused a puisne judgeship offered him as successor to Mr. Justice Bowen, then promoted to the Court of Appeal. It is a curious coincidence that he should have been Lord Bowen's successor as Lord of Appeal later on. However, in those early years with what he felt himself able to do, Russell was determined to 'go ahead' and not find himself cribbed, cabined, or confined within the narrow circuit of a County Court or even a puisne judgeship.

For over a quarter of a century he was engaged in nearly every great *Nisi Prius* case tried in London. Hardly any libel action was heard in the courts in which he did not hold a brief, usually for the defendant paper. He held a standing retainer for the *Times*, which to the credit of its proprietors they generously relieved him of, and did not insist upon in the Parnell case, for, without withdrawing it, they permitted him to appear against them upon the other side. Among the famous cases in which he appeared may be mentioned the *Saurin v. Starr* case, a now forgotten prosecution arising out of a convent dispute. During the cross examination of one of the nuns by Mr. Coleridge, she was asked to explain some breach of discipline. Miss Saurin was reprimanded for eating strawberries which she was forbidden to eat. The learned counsel tried to minimise the act, and asked the witness what great crime it was to eat strawberries. Quick as lightning the nun answered that it was an act of disobedience to a superior, and that he well knew what trouble under similar circumstances of disobedience the eating of one apple once caused. Sir Charles was also engaged in a case which lasted thirty days before Vice-Chancellor Bacon (the *London Financial Association v. Kelk*), and the *Mogul Steamship Co. v. McGregor, Goss and Co.*, which ran on for nearly six years. He appeared in the *Bank of England v. Vagliano* case; the *Aylesbury Peerage* case; the *Nuttall v. Wildes* breach of promise case, making a speech in mitigation of damages, which some thought one of the best he ever made; and *Willerforce v. Philp*, in which Lord Russell himself thought his cross-examination was the most skilful he ever conducted. He also

appeared in the following *notæ celebres* of their day: *Scott v. Southampton, Rids* and *Leach*, the libel on the sculptor which created intense public interest. In the *Parnell v. Times* case he made a speech at the conclusion which was admitted to be the best effort of forensic oratory he ever made or probably that was ever made in our time. As the President of the Court said of it in a memorable note sent down to 'Sir Charles,' on the conclusion, 'It was a great speech, worthy of a great occasion.' It was, indeed, an historic pronouncement, a vindication of the agrarian movement, showing by facts and figures the justice of the agitation, accompanied though it might be by those excesses incidental to popular uprisings.

In criminal cases he did not often appear, and the two most famous of trials of this character in which he was engaged were the defence of O'Donnell for the murder of the notorious informer Carey—the Cataline of the Phoenix Park conspiracy—and the Maybrick case, in which that lady was found guilty of the murder by poison of her husband. He took the greatest interest in the subsequent fate of the condemned woman and did his best to get her liberated. In criminal cases he can hardly be said to have distinguished himself, certainly not so much so as in some great *Nisi Prius* cases, such as a libel action, a breach of promise, or an election petition, in all of which he was *forte princeps* at the Bar.

As Attorney General for the Liberal Government he represented his Government in a great arbitration—an internationally important issue, arising out of the Berling Sea question, settling the right to the seals captured in certain waters. In May, 1844, he succeeded Lord Bowen as Lord of Appeal and obtained upon that occasion a life peerage, taking the title of Russell of Killowen, it being his native place, 'a charming spot on Carlingford Lough close to Rostrevor, and commanding a glorious view of the mountains and the sea.'

In 1835, upon the death of Lord Coleridge, he was elevated by Mr. Gladstone to the Bench as Lord Chief Justice of England, and was the first Catholic to fill that position since the Reformation. Great men have been in that high and honoured position—the highest permanent judicial post in the land—the greatest lawyers in England have occupied

that seat and it can truthfully and without exaggeration be said of Lord Russell that he was worthy of his predecessors in office, eminent as they were. He was an ideal judge. At the Bar he was rather impulsive, and sometimes, perhaps, irritable, with the irritability of intellect common to quick-thinking men who have to deal with dull intellects. His manner was imperious and assertive, and it was thought his elevation might bring into greater relief those particular qualities. But, by universal testimony, it was not so. He was the personification of calm, judicial and dignified bearing. Although, unfortunately, but a short time on the Bench, he made his mark upon the administration of English law. He conducted the cases before him very ably, and in his exposition of the law made the guilt or innocence of the act—the clear law—plain to the mind of the jury. He took up a very strong position on the question of illicit commissions and secret payments in commercial transactions, and to his utterances and action is largely due an Act of Parliament to check the evil, which did not see its way on the Statute Book until after his death. But his merciless exposure of the evil had its effect in creating a better and healthier state of public morality than prevailed. He went to America in 1896 and delivered the Annual Address before the American Bar Association at Saratoga Springs, choosing as his subject, ‘International Law and Arbitration.’ It was an able and remarkable pronouncement, and greatly impressed his American audience and the wider public who read it in the papers.

In 1897 the Arbitration Treaty between England and America upon the Venezuelan question was signed, and in pursuance thereto Lord Russell attended at Paris as one of the commissioners for this country, in the place of Lord Herschell who died while discharging the duties. The award was duly made in the October of that year, and it was an eminently satisfactory termination of a dispute which at one time threatened to become serious and a source of trouble between America and England. Lord Salisbury, on the conclusion of the proceedings, conveyed to Lord Russell the late Queen’s appreciation of his ‘eminent services as one of the British arbitrators.’ His colleague, Lord Justice Henn Collins,

more testimony to the services of Lord Russell in this intricate and delicate matter. Speaking of them he said:—

I do not believe that the public have sufficiently realised the great debt they owe to Lord Russell of Killowen for the influence he exercised in bringing about the happy result of that award. I do not believe that there was any other man in this kingdom who was capable of bringing a weight, a gravity, an indisputable supremacy in discussion and in argument such as he brought to bear on the solution of that question.

Probably his action in the Venezuelan arbitration, when he went to represent this country, was the most remarkable in his great career of advocacy. He certainly produced a most favourable and lasting impression upon not only the men with whom he came in direct contact, but upon the American Bar and American public opinion generally. In the *Law Magazine* for May, 1882, Mr. Burton Smith, Vice-President of the Georgia State Bar Association pays this tribute to Lord Russell in this matter:—

What was the impression made by Lord Russell on the American Bar, and, through them, upon the people? What manner of man did they meet in this Chief Justice from across the sea? They saw a calm, strong face, a bearing, a diction, an intonation in nowise suggesting a different race or nation from themselves. He might have been a distinguished American judge or a great leader of the American Bar for all that his governmental views, his words, his appearance, or his bearing showed. They heard a deep and powerful plea for peace, fellowship, and friendship. They realised that the speaker was a true lover of liberty: that the nation producing him must deal justly with all its peoples, even though they were brought beneath its banners by the conquests of its arms: and underlying it all they recognised that sterling manliness of national character, the real basis of the English character. They saw a willingness to endure much to maintain peace, but with an unalterable resolution fearlessly to face all foes and all dangers, a readiness to meet national destruction itself rather than national dishonour. 'But further, friend as I am of peace, I would yet affirm that there may be even greater calamities than war—the dishonour of a nation, the triumph of an unrighteous cause, the perpetuation of hopeless and debasing tyranny.'

This is a notable testimony to the effect of personal character. Further on the same eminent lawyer says:—

The careful student of recent affairs will attribute to Lord

Russell, more than to any other individual, the development of this good feeling between the two Powers. When, shortly after his visit, Great Britain, by her bold and friendly course, probably prevented the intervention of other Powers in the Spanish-American war, the bond of union was sealed.

The writer of the obituary notice in the *Times*, who evidently knew Lord Russell well, said of him what was undoubtedly true that—

Not by training or temperament a scholar, too restless to linger long over the solution of any problem, Lord Russell gained his knowledge, which was great, not so much from books, as by appropriating swiftly and quickly and accurately all that reading men or scholars could tell him. What his powerful memory once acquired it retained, and few experts could have passed an examination in Shakespeare so successfully as the Lord Chief Justice. Gifted with an unsurpassed quickness of apprehension he relied far more than men greatly his inferiors on sheer hard work and indefatigable study of details. The pains which he took to prepare himself to sit as an arbitrator on the Venezuelan Arbitration, the study of documents, maps, and books which threw side lights on the controversy, were prodigious. His address on Arbitration delivered before the Bar Association of the United States was founded on preparations varied and continuous of which ordinary workers have no conception.

In those two great international cases—the Berhing and Venezulan arbitrations—he appeared to greatest advantage, and gained for himself a judicial reputation that was world-wide. There he showed his great powers, his well poised and fine intellect, his genius as a lawyer. A few days only before his death, M. Saleilles, writing in the name of the Congress of Comparative Law, asked him to become a patron of the Congress—a great compliment to his renown as a jurist. Speaking on behalf of the English Bar, Sir Edward Clarke described his death as a national loss, and Mr. Justice Kennedy remarked of him that he was ‘one of the greatest on a great roll of Chief Justices, and one who, alike as a man and a judge, deserves higher praise than any words of mine can convey.’

RICHARD J. KELLY.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

VIATICUM WHEN THE DYING PERSON HAS COMMUNICATED ON THE SAME DAY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly give your opinion on the following case. A man who received Communion on a certain day met with a fatal accident that same day. The parish priest who was called to attend the dying man was doubtful whether, in the circumstances, the Viaticum might be administered. What should the priest have done?

A. M.

Our correspondent seems to convey that the man died on the same day on which he received the Holy Eucharist. In that hypothesis, should the Viaticum have been administered? There are two opinions. Some theologians hold that the administration of the Viaticum in such a case is neither obligatory nor lawful: they will not admit that such a case furnishes an exception to the general law forbidding the reception of the Eucharist more than once on the same day. Others maintain that the precept of receiving the Viaticum should prevail against that forbidding a second Communion on the same day: those theologians would say, therefore, that the administration of the Viaticum, in the case proposed, was not merely lawful but obligatory. In face of these two opinions—both probable—the Viaticum could certainly have been lawfully administered.

Moreover, with a probable opinion in his favour, the dying man had a strict right to demand the administration of the Viaticum, and the parish priest should have administered it—no matter what his *own* opinion may be on the controverted question. But, even though the dying man does not insist on his right and even though the parish priest may speculatively agree with those who think that in such a case the Viaticum should not be administered, we think that, in

practice, the better course would certainly be to give the dying person the benefit of the doubt and to administer the Sacrament.

If the man did not die on the day in which he received the Holy Eucharist, there was no room for doubt about the lawfulness of administering the Viaticum on the following or any subsequent day.

ABSOLUTION IN ARTICULO MORTIS BY AN UNAPPROVED PRIEST

REV. DEAR SIR,—Has there been any recent decision regarding the validity of absolution given to a person *in articulo mortis* by a priest who has neither jurisdiction nor approbation? Some doubt used to be thrown on this matter. But, in a case that recently came under my notice a young priest without approbation seemed to assume that he could validly absolve a dying person, and that there was no shadow of doubt about his power. If an opportunity occurred would it be the duty of an approved priest to get a penitent so absolved to repeat his confession and to give another absolution?

APPROBATUS.

For all practical purposes, the opinion of those who held that even a priest without approbation or jurisdiction can validly absolve a person *in articulo mortis* has been confirmed by reply of the Holy Office, 29th July, 1891. The reply will be found in almost any manual of Moral Theology published within the last ten years. It runs thus :—

Non sunt inquietandi qui tenent validam esse absolutionem in articulo mortis a sacerdote non approbato, etiam quando facile advocari seu adesse potuisset sacerdos approbatus.

This response removes all doubt about the power of an unapproved priest, *in the absence* of an approved confessor, to absolve a penitent *in articulo mortis*. Even though an approved confessor could be called in, without the slightest inconvenience, the Church will certainly supply jurisdiction to the unapproved priest if he proceeds to absolve. Otherwise the Sacred Congregation could not have given the response above quoted.

What, however, if an approved confessor is *actually present*? Can an unapproved priest validly absolve even then? According to the opinion long commonly received, he can. After the decision of 29th July, 1891, there can scarcely be room for even the shadow of a doubt. For there seems to be no sufficient reason to distinguish between the case in which an approved confessor is actually present and the case in which he can be easily summoned—*facile advocari potest*. If the unapproved priest can absolve in the one case, it seems to us manifest that he can absolve in the other. However, the point has not been expressly decided; and, therefore, in a case where we cannot afford to take any risks, it will be advisable for the approved confessor to give another absolution. It should be observed, however, that it is not necessary for the penitent in such a case to repeat his whole confession. It will suffice, if he confesses, with due dispositions, even one venial sin to the approved confessor, and receives absolution from him. This absolution will indirectly blot out his other sins if the previous absolution was invalid.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR RECEPTION INTO CONFRATERNITY OF MOUNT CARMEL

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly inform me through your 'Notes and Queries' column if it is true that a recent decree from Rome has made it now no longer necessary (for validity) to send the names of those hereafter to be enrolled in the Brown Scapular to any centre or place where a register of such names is kept, and oblige, respectfully yours,

NEMO.

We have not heard of the existence of any such Decree, and we believe that none exists. For valid reception into any confraternity in the strict sense an essential condition is the inscription of the names of members in a register usually kept at one of the centres of the association.¹ But by a

¹ Dec. Auth. Cong. Ind., 16 July, 1887.

special Indult, dated 30th April, 1838, Gregory XVI. dispensed with this formality in favour of the Confraternity of the Scapular of Mount Carmel. The Gregorian Indult continued in operation till the year 1887, when it was revoked by the reigning Pontiff, so that at present things have drifted back into their normal condition, and the formal enrollment of members is once more a necessary and essential condition, not only for the full participation in the suffrages of the associates, but also for the gaining of the indulgences. It is well to notice that books on indulgences issued while the Gregorian Privilege was enjoyed, do not insist on the inscription of the names as an essential for the gaining of the indulgences, though they recognise its necessity for the gaining of the other spiritual advantages to be reaped from membership.

SINGING OF 'DIES IRAE' AND OFFERTORY IN 'MISSIS CANTATIS DEFUNCTORUM'

REV. DEAR SIR, In some churches it is a practice with the priests in choir to cease chanting the *Dies Irae* at whatever part of it they may have arrived, as soon as the celebrant has finished reading it at the altar, to enable him to begin at once to sing the Gospel; also to omit altogether the singing of the Offertory when the chanters are not singers of some eminence. Is this practice justified by this being a missionary country, notwithstanding the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites?

'Vel non celebrandas Missas Defunctorum, vel cananda esse omnia quae precationem suffragii respiciant, scil. cantus Introitus, Sequentiae, Offertorii et Communionis, S.R.C.'

Quatenus Negative. Does a preceptive Decree S.C.R. authoritatively explaining a Rubric *intra Missam* bind *sub gravi ex genere suo*?

SACERDOS.

It will help in forming a correct appreciation of the points at issue and in arriving at a satisfactory solution of them if the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites bearing on the subject are given in their completeness. The following question was proposed:—'An tolerandus sit usus quod in Missis cum cantu praetermittatur cantus Introitus, Offertorii, Communionis, et, quando post Epistolam occurrit, etiam

Sequentiæ? Item quod in Missis Defunctorum prætermittatur cantus saltem integræ Sequentia Dies Irae et Offertorii?' And the answer was returned:—Vel non celebrandas Missas Defunctorum, vel canenda esse omnia quæ precationem respiciunt.² A subsequent inquiry was made:—Num in responso quod respicit Missas Defunctorum cantandas, verba illa '*precatio suffragii*:' includant sequentiam *Dies Irae*, quæ vix precatio vocari potest? Item num in dictis Missis cantari debet necessario Offertorium? To which the reply was:—Affirmative ad utrumque.³ In the face of these very clear decisions it is difficult to see how the custom alluded to by our respected correspondent can have any shadow of justification. The fact that this is a missionary country has nothing to do with the lawfulness of the practice. For the mind of the Congregation of Rites manifestly is that where these Masses cannot be fittingly celebrated they ought to be omitted altogether. In the recent edition of the *Officium Def. et Ordo Exequiarum*, etc.,⁴ by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, frequent reference is made to the Decrees just quoted as though to emphasise their importance and impress upon all the necessity of paying due attention to their requirements.

A Decree of the Congregation of Rites, issued in explanation of a Rubric, has the same binding force as the Rubric it interprets. It will, therefore, be directive if the Rubric is directive, and preceptive if the Rubric is preceptive. In the latter case, then, it binds in grave matters *sub gravi*, and in light matters *sub levi*.⁵ All authorities agree that the Rubrics of the Missal are preceptive in so far at least as they regard the actual celebration of Mass.⁶ But it must be borne in mind that the direction we are concerned with regard not the celebrant, but the choir, and that an omission which would amount to a *malicia parva* in one case would not have the same gravity in the other. In other words, the choir ought not be judged by the same strict standard as the celebrant;

² Dec. Sac. Rit. Cong., 11 Sept., 1847 (Nov. Ed.)

³ Ibid. Sac. Rit. Cong., 15 Mar., 1847 (Nov. Ed.)

⁴ Vide *Officium Def. et Ordo Exeq.* (M. H. Gill & Son, 1900.)

⁵ Vide O'Kane, *Notes on the Rubrics*, pp. 20-30.

⁶ St. Liguori. Lib. vi., 399. Quarta Tent.

and it is not so easy to say when negligence in regard to choral matters becomes gravely culpable.

That there is an obligation on the choir and those responsible for the due exercise of its functions is certain, and the main point is that those concerned should endeavour to discharge their duties in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Church and out of an earnest spirit of deference to the claims of her Liturgy and Ceremonial.

P. MORRISROE.

CORRESPONDENCE

'PRIESTS AND TEMPERANCE REFORM.'

REV. DEAR SIR,—The priests of Ireland must feel, and, I am sure do feel, deeply grateful to Father Fenelon for his timely article on Temperance Propaganda in the December number of the *L. E. RECORD*. All who have read the article must have been impressed by its great practical usefulness. It has done the very thing just now most needed. It has placed at our disposal the literature of the drink question, and the critical information which will enable us to use that literature to the best advantage. The work of compiling and examining such a list of books necessarily involves much reading and enquiry; and work of that sort must be, and will be, productive of fruitful results. From that magazine the priests of Ireland can arm themselves—and the sooner the better—if they intend to strike a blow in the holy crusade that *has already begun* to be waged throughout the land against the demon of drink.

The voice of the reformer has at long last caught the public ear. The country is aroused on the drink question. It is willing to listen, it is even seeking for light, for information. *Public Opinion*, that all-powerful factor for good or for evil in every social movement, has been at length stirred up to examine its conscience. But it will not remain long on the alert or in suspense—it never does on any public question. Very soon it will relapse into a deeper and deadlier slumber than before if the priests of Ireland are not quick enough to arrest, to enlighten, and to convert it while it is willing to hear their voice and to heed it. The present is an opportunity which may never return. How much depends on the use we make of it! The time is ripe for a renewed effort, a more earnest effort than ever before, a more hopeful effort, too, if we discern aright the signs that are around us. I believe that by taking advantage of present opportunities the priests of Ireland *can* make the people strictly temperate in one generation. 'Where there's a will there's a way.' The ways and means are with us, in our hands, clamouring to us to make use of them. *Have we the will?* *Words* won't answer that question for us any longer. *Deeds* will—or the absence of them.

We would *begin* well by starting St. Patrick's Anti-Treating League in our parishes *for all* ; with its Total Abstinence section for the children pledged at Confirmation, for the youth under twenty-one (or preferably under twenty-five), and for all others who may wish to become total abstainers. To *continue* the good work successfully will of course involve constant watchfulness, especially over the youth. It will involve the continued labour of preaching, instructing, educating, on the drink question. It will be promoted very much by attending to the young, to temperance *instruction in the schools*. It will be aided also by the dissemination of temperance literature through the branches of the Catholic Truth Society which are, or ought to be, in every parish in the country. My reverend friends will say that all this spells labour. It does, hard, and if you like, troublesome labour. But it spells short labour and fruitful labour, too—how very fruitful! It spells *victory in a generation*. Yes, let the adult population give up the treating custom, and the dread temptation to which the youth have hitherto succumbed will be thereupon removed. And so, the rising generation will safely and easily reach the years of manhood and womanhood in sobriety. That day will see the dawn of a temperate Ireland.

That outline of work looks simple. It will be found to be fairly far-reaching even in the letter. Still I recognise that it will need a very generous interpretation as to ways and means if it is to be taken as an adequate solution of a social problem that is so exceedingly complex and many-sided as the temperance question is. Hence, knowing and feeling that to grapple with this problem means labour and self-sacrifice, I am induced to write these lines only by the hope that they may be read not unfavourably by the hundreds of younger clergy who have passed from Maynooth to the mission in recent years, either as members or as sincere friends of *St. Patrick's Total Abstinence League*. Some of these, no doubt, have extended their five years' pledge indefinitely. Many have not. But most, let us hope, are earnest workers in the holy war against intemperance.

Speaking for the younger priests who heard Father Cullen in their college days, I fear I must say that *we* cannot plead the excuse of inculpable ignorance if we have been remiss in the temperance cause. Father Fenelon tries to excuse us by saying that we 'do not fully realise the extent of the ravages produced by intemperance.' Well, if we do not, we must have wilfully shunned the light. Lectures and sermons, able and convincing,

no retreat and outside retreat, there were plenty for us—too many according to some. If we are not temperance reformers, then, we must seek elsewhere for the reason why. Does Father Fenelon's analogy of the turf and the sporting paper serve a double purpose in the context? Or could he have got other analogies also equally suggestive? These questions flashed across my mind at the time of reading his article. And I hoped in my heart that 'Father Cullen's student teetotallers,' and 'Father Cullen's student pioneers' of these later days, may be still true to their youthful promise.

There is in Father Fenelon's paper a paragraph which I think calls for comment—Total Abstinence *or* Temperance. The priest's or the reformer's work for Temperance will be immensely more successful than otherwise if he be himself a total abstainer. From that opinion few indeed will dissent. On the other hand, it seems to me not only inopportune but absurd to aim at making the Irish people all total abstainers, and to be satisfied with nothing less; inopportune because it turns away possible people proposing to them an ideal that is impracticable, however desirable; absurd because it tries to achieve the impossible. It is another thing, however, to aim at Total Abstinence as an ideal not to be attained in its fulness, and only with a view to realising it *as far as possible*. Many people are frightened or offended because they think that Total Abstinence advocates seriously propose and intend to abolish absolutely all drinking from the land. They may allay their fears. We do aim at making as many total abstainers as possible. That we recognise to be an absolutely necessary means to stem the torrent of intemperance in which the country is plunged. In other circumstances, under normal conditions, the drunkard alone would need the Total Abstinence pledge. But, taking things as they are, in view of the dangers that surround our people on all sides, we see the necessity of enrolling all we possibly can under the banner of Total Abstinence; and that either (1) for their own personal safety, or (2) for the sake of moral example, or (3) to suppress the vice of intemperance, or for all reasons together. While, however, we unanimously insist on the absolute necessity of a safeguard for the young, we by no means wish to preach it as the exclusive and only fruitful means of reform for all. It is, of course, the surest and best way, but not the easiest; and amongst the adult population there are thousands most willing to work in the cause of

Temperance with some self-sacrifice not so exacting as the practice of Total Abstinence. If a means could be devised of utilizing their assistance in the cause, why reject it? Hitherto, it must be confessed, mere Temperance Associations have not succeeded in making much practical use of that vast majority of our people who may be described as 'temperate Temperance reformers.' But the question seems to have been at last satisfactorily solved by the establishment of St. Patrick's Anti-Treating League. The idea of such a league was a most happy inspiration. It is a veritable God-send to the 'temperate' ones. Now, at last, these have got something tangible and practical to do. They are banded together to wage war on one of the chief centres of intemperance.

But will the Anti-Treating League succeed?—the laity ask the priests and the priests ask one another. Well, it is unquestionably a success for so far. Then, it contains in itself, in its very constitution, all the intrinsic elements of success. And finally, its advent is most opportune so far as the conditions of the country, the feelings of the laity, are concerned. For the people are just now considerably awakened by the play of new social forces; by the taste of local government; by the changes in education, primary, technical, agricultural, industrial; most of all by the Language Revival, the all pervading influence of the Irish Ireland Movement. Thought has gone abroad. The spirit of introspection, self-examination, self-improvement, is everywhere. The people were seldom if ever more anxious than at present to take up and follow out every good movement. If, then, the Anti-Treating League do not succeed it will not be difficult to tell the reason why.

It will not succeed wherever the priests on whom it relies imagine that it is a royal road to success, an 'open sesame,' a magic key of some sort that will open up a sober Ireland to a wondering world in the space of a year or less. It is no such thing. When the priest has opened up a branch in his parish, his work, so far from being over, is only begun. But, if his heart be in it, it will succeed, and that even though it grow and develop in complexity and in difficulty under his very hands. And it will grow as sure as he touches it. When he tries to *educate* his people, when, at the very outset, he tries to change their opinions, to root out old and false notions, to implant new and true ones; when he endeavours to awaken in them a sense of shame at intemperance, when he appeals to their manliness,

their self-respect, their nobility and independence of character as men and as Christians; and when he finds naught but an unresponsive lethargy, a half-slavish and broken-spirited indifference to his appeals; it is then he will begin to realise how serious is the problem of temperance reform, how poor the material he has to work upon, how deep-seated the flaws and defects in our people's character, what need there is for a very radical and revolutionary change in their thoughts, ideals, tastes and aspirations, and for a very sweeping and fundamental teaching to bring that change about.

'Ireland sober is Ireland free.' I once heard a temperance advocate and non-Gaelic-Leaguer make that answer to the annoying objections of one who was a Gaelic Leaguer before all. 'I don't believe a word of it,' the latter retorted, 'a sober Ireland to-morrow could be, and would be still an Anglicised slave.' I think, however, he would have done better to admit the *dictum* as a truism, but as a sophism in the context, to contend that Ireland *will not* be made sober, that temperance propaganda *will not* ultimately succeed *independently* of the fundamental and far-reaching change which the Language Movement will effect in the thought and character of the people. Thank God, both movements are forging ahead, rendering mutual assistance; and the thought occurs to me here that while that is so, there is no apparent necessity for superimposing an official connexion upon the very close and very wholesome natural relations that already obtain between those movements.

Just one word in conclusion about a universal organisation of total abstaining Irish priests. I think there can be no second opinion as to the great utility, if not necessity, of such a Union. The zeal of individuals may spend itself and be spent doing great things within the parish of each. But it would be far more fruitful, even within the parish, if organised. The painful spectacle of the decay and death of a flourishing parochial society, consequent on a mere change of clergy, would not be then so frequently witnessed. Besides, there is beyond the parish of the individual worker the wider sphere of public opinion which must be got at and influenced if the temperance cause is to succeed. Needless to say, the power of the Press, the public lecture, and other such ordinary agencies for social reform, can be utilized only by concerted action, by combined, well-directed co-operation. Is it not time that the total abstaining priests of Ireland took serious thought and banded themselves together

to multiply the fruit of their heroic work? Why should the various diocesan societies still remain so many disconnected units as heretofore? An attempt has already been made to unite them. The Father Mathew Union holds the field. Therefore, let those who desire such a Union, in every diocese in Ireland, take up *its* rules and constitutions and see *if* it can be made, and *how* it can be made a practical scheme for uniting in one working army all the total abstaining priests of Ireland.

P. COFFEY.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII TO
THE BISHOPS OF ITALY¹

VENERABLE BROTHERN, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

Having turned Our thoughts from the beginning of Our Pontificate to the conditions of society We were not slow to recognise that one of the most urgent duties of Our Apostolic office was to devote special care and attention to the education of the clergy. We saw that all Our efforts to renew the spirit of Christian life amongst the people would turn out vain and fruitless if the sacerdotal spirit was not kept strong and sound in the ecclesiastical body. We did not cease, therefore, as far as lay in Our power, to provide for that all-important object, either by the erection of suitable institutions or by the documentary instructions which we issued for the guidance of the Church. But on the present occasion we are moved, Venerable Brethren, through particular concern for the clergy of Italy, to deal once again with a question of such grave importance.

Beautiful and constant indeed are the testimonies of piety and zeal which that clergy gives Us, and We are pleased to single out for special recognition and praise the eagerness with which its members, following the direction of the Episcopate, have co-operated in the Catholic movement in which We are supremely interested. We cannot, however, conceal Our anxiety at witnessing for some time past the devious courses into which the desire of innovation has been leading in regard to the education and the social activity of our sacred ministers. Now, it is easy to foresee the serious consequences which would have to be deplored were not a prompt remedy applied wherever these innovating tendencies have appeared. In order, therefore, to secure the Italian clergy against the pernicious influences of the time, We think it opportune, Venerable Brethren, to recall in this letter of Ours, the true and unchangeable principles by which ecclesiastical education and every sacred minister should be guided.

¹ We have translated this Encyclical from the Italian. It was not composed in Latin, otherwise we should have given the Latin text, according to our usual practice.—J. F. H.

The Catholic priesthood, divine in its origin, supernatural in its essence, unchangeable in its character, is not an institution that can accommodate itself to the whims of opinion and to the variations of human systems. Participating as it does in the eternal priesthood of Jesus Christ, its object is to bear to the end of time the message which the Divine Father entrusted to His Incarnate Son. 'As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you.'² To labour for the eternal salvation of souls will ever be the great purpose of the Christian priesthood, and the end from which it can never turn aside. In order to accomplish that sublime purpose it should never cease to have recourse to those supernatural safeguards, to those divine rules of thought and action which Jesus Christ gave when He sent His Apostles through the world to convert all peoples to the Gospel. Hence St. Paul in his letters reminds us that the priest is nothing less than the 'ambassador';³ the 'minister of Christ'; the 'dispenser of the mysteries';⁴ and he represents him to us as being constituted in a high place, as an intermediary between heaven and earth, to treat with God of the supreme interests of the human race which are those of life eternal. Such is the conception which the Sacred Books give us of the Christian priesthood—that is—of a supernatural institution which transcends all human associations, and is as entirely separated from them as the divine from the human.

The same lofty idea clearly emerges from the works of the Fathers, from the teaching authority of the Roman Pontiffs and of the Bishops, from the decrees of Councils, from the unanimous teaching of the Doctors and of the Catholic schools. Indeed the whole tradition of the Church is as one voice to proclaim that the priest is 'another Christ,' and that the priesthood 'is exercised indeed on earth, but is justly enumerated amongst the Orders of Heaven,'⁵ 'since it is entrusted with the administration of heavenly things, and a power is conferred upon it that has not been given even to the angels,'⁶ a power

² John xx. 21.

³ 2 Cor. v. 20.

⁴ 1 Cor. iv. 1.

⁵ 'Sacerdotium enim in terra peragitur, sed coelestium ordinum classem obtinet; et jure quidem merito.' (St. Chrysos., *De Sacerdotio*, Lib. iii., n. 4).

⁶ 'Etenim qui terram incolunt in eaque commorantur ad ea quae in coelis sunt dispensandi commissi sunt, potestatemque acceperunt quam neque angelis neque Archangelis dedit Deus.' (*Ibid.*, n. 5.)

and a ministry that regards the government of souls which is the 'art of all arts.'⁷

Therefore education, studies, practices, everything in a word that relates to the discipline of priestly life, has been considered by the Church as a thing entirely apart, not only distinct, but even separated from the ordinary ways of secular life. This distinction and separation should remain unchanged in our times also, and any tendency to make common or to confound the education and the life of the ecclesiastic with lay life and education must be regarded as discountenanced not only by the tradition of Christian centuries, but by the doctrine of the Apostles and the teaching of Jesus Christ Himself.

Certainly in the education of the clergy and the ministry of the priesthood reason itself commands that account should be taken of the changing conditions of the times. Hence We are very far from rejecting all those changes that are calculated to make the influence of the clergy more effective in the midst of the society in which they live. It is, on the contrary, with a view to that end that it has seemed well to Us to promote in their ranks a deeper and more refined culture and to open out a wider field for their activity. But every other innovation that could injuriously affect what is essential in the priest should be regarded as entirely blameworthy. The priest is above all things constituted as the teacher, the healer, and pastor of souls, the guide on a journey that does not close with this life. Now, to can never discharge that noble office if he is not versed, as far as needs be, in the science of things sacred and divine, if he is not richly endowed with the piety that makes him a moral Goul, if he does not apply himself to strengthen his teaching by the effect of his example, according to the warning given by the prince of the Apostles, 'but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart.'⁸

However the times may change and the conditions of life may vary and be modified, these are the distinctive and all-important endowments that should shine forth in the Catholic priesthood according to the principles of faith. Every natural and human acquirement will be welcome in addition, but must be held in relation to the sacerdotal office as only of relative and secondary importance. For it is reasonable and just that the

⁷ 'Ars est artium Regimen Animarum' (St. Greg., M. Regul. Post. part i., c. 1.)

⁸ 1 Peter v. 3.

clergy should, where lawful, devote themselves to the needs of the present age, it is also a duty and a necessity that far from yielding to the evil current of the world, they should as far as possible resist it. Such action on their part, whilst it will correspond to the noble aim of the priesthood, will also make their ministry more fruitful ; for it will add to their dignity and win them respect.

Now, it is only too well known that the spirit of naturalism tends to corrupt even the soundest part of the social body, that it fills with pride the minds of men and makes them rebel against all authority, that it debases their hearts and sets them in search of the transient possessions of this world whilst they despise the eternal. It is greatly to be feared that some influx of that spirit which is so pernicious and so widespread may have insinuated itself amongst ecclesiastics, particularly amongst the less experienced. The sad effects of this would be a falling off from that gravity of conduct which adds so much to the dignity of the priest, a disposition to yield to the fascination of every novelty, an attitude of pretentious independence towards superiors, a loss of that well-balanced judgment and moderation which is so necessary, particularly in the discussion of matters that refer to faith and morals. An effect still more deplorable, because it involves the ruin of a Christian people, would be the introduction into the sacred ministry of a language out of harmony with the character of a messenger of the Gospel.

Moved by such considerations We feel impelled once more and with greater earnestness than ever to recommend that, above all, seminaries should be upheld in the true spirit both as regards the education of the mind and that of the heart. Let the fact be never lost sight of that these colleges are exclusively destined to prepare young men not for any human office no matter how honourable and legitimate, but for the high mission already mentioned of ministers of Christ and dispensers of the mysteries of God.⁹ From such a foundation, supernatural as it is, it will be always easy, as We noted in Our Encyclical to the Clergy of France, of the 8th of September, 1899, to draw up precious regulations which will not only mark out the lines on which the education of the clergy should be carried out, but will avert from the institutions in which they receive their education all danger in the religious or moral order, whether internal or external.

⁹ 1 Cor. iv. 1.

As regards studies the clergy should not be ignorant of any advance that is made in the discipline of the schools. They should accept what is truly recognised as good and useful in new methods. Every age should contribute towards the progress of human knowledge. Therefore We wish that in this you should bear in mind Our instructions on the study of classical letters, and principally of Philosophy, Theology, and the kindred sciences—instructions which we gave in various documents, but particularly in the above-mentioned Encyclical, a copy of which We send you with the present letter.

It would certainly be desirable that young ecclesiastics should all, as is right, follow their course of studies under the shadow of some sacred institution. But since grave reasons make it in certain circumstances advisable that some of them should frequent the public universities, let it not be forgotten with what care and caution the Bishops should permit them to do so.¹⁰ We wish at the same time that the faithful observance should be insisted on of the regulations contained in another more recent document issued under Our direction, special attention being paid to what is there laid down in regard to reading and everything that could give occasion to young men to take part in outward agitations.¹¹

Thus the students of seminaries treasuring the precious time that is given them can apply themselves in the greatest tranquillity to those studies that are to fit them for the great duties of the priesthood, and particularly for the ministry of preaching and confessions. Well may we reflect how grave is the responsibility of those priests who, in the crying need of the people, neglect the equipment necessary for the discharge of their duties, or do not bring to their ministry the enlightened activity it demands. In both one case and the other they fail to reach the level of that vocation which implies so much to the people whose souls it is their duty to save.

And here we should call your attention, Venerable Brethren, to the special instruction which We ordered to be issued in reference to the preaching of the divine word, as it is Our desire that the richest fruit may be gained from it.¹² In regard to confessions let it be borne in mind how severe are the words

¹⁰ *Instructio, Perspectum est.* S. Cong. EE. & RR., 21 July, 1896.

¹¹ *Instruzione della S. Cong. degli AA., EE., SS.*, 27 Jan., 1902. Del unione democratico cristiana in Italia.

¹² *Instruzione della S. Cong. VV. et R.R.*, 31 July, 1894.

of that mildest and most distinguished of the moralists¹³ that refer to those who feel that they are unfit to sit in the tribunal of penance, and not less severe is the sad complaint of the great Pontiff Benedict XIV. who set down as one of the greatest calamities to the Church the absence in confessors of that knowledge of moral theological science which is called for on account of the gravity of so sacred an office.

But in order to prepare ministers worthy of the Lord it is necessary, Venerable Brethren, to apply carefully and with greater vigour and watchfulness than ever, not alone the rules for the acquisition of scientific knowledge, but also the discipline and educational exercises of your seminaries. Let no youths be admitted there except those who offer well-founded guarantees that they wish to consecrate themselves for ever to the ecclesiastical ministry.¹⁴ Let them be kept away from contact and from association with young men who do not aspire to the priesthood. Such association may indeed be tolerated for a time, for grave reasons and with due precaution, since it is not possible to make all the provision in such circumstances that ecclesiastical life demands. If the young men who are placed in such circumstances should show any tendencies not in accord with the ecclesiastical vocation, the Bishops should be most cautious in allowing them to proceed to Holy Orders according to the serious admonition of St. Paul to Timothy: 'Impose not hands lightly upon any man.'¹⁵ In all this every other consideration should be held as of less importance than the dignity of the sacred ministry.

It is, moreover, of the greatest importance, in forming students of the sanctuary to the true image of Jesus Christ, in which all ecclesiastical education consists, that superiors and teachers should add to the assiduity and skill with which they discharge their office the example of an edifying sacerdotal life. The exemplary conduct of those who preside over others, particularly over the young, is the most eloquent and persuasive language to inspire them with a conviction of their duties and the love of good. An office of such importance requires in the superior a spirit of no ordinary prudence, and of indefatigable zeal. Hence the office should be entrusted in every seminary to an ecclesiastic well versed in the ways of Christian perfection. The superior can never be too much

¹³ S. Alf. Liguori, *Trat. del confessore* C. I. iii., n. 18.

¹⁴ Council. Trid., Sess. xxiii., xviii.

¹⁵ I Tim. v. 22.

impressed with the necessity of imparting to his students and cultivating in them with the greatest assiduity that piety which is fruitful for all, but for the clergy is of inestimable price. Let him take care to put them on their guard against the pernicious delusion which is not unfrequent amongst the young of allowing themselves to be so engrossed in their studies as to neglect their advancement in the science of the saints. The more firmly the spirit of piety will have taken hold of the clergy the more they will become inured to that spirit of sacrifice which is so much needed in order to promote the divine glory and the salvation of souls.

There are not wanting, heaven be praised, amongst the clergy of Italy, priests who give noble proofs of what can be effected by a minister of the Lord penetrated with this spirit. Wonderful indeed is the generosity of those who in order to extend the kingdom of Jesus Christ become willing exiles in foreign lands, who bear fatigues and privations of every kind, and in some cases win the martyr's crown.

In this way, surrounded by loving care and furnished with the necessary culture of mind and spirit, the young levite will be gradually trained in everything that the sanctity of his vocation and the needs of the Christian people demand. The time of preparation in truth is not short, yet it must be continued beyond the time spent in college. It is still necessary that young priests should not be left without guidance in their first labours, but should be assisted by the experience of those who are more advanced and who can help to bring to maturity their zeal, their prudence, and their piety. It will also be expedient, whether by academic exercises or periodic conferences, to keep them continually engaged in their sacred studies.

It is clear, Venerable Brethren, that what We have thus far recommended, far from impeding that social activity of the clergy which We have so often inculcated, will on the contrary help to guide it and make it fruitful. To insist on the faithful observance of the rules We have laid down is merely to protect what should be the life and soul of that activity.

We repeat then, and still more emphatically, that it is the duty of the clergy to go to the people, who are fascinated on all sides by the fallacious promises with which socialism endeavours to draw them away from the faith of their fathers, remembering at the same time that they must subordinate their action to the authority of those whom *the Holy Ghost* has

*constituted as Bishops to rule the Church of God.*¹⁶ Without this, confusion would follow, and the gravest disorder to the detriment of the cause that has to be promoted and defended.

We desire, therefore, that candidates for the priesthood should be carefully instructed, at the end of their course in the seminaries, in those Pontifical documents which regard the social question and Christian democracy, abstaining meanwhile, as We have said above, from any external action. Then when ordained priests let them turn with particular devotion to the people, who have ever been the object of the most loving care of the Church. To lift up the children of the people from ignorance of spiritual and eternal things, and with unflagging perseverance to attract them to an honest and virtuous life, dissipating their prejudices and helping them in the practice of Christian duty; to promote amongst the Catholic laity those institutions that are recognised as really helpful in the advancement of their moral and material interests; to inculcate, above all, those principles of justice and of charity taught by the Gospel which regulate with such equal measure the rights and duties of civil society; such is, in its principal aspects, the noble task which they should pursue in their social action. But let them always bear in mind that even amongst the people the priest should maintain untarnished the august character of the minister of God, being himself placed over his brethren, *on account of souls*. Any method of dealing with the people that would set aside the priestly dignity in opposition to duty and ecclesiastical propriety, should be severely reprovèd.

These are the considerations, Venerable Brethren, which the dictates of Our Apostolic office made it Our duty to offer to the clergy of Italy. We do not doubt that in a matter of such gravity you will respond to Our solicitude with devoted and loving zeal, following the example of the great Archbishop, St. Charles Borromeo. In order, therefore, to give effect to our instructions you will take care to make them the subject of your exhortation at your local conferences, and to supplement them by whatever practical regulations you may think necessary in your respective dioceses. To whatever expedients you may devise, or conclusions you may reach, the weight of Our authority will not be wanting.

And now, with a word that comes to Us from the very depth

¹⁶ S. Greg. M. Regul. Post ii. c. 7.

of Our heart, we turn to you, priests of Italy, wherever you may be, and impress upon you collectively and singly the necessity of corresponding ever more worthily with the spirit of your sublime vocation. To you, ministers of the Lord, We say with even greater reason than St. Paul who addressed his words to the simple faithful, 'I therefore, a prisoner in the Lord, beseech you that you walk worthy of the vocation in which you are called.'¹⁷ May the love of our common mother the Church strengthen and make perfect amongst you that concord of thought and action which renders exertion doubly fruitful. In times so unfortunate for religion and society, when the clergy of every country is called upon to unite for the defence of faith and of Christian morality, it behoves you, Beloved Sons, whom particular links bind to this Apostolic See, to give an example to the clergy of all other nations, and to take precedence of all in unlimited obedience to the voice and commands of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Thus the blessings of heaven will fall abundantly, as We invoke them, and make the clergy of Italy worthy of its great traditions.

Let Our Apostolic Benediction be a pledge of these divine favours. We impart it to you, Venerable Brethren, and to the clergy committed to your care, with all the effusion of Our heart.

Given at Rome near St. Peter, on the sacred day of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, 8th December, 1902, the seventy-fifth year of Our Pontificate.

LEO PP. XIII.

CATHOLIC SERVICES ON TRANSATLANTIC STEAMERS

We have received for publication from his Lordship, the Bishop of Exeter, the following important Document. In order that its import and significance may be fully understood we should explain that some time ago, at the request of the Episcopal Board, his Lordship entered into correspondence with the *Greenland* and *White Star Steam Ship Companies*, with a view to obtain certain concessions not usually granted hitherto for priests who travel across the Atlantic.

The Directors of both Companies were extremely courteous, and asked the Right Rev. Mgr. Nugent to talk the matter over with his Lordship. For this purpose Mgr. Nugent came all the way from Liverpool to Exeter. On his return the

¹⁷ Eph. iv. 1.

Secretaries of the Companies sent replies to a number of queries which the Bishop of Elphin had addressed to them. The following document indicates in detail what the queries and the replies were :—

CUNARD STEAM SHIP COMPANY, LTD.,
GENERAL MANAGER'S OFFICE,
8, WATER-STREET, LIVERPOOL,
June 14th, 1901.

MY LORD,—Referring to your Lordship's letter of the 10th April, and to an interview we have since had with Monsignor Nugent, who presented certain propositions which he had received from your Lordship, and which we understand would meet the wishes of the Irish Catholic Bishops, we beg to reply on them as follows :—

PROPOSITION.

1. That a Catholic Priest crossing by an Atlantic steamer be permitted to give morning service between ten and eleven o'clock to the Steerage passengers?

2. In the event of there being two Catholic Priests on board, and one may wish to celebrate Mass, can he be permitted to do so in the Reading Room or some other suitable place on Sundays and Holidays at 8 o'clock?

3. May a Priest, with the permission of the Captain, visit the Steerage passengers, and in the case of serious sickness administer to them the Rites of their religion?

4. In case a Catholic passenger should die during the voyage, may a Catholic Priest perform the funeral service?

REPLY.

1. For some years past the Commanders of the Cunard Line steamers have had discretion to accede to requests of this character whenever the conditions are favourable and we are again drawing their attention to the matter.

2. The Commanders will be directed to allow the use of a suitable room for the purpose, but for the general convenience it is felt that the Service should take place prior to 8 a.m.

3 & 4. No objection would be offered by any of the Commanders in this Company's service to either of these requests.

5. Considering the large proportion of Irish female Catholic emigrants who travel as steerage passengers, the Irish Bishops deem it most desirable that a Catholic Stewardess (who, if possible, should be a trained nurse) ought to be in the service of each ship.

5. This would involve questions being raised as to the religion of applicants for positions in this Company's employ—which would be a departure from our present practice, and one which would, in our opinion, be undesirable to establish.

We trust that the above arrangements will be considered satisfactory.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

A. J. MOORHOUSE.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Elphin,
St. Mary's, Sligo.

A communication of a similar kind was received from the Directors of the *White Star Company*.

ED. I. E. RECORD.

TRANSLATION OF FEASTS AND INDULGENCES

IN DECRETO DE TRANSLATIONE FESTORUM RELATIVE AD INDULGENTIAS
COMPREHENDATUR ETIAM TRANSLATIO PLEN. INDULG. IN CASU.

Prior Generalis Ordinis Servorum B. M. V., Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae exponit, non omnes concedere Indulgentiam Plenariam per rescriptum eiusdem S. C. die 27 Januarii 1888 concessum, a Christifidelibus totius hieronymi, quoties ecclesias Ordinis Servorum Mariae etc. (sive Fratrum, sive Monialium nec non Tertii Ordinis vel Coenobiorum VII. Dolorum B. M. V.) in festo septem Dolorum B. M. V. visitant, transferri posse ad aliam diem, si externa solemnitas transferatur.

Quare ad omne dubium de medio tollendum humiliter quaerit: An in Decreto generali diei 6 Augusti 1852 de translatione festorum relative ad indulgentias, comprehendatur etiam translatio Plenariae indulgentiae, de qua supra?

S. Congregatio audito Consultorum voto, respondit : *Affirmative.*

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem. S. Cong. die 2 Iulii 1902.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. + S.

THE WINE OF THE HOLY SACRIFICE

E. S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE. CIRCA CONDENSATIONEM MUSTI PRO FORTIFICANDA ALCOOLICITATE VINI PRO MISSAE SACRIFICIO ADHIBENDI.

Beatissime Pater,

Archiepiscopus N. ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus, humiliter exponit :

In regionibus nostris admodum difficile est verum et genuinum vinum pro SSmo. Missae Sacrificio mihi comparare. Fidi nanque debeo mercatoribus extraneis et ignotis, qui aliquando jam non genuina merce defraudarunt. Nunc ab aliquo tempore in ipsa civitate N. quidam vir ex uvis nostrae regionis vinum parare coepit. Sed, cum haec uva egentissima sit materia saccharina et consequenter vinum inde proveniens non multum *alcohol* contineat, curatione aliqua opus est, ut vinum elevetur ad illum gradum *alcoholicitatis*, quem ejus conservatio requirit. Hunc in finem laudatus vir methodum evaporationis musti adhibere proponit ad vinum pro SSmo. Sacrificio parandum, ea quidem ratione ut liquor ex uvis expressus, ad dimidium decoctus, vinum producat quod 14 vel 16 gradus *alcohol* habeat.

Ad omnem tamen in re tanti momenti dubitationem tollendam, Archiepiscopus Orator humiliter declarari postulat :

Utrum licitum sit ad SSmum. Missae Sacrificium offerendum hujusmodi vino uti.

Feria IV, die 22 Maii, 1901.

In Congne. Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab EE. mis. et RR. mis. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito praedicto dubio praehabitoque RR. Consultorum voto. iidem EE. ac RR. Patres decreverunt :

‘Detur Decretum diei 5 Augusti, 1896, quod sonat : “Utrum licitum sit ad S. Missae Sacrificium conficiendum uti vino ex musto obtento, quod ante fermentationem vinosam per

evaporationem igneary condensatum est? —Resp.: Licere, dummodo decoctio hujusmodi fermentationem alcoholicam haud excludat, ipsaque fermentatio naturaliter obtineri possit et de facto obtineatur.”

Sequenti vero Feria VI die 24 Maii 1901 in solita Audientia SSmi. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII a R. P. D. Commissario S. Oileij foluto, SSms. D. N. resolutionem EEmorum. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SUMMULA PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE; in usum adolescentium Seminarii Beatae Mariae de Monte Mellario concinnata. Vol. I. Logica et Ontologia. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd. Price 4s. net.

WE have no hesitation in extending a warm welcome to this excellent and too unpretentious volume of Philosophy, and we hope that the companion volumes on Special Metaphysics and Ethics will soon be given to the public by the same gifted author. The present volume contains 400 ordinary octavo pages, thus striking a scale that would suit a two years' course. It could, however, be easily made to cover three years, owing to the great wealth of valuable and suggestive doctrine contained in the quotations with which the footnotes abound.

One of the chief merits of the book is the genuine and successful effort made, chiefly by means of those footnotes, to show the connexion between Scholastic Philosophy and current philosophical systems, and thus to give the former a *living* interest for its students. This is a most important object to aim at, to make the student feel the *reality*, the practical bearing on present-day thought of what he reads. He will be naturally more interested in what is said and taught by modern philosophers nearer home than by names and systems which he never encounters outside his class or text-book. Hence the advantage of home manufacture, *ceteris paribus*, even in philosophical text-books. The author of the Melleray Philosophy under review shows the ripe fruit of experience and reading. His quotations from such authorities as Harper, S.J. (*Metaphysics of the Schools*); Maher, S.J.; Rickaby, S.J. ('Stoneyhurst Series'); Abercrombie, Poland, Mercier—to mention only a few—show his intimate acquaintance with modern English and Continental writers, and are exceedingly well selected and valuable throughout. He seems to have succeeded equally well in extracting all that is most valuable from the standard scholastic writers of modern times—Liberatore, Pesch, Sanseverino, Balmes, Schiffrini, Zigliara, etc.

The chief excellence of the book consists in its transparent

clearness and simplicity of thought and language. This is what the student of an obscure and difficult subject needs above all else. He may not, and probably will not agree entirely with all the views expressed in the course of this book, but, certainly, he can scarcely fail to understand them. The force and cogency of the reasoning would have been much increased if the author had *developed* the *principal* arguments rather than given long strings of reasons in so many brief and summary syllogisms.

The neat and attractive form in which the book appears is very creditable to the publishers.

P. C.

BERNADETTE OF LOURDES. A MYSTERY. By E. Pouvillon.

Translated by Henry O'Shea. London: Burns and Oates.

THIS neat little volume is an attractive addition to the Catholic literature of these countries. A religious tale in the form of a play will be a novelty to many readers, and, perhaps, the religious susceptibilities of some will suffer a shock at finding introduced as *dramatis personae* spiritual beings. This familiarity with the supernatural, this humanising, as it were, of angels and saints may appear to them as bordering on irreverence. Nothing, however, could be farther from the author's intention, and a fine Catholic sentiment pervades the whole book. As the name implies, this miracle-play has for its theme the story of Bernadette, to whom the Blessed Virgin appeared in the grotto at Lourdes; and the author, while taking plenty of poetic licence in descriptions, etc., adheres closely to the facts.

The translator's work leaves little to be desired, and we only wish that he may continue his labours in the same field. The need of an abundant supply of good Catholic literature is, at present, sorely felt in these countries, and the translation into English of some of the best Catholic books in French would be a very laudable work.

D. F.

TIMOTHY, OR LETTERS TO A YOUNG THEOLOGIAN. By

Dr Franz Hettinger. Translated by Rev. Victor Stepka.

B. Herder, Vienna; St. Louis, Mo.; 17, South Broadway.

THIS is a series of letters addressed to a young levite, who is supposed to have almost finished his course and to be on the

eve of ordination. The Letters treat of such subjects as Vocation, the Study of Philosophy, Theology, and the Natural Sciences, Art Studies, the Seminary, Spiritual Exercises, the Study of Theology (Dogmatic and Moral), Canon Law, Biblical Studies, Church History, the Fathers, the Care of Souls, Catechetics, Homiletics, and the Liturgy.

In our opinion this volume can receive no half, or merely formal praise; we should like to see it in the hands of every priest and ecclesiastical student, if for no other reason than because of the subjects of which it treats. The Letters are written in a beautiful way, warm with a kind fatherliness, and with a view to the formation of a thoroughly priestly character. They are full of wisdom, of solid instruction, and spiritual admonition, of not a little, too, of that profane knowledge which in those days no priest can afford to be without. They aim at showing the great, eternal significance of life, how to acquire the knowledge of true being, how 'he cannot go astray whose soul is trained to despise the world and to seek God'; and they lay down principles of thought and action that should guide the path and mould the character of at all events the ideal priest.

The translation, it should be added, is admirably done; one forgets that it is a translation.

J. W. M.

ST. ANTHONY IN ART AND OTHER SKETCHES. By Mary F. Nixon Roulet. Boston: Marlier and Co., Ltd.

In this most attractive work we are conducted through the chief galleries of the world in search of the religious in Art. If the authoress has a wide, a sympathetic, and a discriminating knowledge of her subject, she displays a knowledge no less extensive of the literature of Art and, indeed, of literature generally. She revels in quotations; withal, in this she offends so artistically that you learn first to forgive, and then to be pleased with, her violation of the literary commandment.

What is Art, and what is its aim?—is a question often asked. 'Art,' said Dante, 'is second in descent from God.' Had one no other knowledge than what is conveyed in the work before us, one should feel that it is the aim of Art not to slavishly imitate and reproduce empiric nature, but rather to reveal

nature as it should be. In its primal forms, to elevate and to uplift, to let the rays of the ideal pierce through and through the outer forms. There is surely a difference between a portrait and a photograph. And no one can study the great religious masterpieces of the world—the Titians, Murillos, Fra Angelicos, Botticellis, Correggios, etc., without perceiving that it is in its relation with the Infinite, the All-Beautiful, with the truths of eternity and immortality, in line, with that great inner world which was first opened by Christianity, Art has found its highest perfection. In those works, so different in conception and spirit from those of the moderns, each stroke of the brush is almost a *Sursum Corda*; and the men who wrought them must have been, and were, men who were full of great religious devotion and lived very near the heights of virtue.

The publishers deserve a special word of praise for the success with which they have produced the plates, and for the artistic finish of the whole book.

J. W. M.

INSTITUTIO PASTORUM EYSTETTENSIS. Freiburg: Herder, 1902. Price, 12s. 6d.

THIS is a complete manual of pastoral theology, and will be found most useful not only to those ecclesiastical students who have reached this part of their course, but also to all priests entrusted with the care of souls. It contains everything they need. The arrangement of subjects is the same as that laid down in the Pontifical,¹ one which experience shows to be eminently intelligible and practical. The first place is therefore given to the Blessed Sacraments (under which heading, the Holy Mass, Communion, and Viaticum are treated of), and to this subject ten chapters are devoted. The following ten sections or *tituli* (comprising more than forty chapters) treat of the other sacraments, and their respective administration—of the holy oils, &c.—of the altar, church, sacristy, cemetery, &c. Next we have *tituli de diversis sacramentalibus officiorum, de communione Pastoralis, de administratione criminum spiritualium et temporalium, &c.* Last and not least comes an Appendix, containing various forms of applications for dispensations, &c. Throughout this useful work all the decrees, the most recent included, are quoted in connection

¹ Page iii, *Ordo ad visitandas parochias*.

with the subject on which they bear. As an example of this the paragraph, *Qualis missa dicenda sit*, may be mentioned. So much care has been bestowed on the preparation of this manual for the use of the clergy, that it deserves a place in every priest's library.

F. C.

THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORICAL RECORDS OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA. By T. G. Pinches. London: S. P. C. K. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS work is designed to bring within the reach of all readers the latest results of the study of the cuneiform inscriptions. It is done in a most satisfactory manner. The author, who is one of the best scholars in England, famous for his own discoveries, has by his thorough knowledge of the subject and his skilful combination of translations and remarks, produced a manual of great utility to the student either of the Bible or of profane history. Some idea of its nature may be gathered from even a cursory statement of its contents. The history of the Creation and of the Flood is commented on with the aid of the relevant tablets, and then comes a description of Babylon in Abraham's time, for which the *data* of the contract-tablets are largely utilized. Next we have the 'Tel El-Amarna tablets and the Exodus,' and lastly, a description of the nations with which the Israelites at different times came in contact: e.g., the Egyptians, Amorites, Hittites, Assyrians, Babylonians, together with their kings, their wars, their religious beliefs, their social life and customs, etc. The wealth of erudition used to illustrate all these subjects is remarkable. Few scholars besides the British Museum expert could have written such a work. We must say that we do not agree with Mr. Pinches' definition of inspiration, nor with his views on some other matters, but these are not what he made his theme. As regards Assyriology and the light it throws on Scripture, his work is admirable.

R. W.

DIE ALTESTE LATEINISCHE UEBERSETZUNG DES BUCHES BARUCH. By Rev. G. Hoberg. Freiburg: Herder. 1902. Price, 3s.

A MONOGRAPH such as this possesses a special interest. The introductory portion contains in a small compass all that is known about the prophet Baruch himself, as well as the references made to his book by the Fathers in the first centuries.

Then follows a critical description of the two recensions of the Latin version which have been already published : namely, the one contained in the Vulgate (*Vetus Latina A.*), and the one published by Sabatier (*Vetus Latina B.*). As the Hebrew text of Baruch is lost, the Septuagint on which the *Vetus Itala* and all other versions were made, has come to be regarded as the original. But while the two recensions of the *Itala* just mentioned successively improve on its Latinity and expand its text, that now, for the first time, published by Professor Hoberg, of Freiburg, represents the *Itala* unaltered. Its provincialisms, faulty expressions, and faulty grammar remain unaltered. Notwithstanding these literary blemishes, for the purpose of textual criticism it is of exceedingly great value. It is reproduced from the transcript of the famous *Codex Gothicus* (eleventh century), belonging to the Cathedral of Leon, which was made by the Bishop of the diocese for Cardinal Caraffa about the year 1587. The transcript is preserved in the Vatican Library, and in order to ensure absolute accuracy, Hoberg photographed its pages. He, as well as other scholars, have recognised the importance of the text of the *Codex Gothicus*, and for the purpose of comparison he prints in the monograph before us the four texts (*Septuagint*, *Codex Gothicus*, *Vulgate*, *Sabatier*) in parallel columns. Lastly, he adds the Syriac version of the apocryphal Epistle of Baruch. As a contribution to the textual criticism of Scripture, Hoberg's work deserves great praise. R. W.

EXPLANATION AND APPLICATION OF BIBLE HISTORY. By
Rev. J. Nash, D.D. New York: Benziger Bros.

THIS book is at the same time an outline of Bible History and a compendium of Christian Doctrine artfully blended together.

In each chapter such facts are selected from Bible History as give occasion to teach and explain some truth which is taught in our Catechism. The advantage of this is manifest. On the one hand, Bible History is shown to be a collection of facts which contain for us very practical lessons, while on the other, the teaching of our faith, which in the abstract would make no impression on the young mind, is put before us in concrete form.

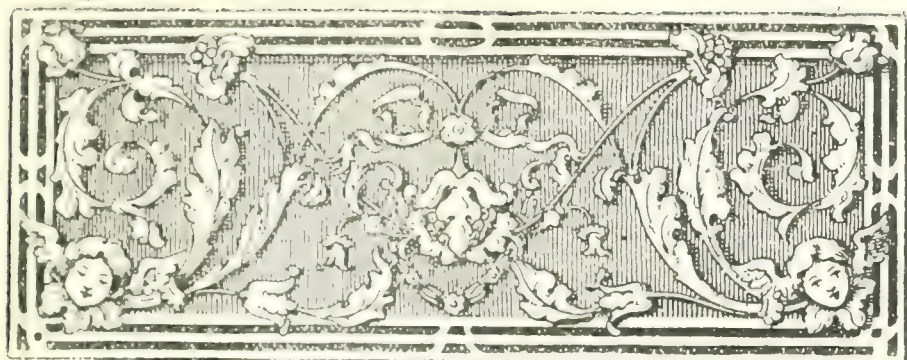
The author justly considers that the ' principal feature of the work is the practical application found at the end of each

chapter.' It makes us feel that the Catholic doctrine ought to be the rule of our daily life, and not mere theoretical truth having no reference to our conduct.

'The work is intended for the use of Catechism teachers.' We should have said that it is written by way of answers to questions. We think there is a lot of useless repetition of the questions in the answers. To illustrate this here is an extract from the book:—'How many sons had Jacob? Jacob had twelve sons. Who was the favourite? Joseph was the favourite. Why was Joseph the favourite? Joseph was the favourite because . . . How did Jacob show his love for Joseph? Jacob showed his love for Joseph by giving him a coat of many colours.' (P. 78.)

We think this quite unnecessary for '*Catechism teachers*.' However, it is only a very secondary matter, and we do not hesitate to recommend the book to catechists as a very useful companion to the Catechism.

M. O'B.



THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

1875-1901

IN a volume recently published,¹ the distinguished Rector of the Catholic University of Paris, has given an account of the work done by that institution since its foundation a quarter of a century ago. In a clear and graceful style Mgr. Pechenard tells the story of the origin and growth of the establishment over which he so worthily presides. His work is a valuable record of the efforts made by Catholics in France in the cause of higher education. Whatever has been done in so sacred a cause cannot fail to be both interesting and instructive to Catholics outside the limits of Paris, and of France. It is, therefore, the purpose of the present paper, following in the footsteps of Mgr. Pechenard, to sketch the origin and development of the Catholic University of Paris, to describe its constitution and organisation, and to set forth its work, its discipline, and its influence.

I. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY

By the decree of the Convention, 1794, the ancient and celebrated University of Paris, with all its Faculties and Colleges, was suppressed. When the revolutionary tempest

¹ *L'Institut Catholique de Paris, 1875-1901*, par Mgr. Pechenard, Recteur-Paris, 1902.

had subsided and order was restored, Napoleon I. organised a complete system of national education in all its grades, primary, secondary and higher. One great university under the title, *Université de France*, was established, and all schools, primary and secondary, were placed under its control. The diocesan Great seminaries only were excepted. The new University, with its faculties of Theology, Law, Letters, and Science, had branches or local universities in the principal great centres throughout France. Its head quarters were in Paris and in the buildings which formerly belonged to the ancient Sorbonne. The University was a State establishment. There were, indeed, chairs of theology at the Sorbonne, and at other centres, viz., Rouen, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse and Aix; but to these Faculties canonical institution was never granted.

Under the First Empire and under the Restoration Catholics struggled to obtain freedom from State control in the matter of education. Under the Monarchy of July a first instalment of freedom was obtained. By the law of 1833 freedom of primary education was granted, and any French subject of eighteen years of age, and possessed of a certificate, or *brevet de capacité*, was authorised to open a school. Secondary and higher education still remained a State monopoly. Catholics continued the struggle, and in 1850 a greater measure of freedom was obtained. By the law known as the *loi Falloux*, members of religious congregations were permitted to teach in primary State schools, on the presentation of their superiors. In the case of nuns, a letter of their superior called *Lettre d'obédience* took the place of a certificate or *brevet de capacité*. The moral character of the school was placed under the supervision of the Curé.

Secondary education obtained almost complete freedom from State control. The *Petits Séminaires* were altogether exempted from legal formalities as to the capacity of teachers. The degree of Bachelor was required for the office of Principal in other secondary schools. In other respects they were free in the selection of their teachers and the choice of their programme of studies. Much of the freedom obtained in 1833 and 1850 has, unhappily, been since lost. By the law of 1881

primary education in France was rendered gratuitous, and a *brevet de capacité* was required of all teachers religious and secular. By the law of 1882 primary education was made compulsory, and by that of 1880 it was enacted that all teachers in State schools should be lay. In consequence, primary education in France is now by law gratuitous, compulsory, and lay. An interval of five years was granted to replace the religious by lay teachers in the case of boys' schools. In the case of schools taught by nuns, the change was ordered to be made more gradually, on the occasion of the death or removal of the principal teacher. Religious are indeed still at liberty to teach in the free schools or *Écoles Libres*, if they belong to an approved congregation and possess a *brevet de capacité*. Catholics continue to make great sacrifices to obtain free religious education for their children. The *Écoles Libres* are attended by 1,477,310 children, and about 50,000,000 francs, or £2,240,000 is annually contributed by the people for their support.²

Secondary education is still free; about 90,000 boys, or more than half of all the young men receiving secondary education are taught in the clerical colleges. This liberty is now menaced, and should the *loi Falloux* be abrogated or (the *loi séculaire*) residence in a State establishment become necessary for appointments in the service of the State, the outlook for religious education in France is far from encouraging.

By the law of 1850 freedom of secondary education had been obtained. Not till after the fall of the second Empire was freedom of higher education won. On 12th July, 1875, the *Assemblée Nationale* voted a law granting a measure of freedom in higher education. Any establishment of higher education having a staff of professors, with the degree of Doctor, and in number equal to those in the State faculties was authorised to take the name of *Faculté*, and any establishment possessing three such faculties was permitted to assume the title of *Université Libre*. Perceiving that a change of opinion amongst public men on the subject of education was imminent,

² *Un siècle de l'Eglise de France*, par Mgr Bannard, p. 325.

certain Catholic Deputies advised the French Episcopate to take advantage without delay of the privilege granted by the law of July. In consequence, the Bishops set to work. Plans were formed for the establishment of five great centres of higher education. In the North, the dioceses of Cambrai and of Arras, combined to found the Catholic University of Lille. In the West twelve dioceses united to establish a university at Angers. Fifteen dioceses in the South-west founded that of Toulouse. In the South-east twenty-six dioceses combined to found the Catholic University of Lyons; while thirty-three dioceses around Paris united their efforts to found a Catholic University in the Capital.

Each of these was soon fully organised, and each still continues to work strenuously in the cause of higher Catholic education. But our present purpose is to speak of the Catholic University then founded in Paris.

On 11th August, 1875, a month after the passing of the law, the Archbishops of Paris, Rouen, Sens, Reims, and Tours, together with the Suffragans of Paris met to deliberate on the project of establishing a Catholic University. The assembled prelates decided to found a Catholic institution of higher learning, and to call it the Catholic University of Paris. A faculty of theology already existed at the Sorbonne, and the prelates hoped that the Holy See might be induced to grant to it canonical recognition. What the Bishops most of all desired to found was a Catholic Faculty of Medicine, but the law required that every medical school should have attached to it a fully equipped hospital, where the students might receive clinical instruction. Not having under their control such a hospital the prelates were obliged to defer the establishment of a Medical Faculty. The terms of the law required the co-existence of at least three great faculties to form a University. It was resolved, therefore, to begin with the three faculties of Law, of Letters, and of Science. When this resolution was adopted a committee of organisation was formed. The Archbishop of Paris placed at their disposal the ancient monastery *Des Carmes*, rue Vaugirard, which had for some time previously served as an *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*. This was made the seat of the new establishment. The bishops appealed to

the liberality of the faithful for means to commence the good work.

In less than four months from the first meeting of the Bishops two and a half millions of francs were subscribed, and in less than six months from the passing of the law the new University was opened. From the first, the three faculties of Law, of Letters, and of Science, were organised. For some time a faculty of theology was wanting. A faculty of theology had existed at the Sorbonne since 1808, but as has been said above, the Holy See had never given it canonical sanction. Negotiations had at various times been commenced by the French Government to obtain canonical recognition for the theological faculties at the Sorbonne and elsewhere in France; but they had failed. In 1858 a Bull had been drafted, with the assent of the two Powers, granting the desired sanction, but the Italian war broke out, and the Bull was never promulgated.

Before the Revolution the faculty of the Sorbonne was celebrated throughout the world, but it was not altogether free from the taint of Gallicanism. What was to be thought of the Sorbonne as re-established by Napoleon I. At the Vatican Council, its Dean, Mgr. Maret,³ Bishop of Sura, was an active Inopportunist, and had written a work showing that a definition of Papal Infallibility was inexpedient. He had, indeed, after the Council loyally accepted the definition and withdrawn his book from circulation. Yet the Holy See when asked to approve the new University of Paris, naturally desired that its theological school should, from the commencement, be free from the suspicion of Gallican tendencies, and the Holy Father urged the Bishops to found a Theological faculty distinct from the Sorbonne. To comply with this desire a theological school, with chairs of Theology, Scripture, and Canon Law, was commenced in 1878. The buildings of the ancient monastery *Des Carmes* were from that date reserved to be the residence of ecclesiastical students. The following year, 1879, the seminary of the University was placed, as to

³ *L'Eglise et l'Etat au Concile du Vatican*, par Emile Olivier, vol. i., p. 408, vol. ii., p. 378.

discipline, under the management of the Fathers of the Congregation of St. Sulpice. At length in 1889, the faculty of theology was canonically erected by the Holy See. A few years later, in 1895, its organisation was completed and three canonical faculties, viz., of Theology, of Canon Law, and of Scholastic Philosophy, were established. Meantime the State provision for the support of the theological faculty at the Sorbonne was suppressed by the Government, and thus in fact, if not in law, it became extinct.

The new theological faculty continued to grow, and in 1899 the University authorities opened a second seminary for the residence of ecclesiastics and placed it under the management of the priests of the Congregation of the Mission.

A medical school was still wanting. With a view to the establishment of a medical faculty a plot of ground was purchased at a cost of 360,000 francs. Plans were prepared for the construction of a hospital, consisting of twelve large, and four small pavilions, with provision for 950 beds. First one small pavilion was built; others have since been added, and have been equipped with all the most approved modern appliances. Though a medical faculty has not been established, the Catholic *Hôpital Saint-Joseph* is now one of the most interesting in Paris, and clinical lectures are given in it to Catholic students since 1890. It is hoped it will be one day the centre of a great Catholic medical school in the French capital.

But, meanwhile, an important change had taken place in the legal status of the University. In order to obtain degrees students of the Catholic faculties had to undergo examinations. They had, however, the option of presenting themselves, either before a board of examiners from the State University (*Jury de l'Etat*) or before a board made up of examiners selected in equal numbers from the professors of the State University and from those of the Catholic faculties (*Jury mixte*). In the interval between 1875 and 1879, 1,258 students of the Catholic faculties presented themselves for examination; 664 before the mixed board, and 594 before the State board. Of the former category, 75 per cent., and of the latter 80 per cent., passed the examination with success. From these

figures it will be seen that the mixed board was more exacting than the State board. Yet the opponents of free education raised an outcry against the system of examinations by mixed boards. So early as 1876 the Minister of Instruction, M. Waddington, introduced, in the Chamber of Deputies, a bill abolishing examinations by a mixed jury. This measure was carried in the lower chamber, but was rejected by the Senate. The composition of the latter body was modified by an election of senators in 1879. Counting on the support of both chambers, Jules Ferry, Minister of Instruction, re-introduced M. Waddington's measure, which was this time carried in both houses, and became law on 18th March, 1880. By this law free or Catholic establishments of higher education were forbidden to assume the title of university, or to grant degrees. The system of examinations by a mixed board was abolished, and the examination for degrees was reserved to a board of State professors.

Inscription in the free faculties remained valid. But inscription in the State faculties was declared gratuitous. Moreover, it was enacted that no free establishment of higher education should have corporate rights (*la personnalité civile*) except in virtue of a law passed in each case for that express purpose.

By the law of 1880 the Catholic Universities lost most of their privileges. The right to teach and to present their students for degrees at the State examinations still remained. The Bishops, therefore, resolved to maintain the Catholic establishments, which henceforward adopted the title, *Institut Catholique*. In spite of the disadvantage resulting from the law of 1880 the *Institut Catholique* of Paris has courageously held on its course. Its theological faculties have become fully organised, and the faculties of Law, of Letters, and of Science, have continued to train up students capable of obtaining degrees with honour before the boards of the State University. Nor has the material side of the University been neglected. A plan for the construction of university buildings was adopted in 1890. A part of this plan has already been carried out, at a cost of about 440,000 francs, the proceeds of voluntary subscriptions. The University possesses a valuable library of

150,000 volumes, a fine collection of instruments for instruction in physical science, three laboratories for instruction in chemistry, and a well-stocked museum of geology and mineralogy. But it is time to speak of the organisation of the University.

II. ORGANISATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

The Archbishops and Bishops of thirty-three dioceses in the centre of France assembled in general meeting form the governing body of the Catholic University, and by annual collections in their dioceses provide means for its support. For the despatch of business a standing committee has been formed, consisting of seven Bishops elected by their colleagues, and holding office for a period of three years. The Archbishop of Paris holds the rank of Chancellor. The University is immediately governed by a Rector, who must be an ecclesiastic, and who is selected by the Bishops, and confirmed by the Holy See. In the earlier years of the University the abbé Conil governed the rising institution as Pro-Rector. In 1881 a Rector was formally appointed. The person chosen for that office was Mgr. D'Hulst, a man distinguished by his rank, his virtues, and his learning, and who along with his duties as Rector filled with honour the post of Deputy in the lower chamber, and occupied with distinction the pulpit of Notre Dame. He was succeeded by Mgr. Pechenard, an ecclesiastic well qualified by his talents, and his administrative ability, as well by his literary accomplishments for the high position he occupies.

The Rector is assisted by a Vice-Rector and aided by a Rector's council, composed of members partly appointed and partly elected.

The canonical faculties are governed by a college of doctors, at whose head is a dean. The other faculties are governed by a dean chosen by election from amongst the professors for a period of three years. In the faculty of law the professors are appointed by concursus; in the other faculties they are appointed by the board of Bishops. Professors once appointed are irremovable except for a grave reason. But a limit of age has been fixed. On reaching the age of seventy they are obliged to retire. Should a professor

before that age become incapable of fulfilling his duties, he is invited by the rector to appoint a substitute for a term of three years, on the expiry of which he must resign his chair. In order to make provision for professors on their retirement the following method has been adopted. No deduction is made from the annual salary of professors, as is usually done in State institutions. But, each year, a sum equal to one-tenth of each professor's salary is invested in his name in a special fund. The interest is added to the capital; and after twenty years' service, and sixty years of age, a professor's right to the sum which has accumulated to his credit becomes absolute. Payment may be deferred until the limit of age has been reached, when the account of each is closed, and the sum to his credit is handed to him. This principle, which was adopted at first for the professors and principal officers of the University, has been extended to all the officials, even to the domestic servants.

III. WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY.—FACULTIES

From the organisation, we now pass on to examine the work done by the University in its several schools.

Theology.—The establishment of the theological faculty has been already referred to. It remains to speak of its present condition. At its commencement the theological faculty began with four chairs, viz., Theology, Scripture with Hebrew and Syriac, Ecclesiastical History, and Scholastic Philosophy. To these were added a chair of Canon Law. Unlike the Roman Universities, in which the degree of doctor may be obtained at the end of the ordinary curriculum of studies, the University of Paris, and the other Catholic faculties in France, that of Lille alone excepted, made it a condition of admittance that students should have already completed the ordinary course of philosophy and theology as taught in seminaries. This method has the advantage of not weakening the seminaries by withdrawing from them their most talented students. In substance, too, it is the method of the ancient Sorbonne, in which students presented themselves for the grade of bachelor only after completing a three years' course of theology and afterwards continued

their studies to obtain higher degrees. In the earlier years of the Faculty the course followed was this. Students who had completed the ordinary seminary course were permitted to present themselves for the degree of bachelor, or auditor. On obtaining that degree, they were inscribed on the roll of the University, and after attendance at lectures for two years, they were eligible to present themselves for the degree of licentiate. Students of superior excellence were at liberty to present themselves afterwards for the doctorate. The standard of excellence necessary for the latter degree was maintained so high that from 1878 to 1895 only three doctorates were awarded. Inaugurated in 1878, the theological faculty received canonical institution in 1889. By a Rescript of 1895 it has been more fully organised. In that year three canonical faculties, viz., theology, canon law, and scholastic philosophy were established, and statutes provisionally approved for a period of ten years, for their government. Each of these faculties is autonomous, and consists of a college of eight or at most twelve doctors, presided over by a dean. By the same Rescript the programme of studies was sanctioned. According to the statutes, as modified in 1895, the students in the diocesan Great seminaries may obtain the degree of bachelor by passing with success an examination in a programme of studies fixed by the authorities of the University. But no one is permitted to present himself for the Licence unless he has attended lectures at the University for a period of one year after obtaining the grade of bachelor. At the end of a second year of residence the doctorate may be obtained. But, besides the ordinary doctorate there is a higher doctorate called of *agrégation*. For this degree candidates must present a written thesis on some important subject, and make a public defence of forty propositions. At the present time the seminaries of thirty-three dioceses are affiliated to the University, and present their most talented students for the grade of bachelor in philosophy or theology or canon law. Since its establishment the faculty of theology has conferred 20 doctorates, 114 licences, and 626 bachelorships. The faculty of canon law has conferred 7 doctorates, 117 licences, and 296 bachelorships; while that of scholastic philosophy has granted 9 doctorates, 20 licences, and 370 bachelorships.

The reputation of the canonical faculties is deservedly high. The theological chairs are filled by two distinguished Jesuits. The more important question of dogmatic and moral theology are exhaustively treated, and special attention is given to such questions and difficulties as are of particular interest at the present time. The chairs of Sacred Scripture belong to the theological faculty and are ably filled. The name of the abbé Martin, first professor of Scripture, and of abbé Loisy, sometime a professor of Hebrew, are well known to Biblical scholars. In 1893 an article in the *Correspondant* from the pen of Mgr. D'Hulst, and entitled *La Question Biblique*, drew attention to the rôle of the Paris University in the question of Biblical criticism. The eminent rector, as Mgr. Baunard expresses it, stated the question *avec une extrême hardiesse* and dwelt on the character of the several schools of interpretation; that of the Rationalists on the one hand, and of Catholics on the other. The latter, in France, were more or less advanced and might be said to form three schools, that of the Jesuits, represented by the writers in the *Etudes Religieuses*; that of the Dominicans, represented by the *Revue Biblique*; and that of the Sulpicians represented by the abbé Vigoureux.⁴

Soon after the Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus*, was published by Leo XIII., and laid down the rules to be observed by Catholics in Biblical exegesis. Its teaching was loyally accepted. About this time, the abbé Loisy, a young professor, already in the forefront of the exegetical movement, resigned his chair. In 1895 the abbé Vigoureux had been appointed to succeed the abbé Martin, and soon after, in 1893, an additional chair of Sacred Scripture was created and assigned to the abbé Fillion. These two professors, well known by their works on Biblical exegesis, belong to the company of St. Sulpice. Their names are a sufficient guarantee for the character of Biblical teaching in the University.

In the faculty of canon law the first professor was Mgr. Gasparri. His canonical treatises, *De Matrimonio*, *De Ordine*, and *De Eucharistia*, are the best evidence of the solidity of

⁴ *Unsiècle de l'Eglise de France*, par Mgr. Baunard, 3rd édition, p. 375.

his learning, and the excellence of his teaching. For seventeen years he gave his valuable services to the rising University. In 1897 he was consecrated Archbishop of Cesarea, and sent as apostolic delegate to Peru, Equator, and Bolivia. He now holds the office of Secretary to the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, in Rome, where his many friends in France augur for him a still more brilliant future. The work which he commenced is ably carried on by the learned Dr. Boudihnon, and by the abbé Many.

Two Marists and one Dominican fill the chairs of Scholastic and Thomistic philosophy.

The chair of ecclesiastical history was for many years filled by the abbé Duchesne, a scholar widely known for his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, as well as for his works entitled *Les Origines Chrétiennes*, and *Les Fastes Episcopaux*. His learned labours merited for him admission to the *Institut de France*, and the French Government have since made choice of him as head of the *Ecole Française* in Rome.

Law.—From the beginning the faculty of law has been the most flourishing in the University. In France a degree in law is necessary as a qualification for many positions in the service of the State; and many study law who do not propose to adopt a legal career. In the faculty of law the chairs are awarded by concursus. The first dean of this faculty was M. Edmond Connelly, counsellor in the Court of Cassation. M. Connelly was of Irish descent. Late in life he took orders, and was known as M. le Chanoine Connelly. In addition to the chair of law properly so-called, several supplementary chairs have been added, such as those of political economy, of constitutional and international law, of the history of law. The law-school enjoys a well-merited reputation. Some of its professors have from time to time been selected by foreign governments to act as arbitrators in important cases. Works, too, which have been published by some amongst them, have been awarded the highest honours by the Academy.

The students of this faculty have obtained their degrees with success at the State examinations. Their successes up to 1901 are, 1,025 licences and 132 doctorates.

Letters.—The law of 1880 dealt a severe blow to the faculty

of Letters. It continued its work, however, and prepares students with marked success for degrees according to the programme of the State faculties. In the department of letters there are four sections, viz., (1) Literature, (2) Philosophy, (3) History, and (4) Modern Languages, in which a degree may be obtained. The number of students in this faculty has in recent years averaged 170. Many amongst them are ecclesiastics who reside in the seminary of the Institute, and study in preparation for professorships in the diocesan seminaries or other establishments of secondary education. In this way the University exercises a salutary influence over the studies in Catholic schools. Moreover, on the invitation of the Bishops, the professors of the faculty of letters visit establishments of secondary education, and contribute to their efficiency by pointing out where existing systems of teaching, or programmes of study, may require improvement. They have also established an annual competition between the Catholic secondary schools of thirty-three dioceses. About sixty establishments compete annually for the honours which the University offers. By this means emulation is created and the standard of studies elevated. The students of this faculty have obtained at the State examinations 625 licences, 33 *aggrégations*, and 22 doctorates. The late lamented abbé Broglie, well known for his studies in *Apologetics*, was for some time attached to this faculty. At present it possesses a staff of professors, each distinguished in his special subject. Amongst them may be mentioned abbé Bertrin, whose works, *Les Grandes Figures Catholiques Contemporaines*, *La Question Homérique*, and *La Sincérité Religieuse de Chateaubriand*, have received the eulogium of the learned. Not less distinguished is the abbé Rousselot, whose studies on the transformation of language have led to the discovery of what may be termed a new science, viz., experimental phonetics (*La Phonétique expérimentale*), which has earned for its originator honours from the learned societies of France and Germany, and which, outstepping the bounds of theory has been found useful in the treatment of stammering, and in the education of deaf mutes.

Science.—In the faculty of science, instruction is given in

mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, and mineralogy. The students of this faculty up to 1901 have obtained 218 licences, 1 *agrégation* and 4 doctorates. Amongst its staff of able professors two are particularly distinguished, M. Lapparent, and M. Edward Branly. The works of M. Lapparent on geology, on mineralogy, and on physical geography, are of the highest merit; and the French Government has recognised his eminence by nominating him a member of the *Académie des Sciences*. To M. Branly belongs the honour of having discovered the principle of the *Radioconducteur*, or coherer, a principle which has since been applied with success by Marconi to the invention of wireless telegraphy. M. Branly's studies in this subject have led him to further discoveries which promise to render the operations of wireless telegraphy more simple.

Discipline.—In university life studies and lectures develop the intellect. The moral character is formed by discipline. We must not then omit mention of the discipline existing in the Catholic University of Paris. The students are divided into two great categories, clerical and lay. The ecclesiastical students number about one hundred and fifty. Some of them follow the courses of the canonical faculties; others attend lectures in the faculties of letters or of science, in preparation for professorships. They reside either in the seminary of the Institut or in that of St. Vincent de Paul, or in the religious houses of the orders to which they happen to belong. No ecclesiastical student is permitted to live at a hotel.

For the greater security of lay students a boarding house has been opened and placed under the management of a priest. All lay students, wherever they reside, are under the special care of the vice-rector, and they are recommended to select amongst the professors of their faculty one who shall be their guide and adviser in matters of conduct as well as of study. In the halls of the *Circle Catholique du Luxembourg* they find safe companionship, and halls for amusement or for study. This excellent club, founded fifty years ago, and now presided over by abbé Fonssagrives, is the rendez-vous of all that is best amongst the Catholic students in Paris. In the association of *Notre Dame des Etudiants* they are brought together on Sundays at St. Sulpice for Mass and

an instruction suited to themselves. In the Conference of St. Vincent de Paul, which on its first establishment was a failure, but which, having been re-established, now numbers forty members, they are initiated in the practice of charity. They have also organised two other charitable works of their own, viz., that of the *Petits Ramoneurs*, and that of the *Marmiteux*. In the former they gather together boys engaged as chimney sweeps, and in the latter, boys employed in restaurants, and instruct them in catechism and provide them with amusement. Thus the students are brought into contact with the poor and the labouring classes and learn to understand them.

But it may be interesting to inquire what are the relations between the clerical and the lay students. In the faculties of letters and of science the ecclesiastics mingle with the lay students at the same lectures, and undergo the same examination. They join with them too in their charitable works, nor are they cut off from them altogether in other respects. There exists an *Association Amicale des Etudiants*, to which ecclesiastics are admitted. The members of this association meet once a month for the purpose of literary discussion or for friendly recreation. In this way both classes of students are led to know each other, and made to feel that they are children of the same *Alma Mater*.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSIONS

Besides its influence over the students who follow the courses in the various faculties to prepare for degrees, the University exercises a wholesome influence over many others. Each year a course of public lectures on subjects of general interest is delivered in the halls of the establishment. Special lectures, too, are given on social questions, on apologetics, and on philosophy. The *Revue de l'Institut Catholique* commenced in 1890 is another channel of influence.

A course of lectures for lady students has also been established to afford to women an opportunity of higher culture. In order to exclude mere *dilettante*, a fee is required for admission to these lectures. In Paris many young ladies desirous of higher culture are thus provided with a means, as Mgr. Pechenard expresses it, of satisfying the aspirations of their

intellect, and at the same time of safeguarding the principles of the faith, a result hardly to be hoped for in other intellectual surroundings where the principles of Naturalism hold sway.

To the influence of the Catholic University of Paris is also due in a large measure the establishment of Catholic scientific congresses, which do so much to encourage Catholic scholars, and to make them known to each other. The first of these congresses, the organisation of which was largely due to Mgr. D'Hulst, was held in Paris in 1888. The sixth will be held in Rome in the autumn of 1903.

To show more clearly the work done by the University, it will be useful to put before the reader two tables, one giving the number of students in attendance at lectures in one year, the other giving a summary of the successes gained by the students from the foundation of the University up to 1901.

TABLE I.
NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN THE YEAR 1897 '98.⁵

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|---|-------------------------|-------------------|----|-----|-----|-----|
| Facultés Canoniques | - | { | Théologie | - | - | 23 | } | 86 |
| | | | Droit Canonique | - | - | 10 | | |
| | | | Philosophie Scolastique | - | - | 10 | | |
| | | | Cours divers et isolés | - | - | 37 | | |
| Facultés de Droit | - | { | Première année | - | - | 134 | } | 433 |
| | | | Deuxième année | - | - | 101 | | |
| | | | Troisième année | - | - | 87 | | |
| | | | Capacité | - | - | 12 | | |
| | | | Doctorat | - | - | 92 | | |
| | | | Cours isolés | - | - | 7 | | |
| Ecole des Lettres | } Licence - | { | Lettres | { Ecclesiastiques | 51 | 86 | } | 158 |
| | | | | { Laiques | 35 | | | |
| | | | Histoire | { Ecclesiastiques | 10 | 19 | | |
| | | | | { Laiques | 9 | | | |
| | | | Philosophie | { Ecclesiastiques | 8 | 19 | | |
| | | | | { Laiques | 11 | | | |
| | | | Langues | { Ecclesiastiques | 3 | 6 | | |
| | | | | { Laiques | 3 | | | |
| Ecole des Sciences | - | { | Cours isolés | | | 28 | } | 45 |
| | | | Physiques | { Ecclesiastiques | 6 | 17 | | |
| | | | | { Laiques | 11 | | | |
| | | | Mathématiques | { Ecclesiastiques | 10 | 19 | | |
| | | | | { Laiques | 9 | | | |
| Total General, | | | | | | | 722 | |
| à ces chiffres il convient d'ajouter pour les cours libres de Theologie | | | | | | | 100 | |
| pour les cours d' Enseignement des Jeunes Filles | | | | | | | 119 | |
| „ „ conférences Publiques une Moyenne de | | | | | | | 75 | |

⁵ See *Bulletin du Denier de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*.

TABLE II

SUMMARY OF SUCCESSES UP TO 1901.⁶

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|-------------------------|---|---|------|------|
| Bacheliers | - | { | Théologie | - | - | 265 | 970 |
| | | | Droit Canonique | - | - | 328 | |
| | | | Philosophie Scolastique | - | - | 377 | |
| | | | Capacitaires en Droit | - | - | 33 | |
| Lienciés | - | { | Théologie | - | - | 123 | 2206 |
| | | | Droit Canonique | - | - | 125 | |
| | | | Philosophie Scolastique | - | - | 19 | |
| | | | Droit | - | - | 1041 | |
| | | { | Lettres | - | - | 671 | |
| | | | Philosophie | - | - | | |
| | | | Histoire | - | - | | |
| | | | Langues Vivantes | - | - | | |
| | | { | Sciences | - | - | 227 | |
| Agrégés | - | { | Lettres | - | - | 33 | 34 |
| | | | Sciences | - | - | 1 | |
| Docteurs | - | { | Théologie | - | - | 20 | 197 |
| | | | Droit Canonique | - | - | 8 | |
| | | | Philosophie Scolastique | - | - | 6 | |
| | | | Droit | - | - | 133 | |
| | | | Lettres | - | - | 23 | |
| | | | Sciences | - | - | 7 | |

From the foregoing sketch and from these tables it will be seen how courageously and successfully the Catholic University of Paris is carrying on the struggle for freedom in higher education. The work done in the past quarter of a century is a presage of the work which under favourable circumstances will be done in the future. The other Catholic Institutes at Lille, Angers, Toulouse, and Lyons, are likewise doing good work in the same cause. All have the faculties of theology, law, letters, and science. In addition to these, Lille possesses a very successful Catholic medical school. In Toulouse, Lille, and Lyons, as in Paris, the ecclesiastical students reside in seminaries established for the purpose.

But it may be asked how far does the influence of these five institutes or Catholic universities reach, as compared with that of the State university. Here let us borrow the words of Mgr. Baunard in the chapter on *L'Enseignement Chrétien*, in

⁶ Taken from *L'Institut Catholique*, page 253. These figures include the successes won in July, 1901. The figures given on previous page and taken from Mgr. Pechenard's work, do not in all cases, include the results of July, 1901.

his work, *Un siècle de l'Eglise de France*.⁷ Quoting from a report furnished to him, Mgr. Baunard writes:—

On 15th January last (1900) there were in the State Faculties 29,377 students, of whom 26,974 were French ; who alone should here be taken into account. The Free Establishments of Higher Education numbered at that date 1,207. If to these we add 200 students in Theology, not enrolled on the official lists, as against 150 students in Protestant Theology, we arrive at the proximate figure 1,400. The total number in the State Establishments and in the Free Faculties amounts to 28,347 students.

Our establishments of secondary education have at the present moment as many pupils as the lycées and colleges of the University. Nothing can be more certain ; and it is proven that we have 84,569 students in our Free colleges, while the rival establishments have 84,839. These are the figures, according to the statistics of 1897, which are increased to-day in our favour by 7,000.

We ought, then, to have in our higher schools the same number of students as our adversaries, that is one-half of the whole. If parents and children were consistent, if all continued their studies in the same spirit in which they began them we should have in our five free universities, taken together, at least 14,178 students. *Fourteen thousand* young men animated with the sentiments they imbibed in our 400 Catholic colleges. What a strength for the Church and for Fatherland ! What a proof and guarantee of the preservation in France of our hereditary faith, and of the noblest Christian sentiments. Now, continues our secretary-general, we find under the banner of free education only 1,400 students, that is to say *one* in *ten* of the young men whom we have educated ; *one* in *twenty* of the total number. In presence of this fact we cannot but call to mind the words of the Gospel : *Et novem ubi sunt?*

And yet [continues Monsignor Baunard], what is wanting to our establishments? Have they not victoriously proved their worth before the official Boards of Examiners, where at each examination of each year they obtain a per-centage of successes notably higher than that of the State Faculties? Have we not seen this very year one of our students take first place for one of the most coveted *aggregations*, that of History ; and another carry off the first prize in the general competition amongst the State Faculties of Law. The Church which educates them has valiantly done her duty. Have Christians, who still grudge her their confidence, done theirs?

Thus writes Mgr. Baunard. But is not the picture somewhat overdrawn? A large proportion, viz., 8,627 of the students in

⁷ Paris, 3rd edition, p. 131.

the State faculties are medical students. There is but one Catholic medical school, that of Lille. Where can the students who desire to study medicine under Catholic masters go? Anyhow, when every allowance has been made, it remains true that there are more students in the one Catholic university of Louvain, with its 2,000 students, than at the five Catholic universities of France.

There is much to be said in favour of the spreading of centres of higher education in a large country where the State University itself has sixteen great centres. But it may be questioned whether a concentration of energy and of resources would not have produced in France a success similar to that obtained in Louvain.

Another inference, too, may be drawn from the history of these free universities in France. In them there are lay and ecclesiastical students. The ecclesiastics enjoy, indeed, a greater measure of freedom than is possible in diocesan seminaries. But while on certain occasions they mingle with the lay students; in their daily life they are kept under discipline, and are thus guarded against the dangers which abound in great cities. This was the practice of the Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it cannot be abandoned with safety.

During the quarter of a century which has elapsed since its foundation the Catholic University of Paris has proved its worth, and the friends of higher Catholic education, wherever they are, will watch its growth with interest, and will pray that it may prosper, and one day equal the Ancient University of Paris, which was for so many centuries the glory of France.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

MARIE CORELLI AND THE CHURCH

THE novel is a great power for popularizing the results of research, whether social, scientific, or religious. For, it is not everyone who has the inclination or ability to work out these results for himself; but, in the novel, the reader has them brought before him with a certain amount of fascination. They are at work apparently in real life. The interest of the story carries him along and enables him to fix his attention, whilst he imperceptibly imbibes the doctrines desired by the writer, and often has them indelibly fixed in his imagination and in his heart.

But, whilst the novel may be an instrument for the inculcation of truth, it may obviously be also the means of disseminating error. Just as the mirror, if it be plane, gives forth a correct image of what is reflected in it. But, if it be concave or convex, the reflected image is a mere caricature. The mirror in that case is no guide to truth.

Of late years many novels have been published, with a view to advancing certain social and religious views. Thus, quite recently, there has appeared Hall Caine's *Eternal City*, and some few years ago, Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Robert Elsmere*. No Catholic will entirely endorse the views of either of these writers; and, especially it may be said of the latter book, that it is one calculated to do harm, by upsetting the minds of many who are not familiar with the Biblical and historico-theological discussions of the day. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted, that these writers deal with their subject in a scholarly way, without vulgar abuse of institutions with which they are not in sympathy, and with a reverence becoming the topics of which they treat.

The present paper is concerned with two novels of a somewhat different character—the latest publications of Marie Corelli, *The Master Christian* and *Temporal Power*; both of which present to the reader a distorted image, a caricature, an absurd misrepresentation of the Catholic Church.

No one would be inclined to deny that Marie Corelli possesses many of the gifts that go to make up the great novelist. She has descriptive and dramatic power of a high order. There are passages in her works extremely touching and full of pathos; whilst some of her characters are delineated and carried through with wonderful consistency and truth to life. But, on the other hand, her books seem to be oppressed with a good deal of turgidity and heaviness. There is a tendency to overdo the sentimentality, so that the love scenes at times become gushing, effusive, and maudlin. Above all, there is a morbidness pervading her works—as for instance in the last chapter of *Temporal Power*, where the king and Sergius Thord sail to death over the stormy ocean, with the corpse of the murdered Lotys—which is somewhat repulsive, and accounts for the dislike in which they are held by many, notwithstanding the large circulation to which they have attained.

It is impossible to be equally favourable in the criticism of the didactic portions of Marie Corelli's novels. For, it cannot be doubted, that in her two last books, she aims at teaching the world on the subjects of religion and sociology. Time after time, in connection with the great picture painted by one of her heroines, Angela Sovrani, she inveighs against the notion that women may not give great lessons to mankind as well as men. Evidently she is vindicating her own right to enlighten the world; and in the volumes we are considering is contained some of the light she would disseminate. Let the following passage suffice as a sample of her views on this subject.¹

'Oh! a woman!' exclaimed Angela, her beautiful eyes flashing with mingled tenderness and scorn, and her whole face lighting up with animation, 'only a woman! *She* must not give a grand lesson to the world! She must not, by means of brush or pen, point out to a corrupt generation the way it is going! Why? Because God has created her to be the helpmate of man! Excellent reason! Man is taking a direct straight road to destruction, and she must not stop him by so much as lifting a warning finger! Again, why? Only because she is a woman! But I—were I twenty times a woman, twenty times weaker than I am, and hampered by every sort of convention and usage—I would express my thoughts somehow, or die in the attempt.'

¹ *The Master Christian*, p. 134.

Accordingly, in *The Master Christian* and *Temporal Power*, Marie Corelli sets herself to express her thoughts, among other things, on the Catholic Church. The world's Christianity, she thinks, has gone astray. The Churches, especially the Catholic Church, do not teach the doctrines of Christ. True Christianity is contained in a sort of socialistic natural religion, which she shadows forth in a misty kind of way. Into this region, however, we do not propose to follow her, being concerned only with her teaching, as it affects the Catholic Church.

It may be said at once that Marie Corelli's attacks are not of a kind to do harm. They are too much after the style of the *Rock*, or the Protestant Alliance. There is about them a want of refinement, an absence of logic, a violence, a disregard of facts, which do not at all show the incapacity of women for dealing with great controversial subjects, but which seem to indicate that Marie Corelli's time would be more usefully occupied in devoting her attention to romance writing than in teaching mankind about the Catholic Church. No doubt, *The Master Christian* especially, will appeal to a certain limited public; but that public will not consist of what is truest and best in this country. It will be made up of such as interest themselves in putting in force the obsolete penal laws against Jesuits, or are to be found attending the lectures of the 'ex-nuns' and 'Ruthvens' of modern notoriety.

Marie Corelli's views on religion are to be found scattered up and down her books, but largely they are contained in certain long harangues or diatribes by such heroes of hers as Aubrey Leigh, Cyrillon Vergmaud, and Sergius Thord. Through these we conscientiously waded, though it must be confessed the style and subject matter were often of the dreariest. Long paragraphs, extending to two or three pages, with no special point; texts of Scripture quoted in the good old style without any particular regard to the context; the point of view of the teacher shifting according to convenience, now based on Christ's teaching, now in direct opposition to it. In fact, words strung together in such loose and random fashion, that Mgr. Gherardi's comment, at the end of one of Aubrey Leigh's deliverances, was none too strong, when he

said (page 311): 'You rant very well, Mr. Leigh! You would make an excellent Hyde Park orator!'

But, what seemed specially noticeable about these verbose productions was, that whilst one had to exercise much self-control and patience to keep one's attention fixed and take in the sense of the text, apparently they had moved the writer to the very depths of her being, so that every now and then one was astonished to find that the audience had been listening spell-bound—such notes as the following being frequent: 'He (Leigh) paused—there was a slight stir among the audience, but otherwise not a sound.' (Page 603).

Unfortunately, to deal adequately with Marie Corelli's attack upon the Catholic Church, its ministers, its teaching, its practice, and its work in the world, would be impossible in a brief essay. It would require volumes. All that can be attempted is to consider briefly in two sections the characters whom she introduces as typical of the Catholic clergy, and then in a third to bring forward a few specimens of her manner of dealing with things connected with the Catholic Church.

I.

If Marie Corelli's picture of the Catholic Church is a reliable one, the priests introduced by her as characters in her novels ought to be really typical of the Catholic clergy. That is a proposition not likely to be called in question.

What kind of men, then, are the clerics whom she introduces?

In *Temporal Power*, there is a Jesuit, Mgr. Del Fortis, 'a dark, resentful-looking man, of about sixty, tall and thin, with a long, cadaverous face, very strongly pronounced features, and small sinister eyes, over which the level brows almost met across the bridge of the nose.' (Page 33).

The character of this man is revealed in the Twenty-fifth chapter, where he is represented as having gained admission to a dungeon to 'confess' a wretched half-witted youth, who had been arrested in the act of attempting to murder the king. This half-crazy lad had been brought up in a Jesuit college, where, apparently—so we are supposed to believe—the Fathers

had so wrought on his ill-balanced intellect, that the result was his criminal attempt at regicide. Under threat of forcing him to drain a phial of poison, which he holds before the lad's eyes, Del Fortis is now terrorizing his victim into taking an oath that at his trial he will repudiate his connection with the Jesuits and falsely incriminate Sergius Thord, Lotys, and the socialists in his mad deed, when the interview is suddenly interrupted by the entry of the king. Such is priest No. 1.

Then there is a Roman ecclesiastic, in intimate relations with the Vatican, Mgr. Gherardi, 'one of the cleverest, most astute, and most unscrupulous of men, to whom religion was nothing more than a means of making money and gaining power.'² 'Away out towards Frascati he had a superb villa, furnished with every modern luxury and convenience (not rented in his own name, but in that of a man whom he paid heavily to serve him as his tool and menial)—where a beautiful Neapolitan *danseuse* condescended to live as his mistress.' (Page 301.) Gherardi was a liar of the blackest type (*cf.* page 538); and was guilty of attempting to violate a young countess—Sylvie Hermentstein—whilst paying a formal visit to her house. This is priest No. 2.

In conjunction with Gherardi may be taken his intimate friend and associate, Mgr. Moretti, 'a tall, spare man, with a dark narrow countenance of the true Tuscan type—a face in which the small, furtive eyes twinkled with a peculiarly hard brilliancy as though they were luminous pebbles.' (Page 215.) His close connection with Gherardi is enough to lead one to suspect that Moretti's character was not of the loftiest. The fact is placed beyond doubt by a perusal of Chapter XXVII., which records a dialogue between the two friends. Let one sample of his views suffice (page 415):—

'We all live for Barabbas,' pursued Moretti, an ironical smile playing on his thin lips, 'not for Christ! Barabbas, in the shape of the unscrupulous millionaire, robs the world!—and we share the spoils, pardon his robberies, and set him free. But, whosoever lives outside Dogma, serving God purely and preaching truth—him we crucify!—but our robber—our murderer of Truth, we set at liberty! Hence, as I said before, the power of the Church.'

² *The Master Christian*, p. 300.

Moretti is priest No. 3.

Another clerical character is the Abbé Vergniaud, a popular or rather fashionable Parisian preacher. He is an atheist, as witness the following words of his out of many³:—

Let each man enjoy himself according to his temperament and capabilities. Do not impose bounds upon him—give him his liberty! Let him alone! Do not try to bamboozle him with the idea that there is a God looking after him, so will he be spared much disappointment and useless blasphemy. If he makes his own affairs unpleasant in this world, he will not be able to lift up his hands to the innocent skies, which are only composed of ether, and blame an impossible large person sitting up there, who can have no part in circumstances which are entirely unknown outside the earth's ridiculously small orbit.

Nor does the Abbé make any secret of his views. They are notorious. So that he lays himself open to Angela Sovrani's retort:—

How cold! How didactic! You would give each man his freedom according to habit and temperament—no matter whether such habit and temperament led to crime or otherwise—you would impose upon him no creed—no belief in anything higher than himself—and yet you remain in the Church.

Such were the Abbé's views! His practice was no better. He was a libertine and a hypocrite. How like the great popular French preachers! Bossuet and Fénelon and Lacordaire and Monsabré and Didon! In the Abbé Vergniaud we have priest No. 4.

One more ecclesiastical character must be outlined here, that of the Archbishop of Rouen. As was to be expected, this dignitary is not depicted as of quite so gross and low a type. His character, however, is the reverse of complimentary to the French episcopate.

His fresh, plump face, unmarred by any serious consideration, bespoke [we are told],⁴ a thorough enjoyment of life, and the things which life—if encouraged to demand them—most strenuously seeks, such as good food, soft beds, rich clothing, and other countless luxuries which are not necessities by any means, but which make the hours move smoothly and softly.

The Archbishop was very often wrong. Wrapped up in himself and his own fixed notions as to how life should be lived, he

³ *The Master Christian*, p. 101

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 33.

seldom looked out upon the larger world, and obstinately refused to take any thoughtful notice of the general tendency of public opinion in all countries concerning religion and morality. All that he was unable to explain, he flatly denied, and his prejudices were as violent as his hatred of contradiction was keen.

This amiable and mortified prelate makes up priest No. 5, and, with the exception of two men of most exalted station—Cardinal Bonpré and the Pope, reserved for separate treatment—exhausts the list of Marie Corelli's clerical characters.

Now it does not seem presumptuous to affirm that in setting before the reader this list of characters, supposed to typify the clergy of the Catholic Church, enough has been done to shatter any pretensions of which Marie Corelli may boast to be regarded as a safe guide respecting that great organisation. The Catholic Church is spread throughout the world. Its priests are known in every land. It is not seriously contested that they are, as a body, as honest, sincere, and devoted to duty as any class of men living; and it is certain that this gross libel upon the members of an honourable profession, will provoke nothing but indignation and disgust in the minds of all right-minded men.

We shall, however, take a further step to rebut this evidence of Marie Corelli. She has given us some samples of the French clergy. She has done more. Her hero, Angela Sovrani, in the marvellous painting referred to before, introduces amongst other figures, one which she calls 'a servant of Christ, at the Madeleine, Paris.' It is the type of the French priest, for she says:—

'You blame me for choosing such an evil type of priest! But there is no question of choice! These faces are ordinary among our priests. At all the churches, Sunday after Sunday, I have looked for a good, a noble face,—in vain! For an even commonly honest face,—in vain!' (Page 129.)

Here is the type (page 129):—

Low beetling brows, a sensual cruel mouth, with a loosely-projecting upper lip, eyes that appeared to be furtively watching each other across the thin bridge of the nose, a receding chin and a narrow cranium, combined with an expression which was hypocritically humble, yet sly . . . a type mercilessly true to the life; the face of a priest.

Two witnesses shall be called against this evidence, both men of unimpeachable authority: one, who had the opportunity of studying the French priesthood from within, and afterward became the avowed enemy of the priesthood and the Church, the late Ernest Renan; the other, an English Protestant, who has been engaged for many years in France studying French institutions on the spot, Mr. J. E. C. Bodley. The evidence of both witnesses is contained in the following passage from Bodley's *France*.⁵

The author of the *Vie de Jesus*, who had none of the injustice of an apostate, said of the Order he had quitted: 'I have never known any but good priests';⁶ and seven years of constant association with French ecclesiastics of every rank have impressed the full value of this testimony upon me, who also regard the Catholic Church objectively, though not from the point of view of M. Renan. My studies on the Church in France, in the work which will follow this one, will fully deal with the tradition and character of the clergy. All that need be said of them here is that by their lives and example they show how a celibate sacerdotal caste may be an advantage to the State. . . . The parish priests of France, than whom there is not a more exemplary body of men in any land, illustrate the better qualities, refined by discipline, of those great categories of the people, which constitute the real force of the nation.

Such is the answer to Marie Corelli's attack on the French clergy. Did space permit, an equally conclusive one might be made in regard to the clergy of other countries. But the effect of this reply cannot be confined to France. It shows clearly that Marie Corelli's teaching as to the character of the clergy should be taken *cum grano*, indeed with the gravest suspicion.

II

Cardinal Boupré is one of Marie Corelli's heroes.

Tall and severely thin, with fine worn features of ascetic and spiritual delicacy, he had the undefinably removed air of a scholar and thinker, whose life was not, and never could be in accordance with the latter-day customs of the world; the mild blue eyes, clear and steadfast, most eloquently suggested 'the peace of God that passeth all understanding'—and the sensitive intellectual lines of the mouth and chin, which indicated strength and determined will, at the same time declared that

⁵ Page 43.

⁶ *Souvenirs d'Enfance*, St. Nicolas du Chardonnet.

both strength and will were constantly employed in the doing of good and avoidance of evil ; no dark furrows of hesitation, cowardice, cunning, meanness, or weakness marred the expressive dignity, and openness of the Cardinal's countenance. (P. 3.)

This holy man had spent his years in 'a certain small, half-forgotten, but once historically-famed cathedral town of France.'—not in idleness, however ; for 'most of his time was passed in reading and study' (page 7.) He was in fact (page 8) 'wise with the wisdom which comes of deep reading, lonely meditation, and fervent study,' and 'had instructed himself in the modern schools of thought, as well as the ancient.'

This venerable gentleman, equipped with every advantage of nature and grace, is raised up by Marie Corelli to confound the Catholic Church. Not content with painting him as a scholar and perfect Christian, she has recourse to the miraculous. Forgetful of her allegiance to modern anti-ecclesiastical science, she makes him work a miracle ; and strives to bolster up his authority still more by introducing at his side a petulant, forward, precocious *enfant terrible*, a fantastic incarnation of the Divine, a kind of *Deus ex machina*—one Manuel—to see him through his difficulties.

What are the Cardinal's views? They are to be found in every part of *The Master Christian*. 'The Church has failed,' he says to himself (page 13) ; and again, when the Son of Man cometh 'He will not find faith even in the Church He founded.'

Again (page 115):—'Heresy against the Church is nothing—it is heresy against Christ which is the crime of the age—and in that the very Church is heretic.'

Again of a sermon preached by the Abbé Vergniaud (Chap. xiii.), in which the doctrines and authority of the Church are denounced and ridiculed, he says (page 217):—

'In his address he pointed out certain failings in the Church which may possibly need consideration and reform ; but against the Gospel of Christ, or against the founder of our Faith, I heard no word that could be judged ill-fitting.' The Abbé had just before admitted the attack on the Church, adding:—'Christ Himself would attack it if He were to visit this earth again.'

It would be beside the mark here to discuss the views held

by the aged Cardinal. One thing is obvious! He is not a Catholic at all; and, learned and acute man as he is represented as being, he must have been perfectly aware of that fact.

But then, that being so, how can his position be defended as honest? How was it, that it never occurred to him that he was playing the hypocrite? That he was receiving money under false pretences? That, in parading in purple and fine linen, and not denouncing the Church to his flock, he was keeping them in their allegiance to what he believed to be a delusion and a lie? No explanation is given of all this.

Nor is it easy to understand his state of mind after his first audience with the Pope. Here is a man who has grown old in the priesthood, a profound theologian, a thinker, an archbishop and a cardinal! He has clearly become an apostate, and consorts with, and encourages the avowed enemies of the Church. He goes to the Vatican, and is astonished that his interview is not over-cordial! 'When Bonpré left the holy presence he knew well enough that he was, *for no fault of his own* (!) under the displeasure of the Vatican.' (Page 329). 'Weary and sick at heart, the venerable prelate sighed as he reviewed all the entangling perplexities which had, *so unconsciously to himself* (!), become woven like a web about his innocent and harmless personality.' (Page 330.) And most wonderful of all—it never seems to have occurred to him, that he would not succeed, at his first interview, in bringing over the Pope to his views! He seems to have thought that he had only to have an audience, in order to persuade his Holiness that the Church had failed, and that such trifles as infallibility and the like must be given up! (*cf.* page 328).

The fact is, Cardinal Bonpré is an impossible character. As depicted in *The Master Christian*, in a constant state of worry and mental fatigue, unable to see through the most obvious fallacies, utterly deficient in argumentative power, and largely dependent on others for support, he is, whatever he may have been in Marie Corelli's imagination, a mere decrepit old man, evidently suffering from senile decay.

III

The number of passages relating to Sacred Scripture, and the beliefs and practices of the Catholic Church, to which we take exception in these volumes, is so great that it would be impossible to deal with them all. Four points are therefore selected as specimens of the prevailing style and method.

1. Wishing to discredit the significance of the well-known text of St. Matthew, 'Thou art Peter,' etc., Cyrillon Vergniaud uses in one place the following words (page 225):—

'Who that has read, and thought, and travelled, and studied the manuscripts hidden away in the old monasteries of Armenia and Syria, believes that the Saviour of the world ever condescended to 'pun' on the word Petrus, and say, "On this Rock (or stone) I will build My Church," when he already knew that He had to deal with a coward who would soon deny Him.'

There you have a fine affectation of learning! But what are those mysterious MSS. of Armenia and Syria? We know of the 'Codex Sinaiticus,' discovered in a convent on Mount Sinai in 1844, and now in the Royal Library at St. Petersburg; also of the 'Codex Vaticanus,' in the Vatican Library. We know that there is a host of other New Testament MSS., including such famous ones as the 'Codex Alexandrinus,' in the British Museum, the 'Codex Bezae' at Cambridge, and the 'Codex Ephraemi' in Paris. So too, every one has heard of the illustrious textual critics—English and German—Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Hort, and Westcott—men who had 'read and thought, and travelled and studied.' But of no other mysterious MSS., either in Syria or elsewhere have we heard! Nor of any critic who has ventured to discredit the well-known Petrine passage! We have, however, read in Hort and Westcott's introduction to their world-famed edition of the Greek text (page 285), that, 'It would be an illusion to anticipate important changes of text from any acquisition of new evidence.' So that it would almost seem that the mysterious MSS. have no objective existence outside Marie Corelli's fertile imagination.

Nor is there any more ground for her argument, based on the 'pun' used by our Saviour. It is well known that our Saviour employed the ordinary Jewish method of teaching

and argument (*cf.* the parable). His thought was cast in Jewish mould. But what is more common in the Sacred Writings of the Jews than the Paronomasia or Pun? It is true Marie Corelli lays stress upon the fact that our Saviour knew that Peter would afterwards deny Him; so He did, too, that Judas would betray and sell Him to His enemies! And yet He made him an intimate friend, and called him to the apostolate! The fact is, there is about as much foundation for the attack on the Petrine passage as for that on the French clergy!

2. With such views as to the Church, holding in fact that 'Christ did not found a Church,'⁷ one is prepared for the following words:—

'Roman Christianity is grafted upon Roman Paganism. When the Apostles were all dead, and their successors (who had never been in personal touch with Christ) came on the scene of action, they discovered that the people of Rome would not do without the worship of woman, in their creed, so they cleverly substituted the Virgin Mary for Venus and Diana. They turned the statues of gods and heroes into figures of apostles and saints. They knew it would be unwise to deprive the populace of what they had been so long accustomed to, and therefore they left them their swinging censers, their gold chalices, and their symbolic candles. Thus it is that Roman Catholicism became, and is still, merely a Christian form of Paganism, which is made to pay successfully, just as the feasts of Saturnalia of ancient days were made to pay, as spectacular and theatrical pastimes.' (Aubrey Leigh, p. 315.)

There you have an admirable instance of—to call it by a mild term—the fallacy known as the *suppressio veri*. 'Roman Catholicism became, and is still, *merely* a Christian form of paganism.' If Marie Corelli had confined herself to saying that, when, after a terrible conflict lasting three hundred years, the Church had conquered paganism, she took over and purified, together with certain pagan temples, other external customs of the old empire, we might in a qualified way agree with her.⁸ But to say that the Church is the direct descendant of paganism is to ignore the most potent factor in its formation.

The rising Church hated paganism: witness all that it suffered, rather than adopt pagan beliefs! On the other hand,

⁷ *The Master Christian*, Manuel, p. 314.

⁸ *Cf. Dr. Barry's Papal Monarchy*, ch. i.

the first Christian communities had their origin in the little Jewish coteries existing in Rome and such cities as Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and the like. Their ideas were largely taken from the Jews. When they wanted to build and furnish places of worship, they had the temple to look back upon, with its sacred vessels and its incense. The Christian Apocalypse is full of Jewish ideas; and the Church took over, *en masse*, the Jewish Scriptures, for our Saviour had said, 'I have not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil.' In fact, for a long time, the pagans did not distinguish the Christians from the Jews.

To say, in the face of this, that the Church is 'merely a Christian form of paganism,' and that the use of such things as incense, chalices, and candles, is directly inherited from the pagan, does not indicate a very deep knowledge of Christian origins. Far more historical and scholarly are the following words of M. Renan⁹:—

Deux réminiscences dominent tout cet enfantement de l'architecture chrétienne; d'abord un vague souvenir du temple de Jerusalem, dont une partie était accessible aux seuls prêtres; puis, une préoccupation de la grande liturgie céleste, par laquelle débute l'Apocalypse. L'influence de ce livre sur la liturgie fut de premier ordre. On voulut faire sur terre ce que les vingt-quatre vieillards et les chantages zoomorphes font devant le trône de Dieu. Le service de l'Eglise fut ainsi calqué sur celui du ciel. L'usage de l'encens vint sans doute de la même inspiration. Les lampes et les cierges étaient surtout employés dans les funérailles.

3. Marie Corelli prides herself on her devotion to truth, and adherence to the genuine teaching of Christ. Here is an instance of her consistency in these matters.

Her heroine—Sylvie Hermenstern—is to be married to Aubrey Leigh. Shortly before the marriage, a scene is portrayed between her and Gherardi (chaps. 33, 34), in which she proudly gives utterance to the following sentiments:¹⁰—'You know perfectly well—or you should know—that a wife's duty is to obey her husband, and that in future his church must be her's also.' (Page 532.) Again: 'Whatever his form of faith,

⁹ *Les Origines du Christianisme*. M. Aurelius. p. 517.

¹⁰ These sentiments were heard and approved by Leigh.

I intend to follow it, as I intend to obey his commands, whatever they may be, or wherever they may lead.' (Page 532). And again: 'From henceforth we are together, and together we are content to go after death, wherever God shall ordain, be it hell or heaven.' (Page 537).

These sentiments may be very fine; but they certainly do not indicate a very deep love of truth; neither are they Christianity. That a wife should obey her husband's commands, whether good or bad; that she should adopt his faith, whether she judge it right or wrong, is not a very lofty standard of action. How is it consistent with the teaching of Christ? 'You cannot serve two masters.' And again: 'If any man come to Me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple.' It does not seem possible to reconcile the two positions. Perhaps, however, we shall see things differently when we have had an opportunity to study the MSS. hidden in the monasteries of Armenia and Syria!

4. The most painful episode in *The Master Christian* is the description of the audience given by the Pope to Cardinal Bonpré and Manuel. How different the refined and brilliant pages, in which Hall Caine introduces us to the Vatican in the *Eternal City*. What ill-natured criticism! What vulgar insolence! How unlike the reverence experienced and displayed in presence of the august and venerable Pontiff, in the audiences of real life!

The boy Manuel, in presence of the Sovereign Pontiff, declines to kneel. 'I may not kneel to any man!' he says, 'but to God only!' Already, on more than one occasion, Angela Sovrani had been described as kneeling to the Cardinal, as the child naturally does to receive its father's blessing. Then, in aggressive style, he proceeds to lecture the Pope in insolent language. We wonder how many men of refined mind have read through these pages without feeling a deep sense of the impropriety and indecency of the scene!

As for the subject matter of Manuel's diatribe, it is as worthless as the style is unbecoming. 'Come out with me,' he says to the Pope, 'to live as Christ lived, teaching the people personally and openly.' (Page 439). 'Minister with

your own hands to the aged and the dying.' 'Come and preach Christ as He lived and died, and *was* and *is*.' And so on, *ad nauseam*.

Marie Corelli seems to imagine that the Pope lives in luxury in the Vatican, doing nothing for God's Church. She does not realise that his life is one of simple frugality and hard work. She overlooks the fact, that whereas, when Christ lived, the faithful numbered but a few individuals in a tiny corner of the globe, now they are hundreds of millions over the whole earth, and that therefore what was possible for our Saviour is not possible for His Vicar Leo XIII. She does not seem to realize that the government of the universal Church is a gigantic task; and that if the Pope were to engage in ordinary missionary and parochial work, he would have to neglect the work of his office and reduce the Church to chaos. She seems incapable of grasping the fact that the Sovereign Pontiff *does* teach the faithful and the world far more efficaciously in his wise Encyclical letters, than if his time were devoted to such work in some small district of a great city, as can be quite as well done by a simple priest. Nor does she seem to be aware that the Pope is in touch with the universal Church, by the approbation of bishops, by seeing the bishops from all over the world at stated times, by receiving in audience crowds of the faithful from every land, and by encouraging by word and financial aid the good works and missionary efforts of his children throughout the world.

Such are the remarks we have to offer about Marie Corelli's two latest novels. They are not favourable; but, it is doubtful whether they are any more severe than the verdict of the average fair-minded man would be as to her criticisms of the Catholic Church.

She adroitly selected a time, when the country was strongly moved about the Ritualistic practices in the Church of England, to launch *The Master Christian* on the public. The result was a large sale. But her style of controversy will have to change before it appeals to what is best in the English people.

Englishmen, as a rule, dislike much of the teaching of the Catholic Church. They dislike Confession, the veneration of

the Blessed Virgin, the Mass; they have an idea that the authority claimed by the Church tends to trammel the mind and to interfere with personal freedom. Above all, whilst willing to let Catholics go their own way, they object to the introduction of Catholic doctrines and practices into the Church of England.

On the other hand, Englishmen are honest and fair, and they know enough of Catholic priests to reject with indignation the insinuation that they are nothing better than a set of scoundrels. We do not grudge Marie Corelli the class of men who will be credulous enough to assimilate her teaching as to the Catholic Church and its ministers.

J. A. HOWLETT, O.S.B.

'IS OUR EARTH ALONE INHABITED?'

A FRIENDLY COMMENT UPON REV. E. A. SELLEY'S ESSAY

'To the wisest man, wide as is his vision, Nature remains of quite *infinite* depth, of quite infinite expansion; and all experience thereof, limits itself to some few computed centuries and measured square miles.'—T. CARLYLE.

IN his very interesting paper in the November issue of the I. E. RECORD, the Rev. E. Selley has provided us, your readers, with much food for reflection. He firstly asks: '*Is our earth alone inhabited?*' Then, without of course presenting us with any dogmatic reply, he suggests a good deal to provoke an affirmative rejoinder.

That our little world alone harbours living and sentient creatures seems to me, at least, wholly inconceivable. Nature is so rich, so prolific, and so exceedingly lavish and generous in all her ways, that it would seem almost an outrage upon her even to suggest that she has made the earth alone the scene of birth and death, of love and marriage, of mourning and rejoicing. I speak, let me observe, loosely and in the wider and laxer meaning of these terms, which I extend to all sentient beings, even to the irrational.

Since indeed, we find life, and all life's accompanying phenomena, wherever we are able to penetrate, it would surely be unreasonable to represent it, as a peculiarity of but one tiny orb, among the encircling myriads, that go to make up the visible creation? Life, and the natural delights that life yields in such abundance, are found on the land and on the sea, in the mountain and in the valley, in the air and in the earth, in the stagnant ponds and in the swift-rushing rivers; in short, wherever we are able to push our investigations. I refer to animal life; to the life of all kinds of sentient beings, of birds and beasts, and of fish and reptiles, and insects, as well as of every variety of slimy inhabitant, whether of the soil beneath our feet, or of the deepest and darkest caves of ocean.

But Father Selley, if I mistake not, refers, not so much to

animal life in general, as to human life in particular; and that, of course, brings us face to face with a vastly more difficult, even though it be with a vastly more interesting problem. The question then is: are human and intelligent beings working out their allotted destiny, exercising their energies, expressing their thoughts, passing their judgments, building up empires, conquering nature's laws, and opening up new fields for commerce in, say, Uranus and Sirius, in Arcturus and in Castor and Pollux, as well as here on earth? In other words: do the minute points of golden splendour that we observe dotting the skies on a clear summer's night really represent vast theatres of human activity? Are they fields of human force and feeling, where hearts beat fast, and thoughts run high, and where thousands meet, now in friendly converse, and now in the fierce and fatal throes of bloody conflict? Are these far-off worlds, in short, but more or less faithful portraits of our own world, only designed on a more extended plan, and built upon a more magnificent scale?

I have no more right to suggest an answer, and certainly no better qualifications for discovering one than Father Selley; but perhaps—merely to prove my interest in his essay—I may be allowed to speculate and to surmise.

I think it is extremely important, to begin with, that we should distinguish between the rational animal MAN, and other unknown, yet hypothetical and possible rational animals. Man has two sides to his nature. He is rational, and he is animal. Now, whenever we refer to him as an inhabitant of the earth, we invariably refer to him in so far as he is animal. When, for instance, we discuss his capability of living in the fierce heat of the torrid zone, or amid the perpetual frosts and snows of the frigid zone; when we affirm the impossibility of his living at all, without air, or of his living in the water or in the fire, we are always alluding to the lower or animal side of his nature, *i.e.* to his body, and to that only. For the soul is in no way directly affected by any such conditions. Now, so long as we take man to be the *only* visible and rational being in existence, I utterly fail to see how we can possibly venture to declare, even as a probable opinion, that the stars and other celestial orbs are inhabited by rational

beings. My view is that man's necessary bodily requirements would not admit of it for a single instant.

Man's body has been made by God, and especially constructed and fitted together, not for any kind of an earth, not (if we may so say) for earths *in general*, but for our own particular earth; for an earth of the consistency and of the temperature and of the size, etc., etc., of the earth that it now actually inhabits. It is most admirably adapted to the conditions and general character of our little planet. All its parts and organs and muscles and articulations bear a distinct and a direct relation to the earth, and are constructed to suit not, let me repeat, earths in general, not earths both great and small; hot or cold; dense or porous; but *just this one specific earth* in which man now dwells, and no other.

Perhaps a few lines of demonstration may assist the reader in realizing the truth of my contention. Let me then begin by observing that even were it possible, by some unknown mechanical agency, to transfer the entire population of this world to some larger planet, even of the same constitutive elements, and of a similar temperature, the consequences would be much more serious and remarkable than might be at first supposed, by anyone unaccustomed to reflect. Some thoughtless persons speak as though it would be as simple a matter, so far as results are concerned, as driving a herd of sheep from a small enclosure to a larger field, or as shipping men from the congested regions of England to the vast open spaces of Australia. But there never was a greater fallacy. Indeed the difficulties that would be created by any change, even in the mere size of our dwelling place, are enormous. In fact it may readily be shown that, if reasonable beings exist at all in any world, different from our world, they cannot possibly be creatures really like ourselves.

For simplicity's sake I will confine my remarks to the consideration of a single planet, and I will suppose it to differ from our earth only in point of size, and I will suppose it to be inhabited, and then I shall invite the reader to weigh well the consequences that follow, and then to form his own judgment.

I select Jupiter as a good example. Speaking roughly, its

diameter is eleven times greater than that of the Earth, and its bulk or size about 1,400 greater. We will, for argument's sake, suppose that in all other respects, Jupiter resembles the earth, and that its climate, and geological formation, and so forth differ in no respect from what we are accustomed to. These suppositions are, obviously, absurd, but we wish to show, that, even with all the advantages that such impossible suppositions would secure, it would still be true, that no man, or other creature closely resembling man, could possibly find a home on its surface. Why? Well because, even if no other objection can be raised, Jupiter is too enormous. 'But, surely,' the incredulous reader may feel inclined to retort, 'its greater size must be rather an advantage? There will be all the more elbow-room; and better facilities for growth and expansion,' and so on. True. But who so argues overlooks one of the most irresistible and one of the most important laws of nature, controlling all material bodies in the universe. I mean the law of attraction, or the law of gravitation.

If it were possible to take an ordinary man out of the streets of London or of Dublin, and to transplant him to Jupiter, he might fondly imagine that it would be very delightful to set out at once on an exploring expedition in his new home. But impossible! For he would find himself instantly pinned immovably to the ground, by the force of gravitation. It would be impossible for him to run, or to walk, or even to stand! His muscles, which bore him about so easily in this world are now of no use to him. They are utterly unequal to surmounting the pressure, steadily and uninterruptedly exerted upon every molecule of his entire body. He has no freedom; no power of locomotion; no strength even to extend his arms. Indeed, the circulation of the blood, and other equally necessary functions of life, would be so interfered with, and so thrown out of gear, that life itself would be rendered impossible.

The reason is perfectly plain, and will be easily appreciated by anyone who will take the trouble to consider and to apply our present every-day experience. Thus I find, when I stand up, anywhere upon the earth, that the said earth is pressing me lovingly to its bosom, with a pressure of about thirteen stone.

Or to express the same truth in simpler language, my weight just turns the scales at thirteen stone. I cannot withdraw myself from the influence of the earth's attraction. Even in this little planet some genuine exertion is requisite in order to lift my body a few inches away from its surface, at each succeeding step, as I mount a stair, or clamber up a mountain. What is this dead weight of thirteen stone? What is this pressure? It is simply the attraction of the earth upon my body dragging at it, and keeping it down. Now, the force of gravity acting upon a body will affect it to a different degree on different parts of even the same earth. The nearer the equator we stand, the less we weigh; whereas, the nearer we place ourselves to the poles, the more we weigh. This is due partly to the rotary motion of the earth, whose centrifugal force diminishes the force of gravitation more and more as one approaches the equator, and partly because, owing to the earth being flattened at the poles and not a perfect sphere, an object at the poles is brought nearer the centre of the mass, and is therefore attracted more strongly than an object at the equator.

Such differences are obviously small and scarcely appreciable. Indeed they can be detected only by delicate instruments. But consider for a moment, what the difference would be to yourself, gentle reader, if the earth were suddenly kicked away from beneath your feet by some miraculous power, and if in its place were instantly substituted a planet a thousand times vaster! What would be your sensations if you were suddenly made conscious that you were being tugged at and pressed down to the ground, not by an attraction equivalent to ten or fifteen stone, but by an attraction equal to a dead pressure of ten or fifteen stone, *multiplied by over a thousand!*

It is a well-ascertained fact, that the attraction between any two bodies is the resultant of the attractions of each molecule of the one, upon every molecule of the other. This is known as 'The Law of Newton,' and may be stated thus:—The attraction between material bodies [for example, between my body, on the one hand, and the earth on the other; or between my body, on the one hand, and the planet *Jupiter*

on the other] is directly proportional to the product of their masses, and inversely proportional to the square of their distance, the one from the other.

Let us apply this law to a man transported for the moment, to the surface of Jupiter. R. A. Proctor writes:—'Everything that has hitherto been learned respecting the constitution of the heavenly bodies, renders it quite unlikely that the elementary constitution of Jupiter differs from that of our earth.' (Page 116-7). And Professor Ball writes:—'That 1200 globes, each as large as our earth, all rolled into one, would be needed to form a single globe as large as Jupiter.' (Page 211). Now, these two statements put together would naturally lead to the conclusion that Jupiter is not only 1200 times as large, but likewise 1200 times as heavy as the earth. Here, however, we should be wrong; since astronomers have satisfied themselves from actual observation, that though 1200 globes the size of our earth would be needed to form a globe as *large* as Jupiter; yet, 310 globes of the weight of the earth would suffice to counterbalance the *weight* of Jupiter. Some account for this strange contrast on the supposition that Jupiter must be hollow; others on the theory that it must be formed of some much more porous substance than our earth, and others again on the theory that it is of an exceedingly high temperature; and so forth. But we are not now concerned with the explanations but with the facts, which may be accepted as stated above.

We will now draw out our conclusions. Let a race of fully grown men, in all respects like ourselves, be suddenly transported to Jupiter. Well, they would at once come under the influence of that planet's attraction. This attraction would forthwith paralyse all action, and render life absolutely unbearable, if not wholly impossible. A man of average size, who would, on our earth, weigh ten stone, would there weigh about $(310 \times 10 =)$ 3100 stone; or between nineteen and twenty *tons*. The proportions of his body and the composition of his limbs, and the strength of his muscles would *ex hypothesi*, be the same as in this world; but with the same muscles and limbs he is now called upon to contend against and to withstand wholly superior forces. When a man of ordinary

size walks up a flight of stairs, or climbs up a mountain in this world, he has to poise the whole weight of his body—which we may put at about ten or twelve stone—alternately, first on one leg and then on the other.

Transfer that *same* man to Jupiter. Set him the same task, and what is it that you are now asking him to do? You are asking him to balance and to support, first on his right foot, and then on his left, a weight, no longer of ten or twelve stone, but of twenty or thirty tons. You are asking him to do the impossible. His physical powers have in no way been interfered with. They are just what they were. Consequently they are in no way proportioned to their new environment, and wholly unfit to bear their present burden, or to withstand the unusual strain now put upon them.

The puny little inhabitant of earth, whom you have (in thought) so imprudently translated to the planet Jupiter, is hopelessly incapable of coping with the new conditions by which he finds himself surrounded. So far from being able to walk up stairs, or to ascend a declivity, he finds it impossible to so much as stand erect. He is glued to the ground. He is rivetted down fast and secure to the surface of the planet. He is hard pressed against it, with a pressure of from twenty to thirty tons, which he cannot overcome.

What conclusion do I wish to draw from this single fact? I wish to show that when we talk of the planets and the stars being inhabited by *men like ourselves*, we are talking in ignorance. Yet, I have pointed to but one insurmountable difficulty. And a difficulty which would arise equally, even though the supposed planet differed in nothing but size.

Let A and B be two stars or two planets. Let A be a thousand times the size of B. Let them be exactly the same in every other respect. Then the inhabitants of A, supposing both orbs to be inhabited, must necessarily be totally different from the inhabitants of B. If A, B, C, D, E, up to N^{th} be all considerably different, one from the other, though only in point of size, it would follow, that the inhabitants of each must likewise differ from one another. But the stars A, B, C, D, E, to N do actually differ, not only in size, but in motion about their axes, and in their orbits, and in their temperature, and their

degree of moisture, in cohesion, in conductivity, in chemical proclivities, and in many other respects, so that it is exceedingly difficult to suppose that man, or any creature *closely* resembling man, can inhabit other worlds than ours.

Having—at least as it seems to me—disposed of the theory that the stars can be inhabited by men, just like ourselves, the question still remains: Has God given them any inhabitants whatsoever? Has He peopled them with races of rational beings of some kind?

Here, of course, we enter upon the region of pure speculation. To me, however, I confess an affirmative answer seems the most probable. In fact, if I may be allowed to hazard an opinion, I should say that it follows from the very character of God as it is revealed to us. It seems according to His bounty, goodness, and extreme liberality, that a world without inhabitants should be rather the exception than the rule.

What gives man his pre-eminence over other visible beings known to us, is not the shape, or size, or configuration of his body. No. It is the tremendous fact that he is rational, and has an intelligent soul. His body is quite secondary, and, in comparison, unimportant. The essential thing in man is mind, not matter. Now, as I have already remarked, when we speak of his being adapted to this earth of ours, and in harmony with his physical surroundings, we are discussing man, not in so far as he is mind, but only in so far as he is matter; only in so far as he is a creature compounded of clay, and put together in a certain definite manner with organs, muscles, bones, arteries, glands, brain, stomach, limbs, etc., including of course such feelings and sensibilities as depend on matter.

But there is no sort of necessary connection between a reasonable soul and our own particular variety of corporal form. We use the material brain when we think or reason, but there is nothing, I take it, to show that between thought *quâ* thought and the human brain, the *nexus* is so essential and strict that no soul, however formed, could work with any other instrument? What, then, is there to prevent God from creating spiritual beings and intelligences, similar to our souls, and then conferring upon them visible and material forms, other than those He has conferred upon *us*? God formed

man's body of the slime of the earth (Gen. ii. 7), a body most admirably adapted in every way, to the conditions presented by the earth on which it was destined to dwell. Then God 'breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul' (Gen. ii. 7). Now, what difficulty have we in supposing that something similar took place, say, for example, in Jupiter? If a body were formed by God out of the substance of the planet Jupiter rather than out of the slime of the earth, and if, further, it were a body destined to live in the larger planet, rather than in the smaller, it is quite evident that it would be just as admirably fitted for *its* environment as our body is for our environment. But the environments being essentially different, the two classes of bodies must be essentially different also. Must we then say that Jupiter cannot have intelligent inhabitants, just because they would, *quoad corpus*, necessarily be constituted differently to man? Evidently not.

If we associate intelligence with a corporal form at all, from sheer habit and custom, we invariably associate it with a body formed as ours is. Never having seen or even heard of any rational animal except man, we are too ready to draw the conclusion—but surely a wholly unwarranted conclusion?—that there can be no other species of rational animal. But it were as easy, and not only as easy, but as natural for God to infuse a rational principle of life into a body formed on the plan of a bird, a fish, or an insect, or on any other plan, as into a body such as ours. We may go further and say that this would seem even congruous and consonant with God's character; for He is rich in invention, and limitless in resources, and He loves, from the very exuberance of His generosity, to surround Himself with variety (*circumdatus varietate*. Ps. xlv. 10), and seeks to manifest in innumerable ways His power, His wisdom, and His goodness.

That our own insignificant globe should be the only one inhabited, amid such untold myriads of vaster and nobler globes seems, as Father Selley observes, most unlikely. To maintain that here in this tiny atom, and here only, are to be found intelligences to admire, and to contemplate God's wondrous works, and not in the greater orbs, where the objects

of study and contemplation must be so unmeasurably more enchanting and magnificent and worthy of contemplation, is surely to maintain the thing that is not?

Why, indeed, should we not suppose that Sirius, the Dog-star, for example, is inhabited by intelligences supplied as ours are, with material forms or bodies? Sirius is calculated to be forty-eight times more brilliant than the Sun.¹ It is also many million times vaster than the earth, so that it would form a magnificent home and dwelling-place. On the theory that intelligences clothed with material forms are residing there we are obliged, of course, to admit that these forms are not as ours. But what of that? Our bodies are formed of matter, partly in a solid, and partly in a liquid state. Theirs might also be formed of matter, though certainly not in a solid state. No matter could retain its solid state in such a fiercely incandescent star. But does this fact present the slightest difficulty? Their bodies might be—say, of metal—but raised to a terrific temperature, so as to suit their totally different environment, and in a permanently gaseous state. Why not? Because it would break through all our preconceived notions? That is no reason whatever. Bodies so formed might seem, at first blush, too unsubstantial and unmanageable and unstable to serve as organs to a soul. But there is no cause to show why God should not give the soul a command and a control over such bodies, quite as complete as He has given our soul over its body of clay. In fact, if we altogether shut out from our minds the thought of our bodies, and imagine ourselves to be pure spirits in search of some material form in which to exercise our sensitive powers, we should find it quite as hard, and probably indeed very much harder to imagine ourselves using such a sodden thing as clay or slime, than the more subtle element of gas. A pure intelligence deliberating on the choice of a substance from which to make a material body, would probably discover greater aptitudes and higher possibilities in the active, subtle, and attenuated nature of gas, than in the solid, sullen-looking clay. If, then, even the less promising clay does actually serve our

¹ Ball, page 384.

spirit so well, why should not a form, fashioned out of gas or air, serve it equally well or even a thousand times better?

One thing, at all events, seems abundantly clear: if God creates a spiritual substance like the soul, and clothes it with a corporal form, in any sense analogous to that of the body, and then places it to dwell in a star or a planet differing, however, slightly from the earth, the said 'corporal form' or body must, most certainly, be different to our bodies, since it must be adapted to, and in harmony with, *its* dwelling-place, which is different from *our* dwelling-place. In fact, it is imperative that it should be so fashioned and endowed as to be able to live in comfort and in health amid its actual surroundings.

Since, further, every star and planet does actually differ in many respects from our earth, it follows that wherever we may imagine reasonable beings to be, they must—at least as regards their bodies—differ very considerably from ourselves. But once we admit as possible a marked difference, there is no reason why we should limit it either in one direction or in another. Intellectual beings living, say in Sirius, or in Jupiter, are perfectly conceivable; only they must possess an organism and a form totally different from ourselves. They must possess different methods of locomotion, of nutrition, of speech, very possibly even different senses, and perhaps a larger number than have been given to us.

We, of course, cannot imagine other senses than the five we possess, but that is for the simple reason that nothing but actual experience can give us an idea of any sense whatever. Possessing but five senses, we cannot so much as imagine what a sixth sense would be like. But did we possess but four, the same difficulty would arise in imagining a fifth, and, if but three, of imagining a fourth, and so on. No man, born stone-blind—no man who has never had the organ of sight, knows what vision is. Even those who see, cannot explain sight to him so that he can form a really clear and accurate notion of it.

Consequently, the inhabitants of some gigantic sun (while like to us in being composed of spirit and matter), will be unlike to us in a vast number of other respects: perhaps resembling man, because compounded of a spiritual and

immortal soul, united to a mortal and material body, yet unlike, because the material body must be so totally different.

St. Thomas is of opinion that there are not only nine choirs of angels, but that each individual of each choir is of a distinct species, and different from all his companions. 'Impossible esse duos angelos unius speciei.' Why may we not suppose, in a similar way, that distinct species of composite beings dwell in each of the unnumbered stars all together forming one vast genus, of which the race of man is but a single and probably an inferior species?

Surveyed from some imaginary point, external to the starry universe, we might, perhaps, compare the innumerable stars scattered through space, as the flower beds or the seed-plots in a garden, each containing a genealogical tree of a different kind. A seed (Adam) is placed in the seed-plot of the earth, and the human tree growing up, spreads out its various branches, which we call European, Mongolian, Malayan, Australian, Negro, and the rest, but all connected, and, so to speak, united in one stem. Jupiter, and Saturn, and Sirius, etc., would be other seed-plots, each receiving a seed, suitable to its own particular soil and climate. These seeds would in their turn develop, expand, and throw out their varied branches, like the Adamite seed planted on earth. And all their respective branches would (as in our own case), spring from one stem, and be traceable to one common source, and terminate in one common ancestor.

Man once thought that the earth, his home, was the greatest orb in existence, and the centre of the universe, upon which sun and moon and all the stars danced attendance. Now he has learned modesty, and acknowledges that the earth is a very inferior planet indeed. Perhaps a time will come when he will also learn, that man, the inhabitant of the earth, is not the only rational animal in existence, but that there are vast numbers and varieties of rational animals, scattered through the universe, of which he is but a very poor and inferior specimen, a being of an altogether inferior order. Who knows?

J. S. VAUGHAN.

‘THE KNIGHTS OF FATHER MATHEW’

TO the kindness of some unknown friend I have been lately indebted for a copy of the *Sacred Heart Review* of Boston, U.S.A., and amongst other good things which I read in that very excellent periodical was an article on the ‘Knights of Father Mathew.’ The article, too short to satisfy my curiosity, stimulated my desire to know more on a subject which strongly aroused my interest and arrested my attention, and so I wrote for the Laws and Constitutions of the Association with a view to see if we could not emulate them on this side of the ‘ferry’ and they now lie before me.

‘The Knights of Father Mathew’ is a Catholic, Total Abstinence, Benevolent, and Insurance Organisation, founded at St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., on the 18th July, 1881. It is based on the principles enunciated by Theobald Mathew, the great apostle of temperance. A report of its proceedings lately published makes this quite clear, it says:—

While the members of the Knights of Father Mathew have every reason to be proud of its splendid record as a cheap and safe Insurance Society and the great good it has done in distributing large sums of money among the widows and orphans and other dependents of its deceased members, yet those things are but infinitesimal when compared with the good it has done by reason of its advocacy of the great living principle of Temperance. In all our endeavours towards the upbuilding of our Order we should always keep in mind and to the front that grand basic principle of our Order—Temperance. When insurance and all other worldly and material schemes have ceased to attract, the great moral principle of Temperance will live, and if we wish to perpetuate the existence of our insurance feature, we must ever be alive to the fact that Temperance is the paramount feature of our organisation. In our efforts to extend the scope of our Order we should endeavour to be temperate in all things. Our words, our actions, and our conduct towards others should ever be tempered so that we may be beyond the suspicion of phariseeism or fanaticism. Neither should we be too cowardly to at all proper times proclaim our Temperance principles, or to disseminate them to the best of our ability. We should be true Catholics, or otherwise

we cannot be true men, or true to our Society. No member of it should ever allow his self to do anything inconsistent with such membership.

It surely needs no words of mine to recommend these noble sentiments to the attention of our Irish temperance advocates, nor is it necessary to say that an association which promulgates them is worthy of admiration and imitation, and it is in order that we may not only admire but imitate, I write this article, to bring the matter under the notice of all who are engaged in Temperance work, and especially the members of the 'Father Mathew Union.'

Though Shakespeare asks the question, 'What's in a name?' and thereby implies that there is nothing or not much, most people think there is a great deal, and hence we find our American Cousins, their republican simplicity notwithstanding, dubbing their members 'Knights,' and their officers 'Supreme Chief Sir Knight,' 'Supreme Deputy Chief Sir Knight,' 'Supreme Recorder,' 'Supreme Banker,' and 'Supreme Sentinel.' There is also a 'Supreme Spiritual Director,' who has exclusive control over the spiritual affairs of the Order. Now we in Ireland are not, like our neighbours across the Channel, 'a nation of shopkeepers,' but rather a 'nation of nobles,' and living as we do under monarchical institutions, have a natural taste for titles, and therefore it would be found that 'Knight' was very attractive—if we would not accept the 'K.C.B.' let us be 'K.F.M.' If the other titles were deemed too flamboyant we might substitute more modest ones.

I notice that there are no 'Dames' to correspond with the 'Knights.' Why should there not be? Why should the 'female persuasion' be excluded from the benefits? They do, it appears, admit women to a sort of moral membership, for in an 'Appeal to the Ladies' they say:—

The Knights of Father Mathew appeal to you in a special manner. It is conducted for your benefit especially. You are earnestly requested to influence your lady friends to join the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Knights of Father Mathew, and by your advice and example encourage the practice of total abstinence. It is a well-known fact that you, the innocent ones, are the greatest sufferers from the demon of intemperance. The Knights of Father Mathew extend its shield over your homes, and will bring contentment and happiness while the

father, brother, or son lives, and after the death of the loved one, it will provide for the protection of the widow and the orphan.

The objects of the Order are then set forth in sections 3, 4, 5:—

To unite, fraternally, male Catholics of sound bodily health and good moral character, between 12 and 50 years of age inclusively. To give all moral and material aid in its power to the members and those dependent on them. To educate the members socially, morally, and intellectually, and to assist the families, widows, orphans, or other beneficiaries of deceased members, in such a manner as may hereafter be enacted.

Passing over the next succeeding sections, which detail the respective duties of the officers, and which need not detain us at present, we come to the general laws of the Order dealing with the members. Section 56 says:—

Each applicant for membership shall sign the application form prescribed by the Supreme Council, stating his age, occupation, and residence, the name or names of his beneficiaries, and whether he had been previously rejected by any Council of the Order; and he must be recommended by a member of the Order in good standing.

Section 59 reads:—

All persons, on becoming members of this Order shall take the following PLEDGE: I promise, with divine assistance, to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, including cider, malt and fruit liquors, and to discountenance by advice and example intemperance in others; and I do further pledge myself to faithfully obey and support the constitutions, laws, by-laws, rules and regulations of this Order, and labour to the best of my ability to advance its objects and to promote the welfare, spiritual and temporal, of my fellow members.

After these follow sections having reference to the table of rates, payments of assessments, etc., and then we arrive at a most vital point, namely, that dealing with the *violation of the pledge*. Sections 78 to 81 provide for this, they say:—

Any member violating the Pledge shall be, by the very act, suspended, and when proved guilty shall be expelled, the expulsion to date and take effect from proved date of violation of pledge. The suspension shall work deprivation of all rights and claims of membership pending trial. Any member cognizant of such violation, and failing to report same shall be

reproved, suspended, or expelled, at the discretion of the Council. Any member of the Order found guilty of violating his pledge may be reinstated by the Council if he shall, within sixty days after such violation, make application to the Council of which he was a member, to be reinstated, and shall thereupon pay to the Supreme Recorder a fine of three dollars for the first offence, and five dollars for each subsequent offence, provided he shall have passed a satisfactory medical examination between the time of such violation and his reinstatement.

The fact that breach of the Pledge means forfeiture of all monies paid in is a most important feature of the society, and should prove a very strong stimulus and incentive to keep temperate, and the longer you were a member, the stronger would be your claim in the society and the stronger the hold of the society on you. I was speaking lately to a national teacher and he told me the attendance at the night classes was far in excess of that in the day school, the figures being 95 per cent. in the former and about 70 in the latter. I asked him how he accounted for this. Well,' said he, 'you see they have to pay in the night school and they want to get value for their money: they don't pay in the day school, and what they get for nothing they don't appreciate.' So would it be with our 'Knights' if they had to pay for their knight-hood. The fact that the Order over and above being a Temperance Society, was also an *Insurance Company and Savings Bank* combined, would give it great stability and permanency.

Again I pass over several sections legislating for the beneficiaries, and the next one which arrests my attention is No. 99, which says:—

Any male Catholic who is of the full age of 12 years and not over 50 years, and competent to earn a livelihood, and *not engaged in the liquor trade (for himself or in such service for another)*, may be admitted to the Order as a beneficiary member.

Immediately after this follows No. 100, which runs:—

All members of this Order shall be required to attend Holy Communion in a body with their respective Councils at least once a year.

Finally we read in section 125:—

A member who shall be guilty of any immoral practice or

improper conduct, violative of his duties and unbecoming his profession as a member of the Order, shall, upon conviction thereof, be reprimanded, suspended, or expelled, as the Council may determine.

In making these excerpts form the book of rules I have sinned, I fear mortally, by omission, seeing that there are over 170 sections, and that I have only quoted about a dozen. However, my *apologia* must be that I merely wish to call attention to the subject, rather than exhaust it. Anyone who desires fuller information I shall be happy to forward a copy of these rules to, but he will see for himself that many of them, admirable *in se*, are not, perhaps, imitable in our less progressive country. I should like to supplement these extracts by a quotation from a leaflet issued by the Order this New Year:—

What have the Knights of Father Mathew done? In twenty-one years the Order has paid half a million dollars to beneficiaries, making them secure against want. It has also distributed thousands of dollars for charitable and benevolent purposes to those who were sick and in distress. Its benevolent influence is extended in making the lives and homes of members and their families all that the Christian life and home should be, by crushing that monster of discord—Intemperance.

There is no other organisation that has done or can do so much as this Order for the protection and upbuilding of our fellow-man. By being a member you can, by advice and example, save many of those who are near and dear to you—in other words sobriety is the saving clause in every man's life. Keep our men and women sober and they will do the rest.

As a Catholic and a Christian man, as a husband, a father, a brother, a son, we ask you to pause for a moment. True, you are no drunkard, only what is termed a moderate drinker. Well, every inebriate, every unfortunate laid in a drunkard's grave, was once a moderate drinker. But, you say, 'I have sufficient self-control, will-power, to know when to stop.' Are you sure of this? You certainly are not. If you will but think and look about you, you will find thousands of examples of the best and strongest of men who have fallen, and who were superior to you in education, position, and social standing, by the insidious influence of drink. Why not you? Do you desire that which is greater than wealth, good health? Do you desire to live a long, peaceful and happy life? Then join the Knights of Father Mathew, which in the past twenty-one years has averaged only about seven deaths per year. Does

not this bespeak the good health and favourable chances of long life for its members? Does it not show that the Knights of Father Mathew is the cheapest insurance company in the country?

The Knights of Father Mathew should be the leading organisation in every parish in which a Council is established. Being sober men, they should be the ones on whom the parish priest should rely to lead in all parish work; and it should be a matter of duty for the members, both collectively and individually, to so deport themselves that both the clergy and the people should be impressed with the knowledge that the sober man is the one to be relied on for the advancement of religion and morals, and that by being sober and God-fearing men they have the means, and use it, for the up-building and development of all that is good in man.

The reproach has often been cast at us, Temperance people—I cannot say wholly without justification—that we *talk* a great deal and *do* very *little*. Now here is an eminently practical scheme, which, if properly managed, would have far-reaching consequences for our people, a scheme where talk will avail nothing and work will have a monopoly. Who more fitted to undertake it than the members of the 'Father Mathew Union'? I hope, therefore, that they will give it their blessing at their next annual general meeting in Dublin. In the 'F.M.U.' we have an organisation already formed, suited for the purpose in hand; our President could be (*ex officio*) President of the Knights of Father Mathew, our Vice-Presidents the Trustees in whose joint names all monies could be invested, our Diocesan Councillors its Directors, and each Priest could be Manager of his own parochial branch and the medium of communication with the General Secretary. If it be objected that this would be too large and unwieldy, let it be remembered that the American organisation has a membership of over three thousand, and embraces four States, viz., Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, and Iowa, any one of which is as large as Ireland, or larger.

But before our general meeting comes off we must prepare the ground. I therefore beg to invite all those who have charge of temperance associations and *especially those who have a Benefit Society attached thereto*, to favour me with their views, and we might then hold a preliminary meeting

to discuss the *pros* and *cons* and put the whole question in a feasible shape for consideration at the general meeting.

I must not close this article without a strong personal appeal to all the members of the 'F.M.U.' to *do something* in the sacred cause. What? If you have not a total abstinence society in your parish, start one forthwith—*cum permissu superiorum* of course—no parish, however small or rural, should be without one. If you already have a branch, join hands with us in affiliating it to the 'Knights of Father Mathew.'

I wish I could convince all Temperance workers, as I myself have been convinced by personal and rather sad experience of over twenty years, that *total abstinence* is the only panacea and that *mere temperance* societies will not cure the malady. An 'Anti-Whiskey League,' or an 'Anti-Beer League,' or a 'Lonely Pint League,' would be, I suppose, better than nothing, but they would be at best only weak and halting measures. I am here reminded of two stories *ad rem*. I happened one day to meet, at the house of a mutual friend, the wife of a great southern brewer. She said: 'I share your views on Temperance very largely, Father O'Brien, and if I had my way *I would close all the Distilleries*, it is they are doing the mischief, *but the Breweries do no harm!*' The second story runs thus. An old parish priest who held rather peculiar views as to the physical effects of certain liquors, on being told by a parishioner that he had been drunk, said to him: 'What did you drink, Mick?' 'Porther, your reverence.' 'Oh! why didn't you drink whiskey?'

I sometimes compare these halting societies to Ritualism. The Ritualist habituates and familiarises the people to the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church—incense, lights, Confessions, Masses, etc.—and so disabuses their minds of the old, crass bigotry on these points, but having led them so far on the road to truth, he halts and tells them *they have reached the goal*, and thus does more harm than good. So with the aforesaid societies, they are on the right road, but *they halt before they reach the drunkards*, and are not these the whole *raison d'être* of all temperance societies? If the former did not exist, the occupation of the latter would be gone.

Now, the drunkards will not join a society by themselves—who can blame them?—for if they did, it would be a 'League of Reformed Drunkards,' and who would join such? Nobody. Hence in order to reach them we first get at the strictly temperate people and say to them: 'Come, throw the cloak of your charity over these poor fellows and cover their shame, join the League (1) for their sakes, (2) as an act of mortification for your own good, (3) for fear lest you should, by-and-bye, become like to them.

But let not the drunkard absorb *all* our sympathy. I confess I am more concerned for the 'drinkard,' or, call him what you will, 'moderate drinker,' or 'immoderate drinker.' He never, or seldom, gets drunk, but—will it be believed?—he often drinks more liquor, spends more money, and does more harm, aye, and sins more than the drunkard! We hear a wail about the £15,000,000 spent on drink every year. Who spends it? The drunkards. By no means. They might possibly *swim* in it, but they could not possibly drink it, for they are a small minority of the population. No, my honest, 'moderate drinkers,' don't try to blink facts, *you* are the consumers. Hear what Cardinal Manning says about you:

There is a good number of people who have never been drunk in their lives, but who have often been not quite sober. They use that which is lawful in what is called 'moderation.' The other day I asked myself how I could best define 'moderation,' and this was my thought: 'It is that immeasurable and often immense quantity which cannot be measured,' and those who make a rule of 'moderation' very often do not know where it begins or where it ends. We are resolved to save not only those who are under the dominion of drink, but those who are under the dominion of 'moderation.'¹

Some reformers look to the 'better housing of the poor' as the remedy. Yet what is the fact? The man in the neat, modern cottage is just as fond of the 'pub.' as he of the old, dirty hovel; the drunkard is to be found in the castle, well fed and well clad, as often as in the hut, with poor clothes and bad diet. Our people are not a domesticated people, many of them have houses but not homes, they are not a reading

¹ Dr. O'Riordan's Inaugural Address to Father Mathew Union—see Report for 1902, p. 24.

folk and hence they seek abroad what they do not find at home, and they go to the pub. for it—for the matter of that do not their 'betters' go to the club?—and therefore it is of the highest importance that there should be halls provided for them, with *cafés* attached, especially for fair days and markets.

Some, again, say: 'Give me the children, the next generation.' But I reply, give me the present generation, I have not patience enough to wait for the next, let it take care of itself. We are all in the habit of pledging the children, 'until you are twenty-one,' and the very phrase suggests to them their freedom when that point is reached, and, for the most part, *they use it*. To suppose that by thus pledging them, they will never drink is a fallacy as proved by facts; the taste or habit of drink may be acquired in a week or a day. It is entirely a question of will-power; the very best total abstainers I have ever met, were those who were steeped in drink for years. The children do not need it when they get it, and it is no guarantee for the future, and besides all this, crowding the society with them leads the adults to think that after all the pledge is only a thing suited for children.

For us priests the question is not, Is there any danger of my becoming over-fond of drink? nor, Would my taking the pledge give good example to my flock? nor, Could I preach more effectively against the evils of drink if I did? But this is the question, Is not intoxicating drink a luxury? It is, and I, as a priest, ought not to indulge in luxuries. *Ergo*.

WALTER O'BRIEN, C.C.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

THE USE OF 'THESAURUS FIDELIUM' IN LITANY OF THE HOLY NAME

REV. DEAR SIR,—We find in almost all our Rituals and Latin prayer books in the Litany of the Sacred Name:—'Thesaurus fidelium.' Why not 'Thesauze'? The latest Ratisbon Ritual and Beringer happily give 'Thesauze.'

M. O'CALLAGHAN.

St. Vincent's Church, Cork.

The difficulty proposed by our respected correspondent is a perfectly natural one. It is quite true that liturgical books generally, which contain the Litany of the Holy Name, have 'Jesu, thesaurus fidelium.' Now, the more correct form seems to be 'Jesu, thesauze fidelium,' since the other invocations, occurring in exactly the same context, are presumably in the vocative. We say, presumably, because as far as form goes many of them may be in the nominative.

Loth to accuse the learned compilers of our Liturgical manuals of disregarding so obvious a rule of Latin grammar, it occurred to us to inquire whether there was any warranty in the ancient classical authors for the use of the nominative instead of the vocative case. Through the courtesy of an eminent classical scholar we have ascertained that the use of the nominative for the vocative is not uncommon in the older writers, especially in instances of solemn address. Thus Livy¹ has, 'Audi tu, *populus Albanus*.' In the Vulgate of the New Testament the usage is much more common. It is enough to refer to 'Nolite timere, *pusillus grex*,'² 'Dominus meus et Deus meus.'³ While, in the well-known three-fold petition, which occurs in the Mass and after the Litanies, we have the

¹ *Hist.*, lib. i., 24. See Gildersbure, Latin Grammar, § 33, R. 6.

² St. Luke xii. 32.

³ St. John xx. 28.

word 'Agnus' as a vocative—a form exactly parallel to 'thesaurus.' The same usage is found in the New Testament Greek, the nominative form of the noun with the article being used for the vocative. A notable example of this occurs in the Trisagion, which is sung by the choir on Good Friday during the adoration of the Cross by the people. Granting, then, that the use of the nominative for the vocative is allowable both in Latin and Greek, is there any reason for the preference sometimes shown the former? It is pointed out that there is. For, words like 'thesaurus' being of the class known as impersonal had no vocative form in common use. Hence, when such words are used in addresses, it is quite natural that the nominative, or better known form, should be used.

P. MORRISROE.

CORRESPONDENCE

'PRIESTS AND TEMPERANCE REFORM'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Two things have recently been made very clear in the *L. E. RECORD*: that we, the priests of Ireland, have it practically in our power to make Ireland sober, and that we have not used this power as we should.

No doubt, in the past, there was somewhat of excuse in the unhealthy state of Public Opinion in reference to intemperance. This plea no longer exists; Public Opinion is waking, and no effort now made shall be barren of fruit. Are we free to allow this golden opportunity to slip? Surely, No.

What is to be done? Earnest Temperance workers, here and there, have already done much. To my mind, however, the great and universal reform that is certainly needed, cannot be achieved until universal, united, and concerted action is put into practice. We are all conversant with the example of the 'bundle of sticks.'

The revival of Irish Industries is just now a momentous and burning question of much practical importance; so also is the keeping at home of the 'bone and sinew' of the country. But, what can any of these avail so long as the money earned from industries, and the 'bone and sinew' are liable to be nearly all worse than wasted through the drink evil?

But then, the thousands that depend on the drink traffic, what is to become of them? Beyond the shadow of a doubt very many of these are persons of conscience and of the highest respectability; yet, there can be as little room for doubt, that very many of them, too, must depend for a livelihood on the sins and miseries brought about through excess in the use of drink. If all those who hold licences for the sale of intoxicants were strictly conscientious, very many of the evils of drink would soon disappear. Let, then, those who cannot 'live and thrive' with a sober Ireland find something else to do here at home, or 'leave their country for their country's good.' At any rate, excess in drink must be eradicated before the revival of industries can prove very beneficial; before it can be to much purpose to stem the tide of emigration; before Ireland can take that place she could, and should occupy, among the nations of the earth.

The remedying of the drink evil is, therefore, *the* most burning question now. The time is ripe for action. What part are we priests to play? First of all, we must convince ourselves of our duty and our power. Then we must go to work earnestly, both by example and by word. I do not mean to imply that up to this we have given bad example; but I do mean to imply that there is more need of care and watchfulness in this regard now than there ever was before. Besides, it is a well-known axiom that no words can have effect that are not backed up by corresponding deeds.

What kind of example are we to give? Surely that dictated by reason and common sense, and that which we desire our people to follow: that is, never to take ardent spirits unless we have a conscientiously good, solid reason for so doing, and not even then unless we know for certain that any persons who may be aware of our act, are aware also that we have such solid reason. It is another question when a good, solid reason for the use of intoxicants is really forthcoming. Many hold there is never any beneficial result from the use of intoxicating drink. Yet, since the Author of all things has also given us alcohol, it would seem that it must have some good use; it can hardly be put down as a wholly unmixed evil; though, plainly, it was never intended to be used as it is used now. If, however, it is never taken but as right reason dictates, that is, in case of real necessity or utility, it will be taken very seldom, and then in limited quantity; abuse and bad example will be avoided, and this is all that is required.

Example in *taking* is not enough, it must embrace *giving* as well. We must never give intoxicating drink to others unless we know they have a good, solid reason for its use.

By our example we must demolish the drink-catechism that unfortunately has gained foothold in Ireland for centuries, working so much mischief; and we must promulgate and inculcate a new, and the only rational one.

And this is the work we have to do by word also. What is this drink-catechism we have to abolish? It may be stated briefly in the old verse which runs thus:—

‘The wine is good: a friend is nigh:
I thirsty am, or may be by-and-by:
Or any other reason why.’

Take a drop because the material is good: take a drop

because you have met a friend : if you are thirsty take a drop : take a drop lest you might be thirsty ; and, if you have none of these reasons for taking a drop, take a drop for the mere gratification of taking it, because you like it, have a taste for it, and so on. I think we all must admit that this is the drink-catechism Ireland has irrationally adopted in the past, the catechism that has ruined and impoverished our country, the catechism that must be wiped out before she can be made sober and prosperous. It were all very well if the taking of intoxicating drink was not so dangerous as it is : but since it is, it is a violation and a perversion of right reason to take it at all in the absence of some real necessity or utility.

The abolition of this heterodox catechism will embrace all our unmeaning and baneful drink customs, such as drinking at weddings and christenings, at social meetings and parties, and the like—I shall not mention wakes and funerals ; drinking in connection with these would be altogether un-Christian, and worse—and will embrace all that from which abuse arises.

The abolition of the old drink-catechism accomplished, we shall have progressed far in establishing the new. We must, however, produce arguments against, I shall not say the abuse, but, the misuse of intoxicating drink : it is misuse that leads to abuse. Week in, week out, we must point out by example and by word, that it is totally against right reason to use intoxicating drink at all unless in case of real necessity or usefulness. We must proclaim to heads of houses and to parents that they are under a most solemn obligation in regard to what may occur in their homes, or in regard to their children ; that they must render a strict account for any abuse they permit or co-operate in ; that parents must not give drink to their little ones ; and that by example, word, and act, they must save them from the temptation as far as they possibly can. We must constantly harp on the sin, the shame, the disgrace, and the many other evil results of drink ; how it destroys reason, our only guide ; how it robs its victims of the grace and friendship of God ; brings them down and degrades them in the esteem of their fellow-men ; unfits them for positions of honour and trust ; how it casts to the winds self-respect ; renders the young incapable of ever growing to strength and manhood ; wastes and destroys health and money ; ruins industry ; weakens the mind ; leads to poverty, the workhouse, the madhouse ; makes homes unhappy, miserable, and wretched ; and opens the door to all sorts of evils, degradation, vice, and crime.

The natural motives will be found most useful when properly and earnestly handled, more useful with many than the supernatural ones ; and in all cases they will make a good foundation whereon to raise the supernatural.

I know some will say this method propounds nothing new. Perhaps not. But has it been used unitedly and universally? this is what I desire to urge especially : this is what is wanted : is it not in this we have failed?

But will this method, if adopted, make Ireland sober? Yes; with Public Opinion roused and waxing healthy as at present, it is bound to succeed. Effort, united and constant, is required, but success is assured. The proof of this is not far to find ; for, in parishes where such effort has been made drunkenness has practically disappeared.

In skilful warfare all sorts of arms and stratagems that are legitimate and honourable should be used. The combatting of the drink evil in Ireland must be a warfare. If we are to succeed, there must be no truce, or parley, or cowardice ; the war must be ceaseless and irreconcilable. And, again I repeat it, there must be persistent and dogged unity and universality of action amongst us, the leaders and officers : one may use one kind of arms and stratagems ; another, another ; but all must fight as one man for the one object and end ; this, and this alone, will ensure victory. Thus we shall aid and strengthen Public Opinion, raising it up to proclaim that intoxicating drink is so dangerous that it should never be used without a conscientiously good, sound, solid reason ; and that its results are so degrading and disgraceful, that the intemperate man should be regarded as really degraded and disgraced.

One point we must not forget to insist upon : that the tippler is the worst class of imbibor ; that, though drunkenness is in itself more sinful, yet, tipping or half-drunkenness is more degrading, more sinful, and more dangerous in its consequences ; for, drunkenness renders its victims powerless to do harm, while half-drunkenness looses the restraining bridle and still leaves its victims able and disposed to perpetuate all sorts of vice and crime—dangerous beasts of prey.

We must not merely point out the evils of drink as motives to abstain, but also the remedies and helps to be adopted : watching and prayer. Watching, by shunning the dangers, by joining our temperance and other useful societies ; lawful recreations and amusements, which we should try to provide

as far as possible ; and such-like aids and counter attractions. Prayer ; by frequent reading and meditation on the evils of drink, and the beauty and benefits of sobriety, and the ease with which the taste for intoxicants is contracted ; suitable vocal prayers for light and strength ; Holy Mass ; frequenting the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist as often as new light and strength are needed ; special prayers to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, that bore such thirst on account of sins of intemperance ; and a special prayer, in all public and family devotions, for the repression of intemperance.

Our duty is pressing. We have the power. The means are abundant. The harvest is ripe. One long, strong, united pull, and the enemy is vanquished ; victory is ours for our country, too long bleeding to death from intemperance. Surely we shall not fail !

We cannot hope to entirely exterminate the monster ; but we can greatly aid Public Opinion in assigning it its proper place ; that is on a par with theft, immorality, and such-like degrading and revolting crimes and vices. A little thought, a little prayer, a little labour and self-sacrifice : our fatherland redeemed, and a reward exceeding great. Our country calls. Surely she shall not call in vain.

JAMES M'GLINCHY, C.C.

Claudia, Derry.

FATHER HAYS AT BRADFORD

REV. DEAR SIR, —I was edified in reading in the *Irish Catholic* of 27th December, an account of Father Hays' temperance address at a meeting in Bradford. But what made the strongest impression on me was the announcement, by the chairman, that 'Canon Simpson, Rector of St. Mary's Catholic Church, had taken the pledge as an example to his people. It would be a great acquisition to the cause.' It reminded me of a letter which I received twenty-five years ago from the late Most Rev. Dr. Warren, Catholic Bishop of Wexford. When acknowledging the receipt of my *Moral Discourses* he called attention to the following passage : 'In the New Testament it is narrated that there was a certain lunatic who was possessed of an evil spirit from his youth, and the Apostles attempted to cast out the spirit, but they could not. So they told our Saviour, who said to them, "That this spirit is of the

kind that cannot be cast out, but by fasting and prayer." Now experience has incontestably proved that the demon of intemperance, like the dumb spirit in the Gospel, is of the kind that can be cast out by those who desire to cast him out only by their fasting from intoxicating drinks and by prayer; and it is worthy of note that it was the Apostles to whom our Divine Lord gave the advice to fast and pray if they would have power over the evil spirit. In like manner, let the fasting from intoxicating drinks be first begun by those who are free from the demon of intemperance, and soon the blessed power will be theirs, to deliver their brothers from the degrading thralldom which now possesses them, and to banish intemperance from the land.'

The Bishop wrote: 'I hope in your next edition you will alter the sentence beginning, "In like manner, etc." and insert the words that ought logically be found there, viz., "By those who represent the Apostles, and soon the blessed power, etc." The sentence would then represent a perfect truism.'

It is evident that Canon Simpson in taking the pledge has adopted the course recommended by Dr. Warren, viz.:— 'In like manner, let the fasting from intoxicating drinks be first begun by those who represent the Apostles, and soon the blessed power will be theirs, to deliver their brothers from the degrading thralldom which now possesses them, and to banish intemperance from the land.'

I hope that Father Hays will be successful in getting all those who, like Canon Simpson, represent the Apostles, to take the total abstinence pledge, mindful of the solemn warnings quoted by Father Hays from St. Augustine: 'Since you could have saved your brother and have not saved him, then you are your brother's murderer.' (With the help of God he would never be the murderer of any man.) And again, from St. Paul: 'Since the taking of this kind of food scandalize my brother, I will not take that food for ever.'

I have to add that I often find myself speculating on the progress the Temperance cause would make if the suggestion of Bishop Warren were literally adopted by all the clergy, for whom I believe it was evidently intended.—Yours faithfully,

P. O'KEEFFE, P.P.

Cappawhite, Dec. 31st, 1902.

ST. BRIGID AND ST. MEL

WE have received from the Very Rev. Canon O'Farrell, P.P., V.F., Ardagh, Edgeworthstown, the subjoined letter of His Eminence Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, in reference to the relations between St. Mel, the Patron of Ardagh, and St. Brigid of Kildare. There was already good authority for the assertion that it was St. Mel who conferred the veil on St. Brigid, and that the very name *Macaille* means the Bishop of the Veil. This contention is now confirmed by the authority of His Eminence Cardinal Moran.

THE IRISH COLLEGE, ROME.

28th October, 1902.

MY DEAR FATHER O'FARRELL,—At the request of the Right Rev. Monsignor Murphy, Rector of the Irish College, I write one line to say that according to the ancient authentic records, the great Patron of your Diocese was privileged to give the Sacred Veil to St. Brigid, one of the chief Patrons of all Erin.

It is a pleasure to find that interest is being awakened regarding the history of our early Saints, and I trust that measures may be taken betimes to preserve the few memorials of our sainted forefathers that still remain.

Very few of the Diocesan Patrons stand forth in the history of the Irish Church so prominently and so gloriously as your own special Patron St. Mel.

I sail for my distant Diocese on next Sunday from Naples, and I earnestly commend myself to your pious prayers.—Yours very faithfully,

✠ PATRICK F. CARDINAL MORAN,
Archbishop of Sydney.

· THE PROPER STIPEND FOR A MISSION ·

REV. DEAR SIR,—A query by 'Justus,' and its rejoinder by 'Honestus,' in the current number of the *Ecclesiastical Review* (American), anent the title of this letter, prompt me to give your readers a missionary's view of the question so far as it applies to the somewhat different circumstances of parochial and missionary life in Ireland.

While, therefore, embodying the substance of the writer's

reply in the above-named American Review, I shall accommodate it to the existing circumstances of Irish life. I have no other credentials to write upon the subject, save that I am an old missionary myself, and belong to an Order engaged in missionary life in Ireland.

The parishes of Ireland, as financially considered on behalf of their pastors, may be divided into two classes, *medium* or *good*, and *well-off*. Very poor or needy parishes, as so commonly found in England and in some parts of America, are so exceptional, that I am not inclined to constitute them a special division. What, then, should be considered a proper, fair, and just stipend for missionaries in those numerous parishes in Ireland, in which, though the parishioners, as a rule, belong to the humbler and working class, nevertheless *de facto* provide becoming churches and presbyteries, and equally becoming support for their parish priests and curates?

Such parishes are evidently in a position to defray generously the expenses of a mission.

For the missionary emolument there seems to me two courses open to the pastors: either to agree beforehand with the missionaries, or rather with their superiors, upon the stipend to be given for the work required; or, what I think would be more satisfactory to the very people who bring the grist to the mill, to announce at the opening of the mission by the parish priest himself, that the Sunday evening collections and the closing day's collections, minus the usual Sunday Mass collection, will be for the 'Holy Fathers.'

This, while satisfying both parties that the labourer is offered something 'worthy of his hire,' would obviate that much to be deplored temptation of exorbitant charges at the doors.

In the second case, by no means uncommon in Ireland, where both priests and people may be said to be comfortably well off, the simplest and most satisfactory, while a fair and equitable procedure, would be to requite the hard labours of the missionaries by a stipend of not less than *fifteen pounds* each per week. It is true the Americans consider it should be twenty pounds; but, as I said at the beginning, the circumstances of the countries are different.

In support of my suggested stipend, it may be well to quote a passage in the rejoinder alluded to:—'The stipend of one hundred dollars per week for each man is extremely

moderate when one considers the great outlay of money which the religious spends in preparing a man for this work ; the short time a man can be employed in so exhausting a labour ; the time spent in recuperating after each mission, to say nothing of personal and travelling expenses.' To these just sentiments, I think it only right to add, that such are the conditions of religious life in Ireland, that very often the Orders have to spare missionaries from other work to supply a sufficient staff, thereby occasioning to individual convents or monasteries a *damnum emergens* and *lucrum cessans*.

In the case of extremely poor parishes, to which I have alluded to as exceptional, the advice of 'Honestus' seems the only expedient for a parish priest, namely, to ask the missionaries to give his people a mission *for the pure love of God*. Such a plaintive and exceptional cry *ad misericordiam* would not be unavailing to any truly missionary Order.

In conclusion, let me add a word about retreats. These retreats in Ireland are too often *pseudo* names for small missions ; and yet, as a rule, one priest is expected to bear the whole burden. Until these cease to be so popular, I deem the above stipend (£15) to be altogether inadequate.—Yours sincerely,

HONESTUS SECUNDUS.

DIOCESAN EXAMINATIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Within recent years the highly important diocesan examination of pupils in Christian Doctrine has been introduced. Amongst other causes of its introduction may be reckoned the fearful leakage from the Church in England and America of ignorant Irish Catholics, who, had they remained at home, would, with their children, have been preserved to the Church by association, public opinion, hereditary sentimentality, or at least the absence of those dangers which menace them abroad. When they emigrated, not being able to account for the faith that was in them, they easily succumbed to non-Catholic influences, or at least became indifferent to the religious training of their children, who in time were lost to the faith. That ignorance was the main cause of the loss of faith is shown by the fact that the leakage chiefly took place amongst those who emigrated from rural districts, while it was practically unknown amongst those who went from cities and towns where

their faith was strengthened by frequent sermons, and the teaching of the monks and the nuns. In the latter case abstinence from Mass or the Sacraments for a time may occur, but apostacy or non-baptism of children, rarely, if ever.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the zealous efforts made to remedy such an evil. But as the noblest efforts in the best causes have often been rendered useless through defects in the means employed, so the present efforts to instruct the rising generation, are not producing the results that ought to be expected when we consider the zeal and labour spent.

The causes of this loss are, first, individualism rather than nationalism in the drawing up of a programme; second, caprice rather than reason and religion in the examination of the children. Individualism has led to various editions of the Catechism and, what is worse, to different formulas for the Act of Contrition. When a new pupil, who comes from another diocese, is examined by the teacher in his catechism, a not unusual answer is, 'That question wasn't in my catechism, sir. Mine had a different cover from yours.' The child in some cases cannot join in the prayers, alleging, 'That wasn't the way we said it in our place.' Ireland is so small that it ought not to be difficult to establish uniformity in this matter. Caprice is more hurtful in its effects. Examiners in some cases have a stereotyped set of catch questions. This is soon known. A teacher visits a neighbouring school after the examination and asks 'What questions did your boys get?' He takes them down, coaches his pupils, and gets 'Very Good' in his report for his cleverness.

A Parish Priest is sometimes to be found who will coach the teacher who hasn't sense to get the questions himself. A poor teacher who works hard but is too honest to try underhand means, must be content with 'Fair,' or 'Poor,' on his report.

Some of these questions are such that they are not much benefit, and perhaps may be hurtful. I give a few actually copied from notes handed round by the teachers to one another as being the questions given in their schools. 'Is an angel a man or a woman?' 'What are his wings made of?' 'If Adam came on earth could your sister marry him?' 'Which sacrilege was the cause of Judas's despair—the selling of our Lord or his unworthy Communion?' etc. In some cases the questions fill a dozen pages of MSS. Besides these, an extensive programme must be gone through, the result being that the teacher must

ram the Christian Doctrine into unwilling heads at the cost of time, patience, and justice to himself, and bitter tears and sighs for freedom from such thralldom, from the children.

This kind of catechetical work has been overdone in France, and we are not admirers of modern French youth.

The greatest evil is that this system of cramming excludes practical instruction on the proper fulfilment of religious duties, the overcoming of temptations, and the practice of virtue. Thomas à Kempis says: 'I would sooner feel compunction than know its definition.' What good is it for a child to win a prize for knowing accurately how many persons, natures, and wills in God the Son and the minute details of His Passion, if he was never exhorted to imitate His patience in suffering or His forgiveness of injuries? What benefit is it to know all the technical terms connected with the Blessed Eucharist if the child does not know how to spend the quarter hour after Communion profitably? What advantage to the child to be told the difference between theft and robbery if the teacher has not time to teach him to pray for help when tempted to steal; or having time, does not think it necessary because 'That question won't be asked.'

The evils of the modern system will not be fully felt till the next generation, when the present men and women will have passed away. Of course it must not be understood that this regrettable state of affairs is universal. It exists sufficiently to excite alarm.

The following remedies are suggested:—

1. Same edition of the Catechism throughout Ireland.
2. Same formula for Act of Contrition, etc.
3. When a short Catechism is used, the text should be taken *verbatim* from the larger edition.
4. A moderate programme for each standard.
5. The singing of hymns to form part of programme.
6. The teachers of each district to be brought together occasionally and the requirements of the programme to be explained and a series of model instructions in Catechism to be given in their presence. (If we have organisers in Hand and Eye Training, Science, Music, etc., why not have them in Catechism?)
7. Teachers to be impressed that their instructions must be, according as the text requires, either (a) doctrinal, (b) moral, (c) devotional, (d) preservative; the examiner to pay as much attention to (b), (c), and (d), as to (a), and to supply as far as possible the deficiencies of the teacher.

8. The reports not to be made public.

9. In appointing teachers, qualifications as a good catechist to have great weight.

10. Pastors and curates to interest themselves regularly and not spasmodically in the catechetical instruction.

11. Diocesan examiners to hold an annual conference among themselves.

12. A general annual report to be issued for the benefit of priests and teachers, containing accounts of defects in teaching, improved methods, suggestions, etc.—Faithfully yours,

EXPERIENTIA.

PRIESTS AND TEMPERANCE

REV. DEAR SIR,—I am very grateful to Father Coffey for his kind appreciation of my imperfect paper on Temperance Propaganda. He says, however, that he cannot agree with my views about Temperance *v.* Total Abstinence. Well, if he does not agree with me, I am glad to say—pardon the presumption—that I agree with practically everything he has said. I have spent too much time in meditating on Temperance problems, and in studying Irish human nature, to entertain for a single moment the chimerical idea of making *all* our good people total abstainers. Like him, I hold that whilst aiming at total abstinence, we should welcome every Temperance society and movement as useful auxiliaries.

I would like to call the attention of priests—especially managers of schools—to the new edition of his *Temperance Reader*, brought out by the cultured and eminent physician, Sir Francis Cruise. It is published in Dublin at 1s. net. As this reader is approved by the Commissioners of National Education, the managers of our National Schools should see that it is used at least once a week as a reader for the higher classes. Every efficient manager of a primary school gives prizes to the pupils for special merit in some one department. This *Reader* is the very best prize for young boys. The Rectors of our Intermediate colleges and schools might save many a young life from the withering blight of intemperance if they distributed this *Reader* in their schools. As Sir Francis Cruise is in the very foremost rank of his profession, his words must have great weight, and will assuredly bring conviction to the

minds of many who would not listen to the mere Temperance reformer. Apart from his acknowledged medical pre-eminence, his literary attainments have won for him a world-wide fame. His *Reader* is very simple in its diction, clear in its statements, cogent in its reasoning. It places the Temperance cause on a medically logical basis. Hence I hope it will be well read and well known in our primary and secondary schools.—I remain, Rev. Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN FENELON, C.C.

'IS OUR EARTH ALONE INHABITED?'

REV. DEAR SIR, — I have read with much interest the learned article of Rev. E. A. Selley, O.S.A., in the November number of the I. E. RECORD, entitled, 'Is our Earth alone Inhabited?' The gist of the argument therein elucidated is to show from the comparative insignificance of our earth in the universe that it cannot be considered as the only orb inhabited by intelligent beings, as it is by no means adequate to show forth fully 'The glory of God' the Creator. It is true that the unthinkable vastness of the figures quoted by the learned writer would seem to go far to prove his thesis. Yet there are some considerations which, I think, tend to show that our earth, notwithstanding its pigmy size among the mighty orbs of illimitable space, is still the favoured one in the eyes of its Creator, and the main object of the Divine Mind in the creation of the universe. I will venture here to propose two of those considerations. The first I will call a Historico-Theological argument. The second a Physical one.

The first I deduce from the ineffable fact of

THE INCARNATION.

I think I am within the bounds of orthodoxy in saying that not even the Omnipotence of God Himself could conceive or effectuate anything greater than the assumption by one of the Divine Persons of the nature of His creatures. The unifying of the Divine nature with the created nature in the human being, under the personality of the Eternal Son of God. The life, sufferings, and death of God Himself for the love of man! Can anything be conceived that could be done for the inhabitants of other globes (if such there be) that could surpass, or equal this excess of Divine love? 'Nec est alia Natio tam Grandis quae

habeat Deos appropinquantés sibi sicut Deus Noster adest nobis!' (Deut. iv. 7.)

The second argument, purely physical, I deduce from

THE CONFIGURATION OF THE HEAVENS.

The distribution of the stellar groups, the collocation of the constellations. These wondrous groups of stars are not thrown into the regions of space at hap-hazard as it were from a pepper-caster. On the contrary, they are designed with exquisite skill and perfection; they are placed with all the sublime knowledge of an Omniscient Intelligence: but more than that, they are so placed with a

SPECIAL REFERENCE TO OUR EARTH.

The wondrous and beautiful constellations, or star-groups, present to the observer from the surface of the earth certain figures, which when studied by the Christian astronomer show forth in beautiful and symbolic language the whole story of our redemption.

It is true that in the course of ages the primitive symbolism of the stars has been partly lost, buried under a mass of inane mythology by the pagan nations of Greece and Rome. But for centuries and millenaries before the rise of Grecian or Roman mythology the stars were known and mapped and named, probably by God Himself. '*Laudate Dominum . . . qui numerat multitudinem stellarum et omnibus eis nomina vocat.*' And they are placed, as I have said, with a special relation to our earth.

In the very beginning of Creation we are told that the stars are placed in the heavens; that they should 'shine in the firmament of heaven and give light to the earth;' and 'that they should be for signs.' (Gen. i. 14, 15.) They were, therefore, placed in their present positions, which they have occupied for thousands of years, that they might be *read* by men as signs. Through them God has spoken to men and given them a Revelation, when properly understood, as clearly as in the written words of Sacred Scripture. It is not for me just now to go further into the subject of the manifestation of all the truths of religion, of Christianity, of the Gospel, as shown forth in the star-groups. It is a beautiful but extensive study, one which I should like to see developed in the I. E. RECORD by the learned writer to whose article I allude. I will simply close by saying that from *no other standpoint* in the universe but the *earth*, do

these constellations present the same mystic and symbolic figures, and hence that they have been placed as they are for the special behoof and benefit of *man*. *Man*, with his wondrous gift of intelligence, that spark of the very Divinity itself; *man*, bearing in his soul the living likeness of his Creator; *man*, capable of enjoying the Beatific Vision and worthy of being redeemed by the Blood of his crucified God! Such a being, I say, was a sufficiently adequate object for the display of the mighty power of the Creator in the creation of the stars. And to man alone He addresses these words: '*The Heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the works of His hands.*' (Ps. xviii. 1.)—I remain, Rev. and Dear Sir, faithfully yours,

M. F. H.

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY ON (1.) THE LAND QUESTION, (2.) THE BELFAST QUEEN'S COLLEGE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION

THE usual January meeting of the Standing Committee of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland was held on Tuesday, 20th January, at the University College, Stephen's Green. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

1. The holding on a recent occasion of a Conference between representatives of the tenant-farmers and of the landowners of Ireland the Bishops consider to be an event of the best augury for the future welfare of both classes, and they earnestly hope that the unanimity of the Conference will result, without further delay, in legislation that will settle the land question once for all, and give the Irish people of every class a fair opportunity to live in and serve their native land.

2. Having become aware, through the public Press, that a scheme for the co-ordination of the Queen's College, Belfast, with the proposed Technical Institute in Belfast, has recently been put forward, we protest against any action being taken for this purpose until the public have had an opportunity of considering the Report of the Royal Commission on University Education, and also any legislative proposals which the Government may make in reference thereto.

We take this opportunity of republishing a resolution adopted by us on the 1st of May, 1900 :—

The Standing Committee of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland have had under consideration a scheme which they have reason to believe is in contemplation for utilising the Queen's Colleges in giving effect to the provisions of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act. They protest against any attempt—whether made under colour of carrying out a system of technical and agricultural instruction or otherwise—to give new life and extended endowments to institutions which

have been too long maintained in opposition to the persistent remonstrances of the Catholics of Ireland.

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| ✠ MICHAEL Card. LOGUE, <i>Chairman.</i> | |
| ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert, | } Secretaries to the Meeting. |
| ✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, | |

THE IMPEDIMENT OF 'COGNATIO SPIRITUALIS'

DECRETUM. SUPREMAE CONGREGATIONIS S. O. CIRCA FACULTATEM
DISPENSANDI SUPER IMPEDIMENTO COGNATIONIS SPIRITUALIS.
FERIA IV. DIE 3 DECEMBRIS, 1902.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et Univ. Inquisitionis proposito dubio: *Utrum in formulis, quibus concedi solet facultas dispensandi super impedimento cognationis spiritualis, comprehendatur casus cognationis spiritualis inter baptizantem et baptizatum, in iisdem formulis non praevisus*: Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi DD. Cardinales Inquisitores Generales respondendum decreverunt: *Negative; seu non posse qui concessa per praedictas formulas facultate gaudent, super impedimento cognationis spiritualis inter baptizantem et baptizatum dispensare; idque communicandum cum omnibus quorum interesse queat, atque in posterum expresse in formulis edicendum. Si quae vero matrimonia cum huiusmodi dispensatione, et earundem formularum concessa forte hucusque contracta fuerint; ad omnem circa eorum valorem quaestionem dirimendam, supplicandum SSmo., ut eadem in radice sanata declarare dignetur.*

Et sequenti feria VI, die 5 eiusdem mensis in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. Officii imperitita, SSmus. D. N. D. Leo divina providentia Pp. XIII relata Sibi Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobare, et pro sanatione in radice iuxta eorum Emorum Patrum suffragia benigne annuere dignatus est. **Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.**

(Ex Arch. S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.)

**THE NEW FACULTY OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF STRASBURG**

E SECRETARIA STATUS. PERMITTITUR ERECTIO FACULTATIS
THEOLOGICAE IN UNIVERSITATE ARGENTINENSI

Le soussigné Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Sainteté, de la part du Saint-Siège, et Monsieur le Baron Georges de Hertling, Chambellan de Sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière, membre du Reichstag de l' Empire Germanique, Sénateur du Royaume de Bavière, membre de l' Académie Royale Bavaoise des Sciences, professeur à l'Université de Munich, délégué de la part du Gouvernement Impérial Allemand, sont convenus des articles suivants :

Article 1.

L'instruction scientifique sera donnée aux jeunes clercs du diocèse de Strasbourg par une faculté de Théologie catholique qui sera érigée à l'Université de Strasbourg. En même temps, le Grand Séminaire épiscopal continuera d'exister et de fonctionner pour l'éducation pratique desdits clercs, qui y recevront l'enseignement nécessaire dans toutes les matières se rapportant à l'exercice des fonctions sacerdotales.

Article 2.

La dite faculté comprendra notamment les branches suivantes :

1. La propédeutique théologique à la philosophie ;
2. La théologie dogmatique ;
3. La théologie morale ;
4. L'apologétique ;
5. L'histoire ecclésiastique ;
6. L'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament ;
7. L'exégèse du Nouveau Testament ;
8. Le droit canon ;
9. La théologie pastorale, et
10. L'Archéologie sacrée.

Article 3.

La nomination des professeurs se fera après entente préalable avec l'Evêque. Avant d'entrer en fonctions, les professeurs auront à faire la profession de foi entre les mains du doyen, suivant les formes et règles de l'Eglise.

Article 4.

Les rapports entre la faculté et ses membres d'un côté et l'Eglise et les autorités ecclésiastiques de l'autre, sont déterminés par les Réglemens établis pour les facultés de Théologie catholique de Bonn et de Breslau.

Article 5.

Si la preuve est fournie par l'autorité ecclésiastique qu'un des professeurs doit être considéré comme incapable de continuer son professorat, soit pour manque d'orthodoxie, soit en raison de manquements graves aux règles de vie et de conduite d'un prêtre, le Gouvernement pourvoira, sans délai, à son remplacement et prendra les mesures propres à faire cesser la participation dudit professeur aux affaires confiées à la faculté.

Rome le 5 Décembre, 1902.

MARIANO Card. RAMPOLLA.

Baron GEORGES DE HERTLING.

**APOSTOLIC LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.
INSTITUTING THE COMMISSION ON THE STUDY OF
SCRIPTURE**

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII. ET L. SECRETAR. BREVIUM
SACRISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE
XIII LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE QUIBUS CONSILIUM INSTITUITUR
STUDII SACRAE SCRIPTURAE PROVEHENDIS

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Vigilantiae studique memores, quo *depositum fidei* Nos quidem longe ante alios sartum tectumque praestare pro officio debemus, literas encyclicas *Providentissimus Deus* anno MCCCXCVI dedimus quibus complura de studiis Scripturae sacrae data opera complectebamur. Postulabat enim excellens rei magnitudo atque utilitas, ut istarum disciplinarum rationibus optime, quoad esset in potestate Nostra, consuleremus, praesertim cum horum temporum eruditio progrediens quaestionibus quotidie novis, aliquandoque etiam temerariis, aditum ianuamque patefaciat. Itaque universitatem catholicorum, maxime qui sacri essent ordinis, commonefecimus quae cuiusque pro facultate

sua partes in hac caussa forent ; accurateque persecuti sumus qua ratione et via haec ipsa studia provehi congruenter temporibus oporteret. Neque in irritum huiusmodi documenta Nostra cecidere. Iucunda memoratu sunt quae subinde sacrorum Antistites alique praestantes doctrina viri magno numero obsequii sui testimonia deferre ad Nos maturaverint ; cum et earum rerum, quas perscripseramus, opportunitatem gravitatemque efferrent, et diligenter se mandata effecturos confirmarent. Nec minus grate ea recordamur, quae in hoc genere catholici homines re deinceps praestitere, excitata passim horum studiorum alacritate.—Verumtamen insidere vel potius ingravescere caussas videmus easdem, quamobrem eas Nos Litteras dandas censuimus. Necesse est igitur illa ipsa iam impensius urgeri praescripta : id quod Venerabilium Fratrum Episcoporum diligentiae etiam atque etiam volumus commendatum.

Sed quo facilius uberiusque res e sententia eveniat, novum quoddam auctoritatis-Nostrae subsidium nunc addere decrevimus. Etenim cum divinos hodie explicare tuerique Libros, ut oportet, in tanta scientiae varietate tamque multiplici errorum forma, maius quiddam sit, quam ut id catholici interpretes recte efficere usquequaque possint singuli, expedit communia ipsorum adiuvare studia ac temperari auspicio ductuque Sedis Apostolicae. Id autem commode videmur posse consequi si, quo providentiae genere in aliis promovendis disciplinis usi sumus, eodem in hac, de qua sermo nunc est, utamur. His de caussis placet, certum quoddam Consilium sive, uti loquuntur, *Commissionem* gravium virorum institui : qui eam sibi habeant provinciam, omni ope curare et efficere, ut divina eloquia et exquisitorem illam, quam tempora postulant, tractationem passim apud nostros inveniant, et incolumnia sint non modo a quovis errorum afflatu, sed etiam ab omni opinionum temeritate. Huius Consilii praecipuam sedem esse addecet Romae, sub ipsis oculis Pontificis maximi : ut quae Urbs magistra et custos est christianae sapientiae, ex eadem in universum christianae sapientiae, ex eadem in universum christianae reipublicae corpus sana et incorrupta huius quoque tam necessariae doctrinae praeceptio influat. Viri autem ex quibus id Consilium coalescet, ut suo muneri, gravi in primis et honestissimo, cumulate satisfaciant, haec proprie habebunt suae navitati proposita.

Primum omnium probe perspecto qui sint in his disciplinis hodie ingeniorum cursus, nihil ducant instituto suo alienum, quod recentiorum industria repererit novi : quin imo excubent

animo, si quid dies afferat utile in exegesis Biblicam, ut id sine mora assumant communemque in usum scribendo convertant. Quamobrem in multum operae in excolenda philologia doctrinisque finitimis, earumque persequendis progressionibus collocent. Cum enim inde fere consueverit Scripturarum oppugnatio existere, inde etiam nobis quaerenda sunt arma, ne veritatis impar sit cum errore concertatio.—Similiter danda est opera, ut minori in pretio ne sit apud nos, quam apud externos, linguarum veterum orientalium scientia, aut codicum maxime primigeniorum peritia: magna enim in his studiis est utriusque opportunitas facultatis.

Deinde quod spectat ad Scripturarum auctoritatem integre asserendam, in eo quidem acrem curam diligentiamque adhibeant. Idque praesertim laborandum ipsis est, ut nequando inter catholicos invalescat illa sentiendi agendique ratio, sane non probanda, qua scilicet plus nimio tribuitur heterodoxorum sentiendi, perinde quasi germana Scripturae intelligentia ab externae eruditionis apparatu sit in primis quaerenda. Neque enim cuiquam catholico illa possunt esse dubia quae fusius alias Ipsi revocavimus: Deum non privato doctorum indicio permisisse Scripturas, sed magisterio Ecclesiae interpretandas tradidisse; 'in rebus fidei et morum, ad aedificationem doctrinae christianae pertinentium, eum pro vero sensu sacrae Scripturae habendum esse, quem tenuit ac tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia cuius est iudicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari'¹; eam esse divinorum naturam Librorum, ut ad religiosam illam, qua involvuntur, obscuritatem illustrandam subinde non valeant hermeneuticae leges, verum dux et magistra divinitus data opus sit, Ecclesia; demum legitimum divinae Scripturae sensum extra Ecclesiam nequaquam reperiri, neque ab eis tradi posse qui magisterium ipsius auctoritatemque repudiaverint. Ergo viris qui de Consilio fuerint, curandum sedulo, ut horum diligentior quotidie sit custodia principiorum: adducanturque persuadendo, si qui forte heterodoxos admirantur praeter modum, ut magistratam studiosius observent audiantque Ecclesiam. Quamquam usu quidem venit catholico interpreti, ut aliquid ex alienis auctoribus, maxime in re critica, capiat adiumenti: sed cautione opus ac delectu est. Artis criticae disciplinam, quippe percipiendae penitus hagiographorum sententiae perutilem, Nobis vehementer probantibus,

¹ Conc. Vatic. sess. III., cap. II., *De Revel.*

nostri excolant. Hanc ipsam facultatem, adhibita loco ope heterodoxorum, Nobis non repugnantibus, iidem exaucant. Videant tamen ne ex hac consuetudine intemperantiam iudicii imbibant : siquidem in hanc saepe recidit artificium illud criticae, ut aiunt, sublimioris ; cuius periculosam temeritatem plus semel Ipsi denuntiavimus.

Tertio loco, in eam studiorum horum partem quae proprie est de exponendis Scripturis, cum latissime fidelium utilitati pateat, singulares quasdam curas Consilium insumat. Ac de iis quidem testimoniis, quorum sensus aut per sacros auctores, aut per Ecclesiam authentice declaratus sit, vix attinet dicere, convincendum esse, eam interpretationem solam ad sanae hermeneuticae leges posse probari. Sunt autem non pauca, de quibus cum nulla extiterit adhuc certa et definita expositio Ecclesiae, liceat privatis doctoribus eam, quam quisque probarit, sequi tuerique sententiam : quibus tamen in locis cognitum est analogiam fidei catholicamque doctrinam servari tamquam normam oportere. Iamvero in hoc genere magnopere providendum est, ut ne acrior disputandi contentio transgrediatur mutuae caritatis terminos ; neve inter disputandum ipsae revelatae veritates divinaeque traditiones vocari in disceptationem videantur. Nisi enim salva consensione animorum collocatisque in tuto principiis, non licebit ex variis multorum studiis magnos expectare huius disciplinae progressus.—Quare hoc etiam in mandatis Consilio sit, praecipuas inter doctores catholicos rite et pro dignitate moderari quaestiones ; ad easque finiendas qua lumen iudicii sui, qua pondus auctoritatis afferre. Atque hinc illud etiam consequetur commodi, ut maturitas offeratur Apostolicae Sedi declarandi quid a catholicis inviolate tenendum, quid investigationi altiori reservandum, quid singulorum iudicio relinquendum sit.

Quod igitur christianae veritati conservandae bene vertat, studiis Scripturae sanctae promovendis ad eas leges, quae supra statutae sunt Consilium sive *Commissionem* in hac alma Urbe per has litteras instituimus. Id autem Consilium constare volumus ex aliquot S. R. E. Cardinalibus auctoritate Nostra deligendis : iisque in communionem studiorum laborumque mens est adiungere cum Consultorum officio ac nomine, ut in sacris urbanis Consiliis mos est, claros nonnullos, alios ex alia gente, viros quorum a doctrina sacra, praesertim biblica, sit commendatio, Consilii autem erit et statis conventibus habendis, et scriptis vel in dies certos vel pro re nata vulgandis, et si rogatum

sententiam fuerit, respondendo consulentibus, denique omnibus modis, horum studiorum, quae dicta sunt, tuitioni et incremento prodesse. Quaecumque vero res consultae communiter fuerint, de iis rebus referri ad Summum Pontificem volumus; per illum autem ex Consultoribus referri, cui Pontifex ut sit ab actis Consilii mandaverit. —Atque ut communibus iuvandis laboribus suppellex opportuna suppetat, iam nunc certam Bibliothecae Nostrae Vaticanae ei rei adducimus partem; ibique digerendam mox curabimus codicum voluminumque de re Biblica collectam ex omni aetate copiam, quae consilii viris in promptu sit. In quorum instructum ornatumque praesidiorum valde optandum est locupletiores catholici Nobis suppetias veniant vel utilibus mittendis libris; atque ita peropportuno genere officii Deo, Scripturarum Auctori, itemque Ecclesiae navare operam velint.

Ceterum confidimus fore, ut his coeptis Nostris, utpote quae christianae fidei incolumitatem sempiternamque animarum salutem recta spectent, divina benignitas abunde faveat; eiusque munere, Apostolicae Sedis in hac re praescriptionibus catholici, qui sacris Litteris sunt dediti, cum absoluto muneris omnibus obsequio respondeant.

Quae vero in hac caussa statuere ac decernere visum est, ea omnia et singula uti statuta et decreta sunt, ita rata et firma esse ac manere volumus et iubemus; contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die xxx Octobris anno mccccii, Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo quinto.

A. Card. MACCHI.

LEO XIII. CONGRATULATES THE CANADIAN BISHOPS ON THE ERECTION OF A RESIDENCE FOR THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE

LEO XIII GRATOS ANIMI SENSUS TESTATUR EPIS CANADENSIBUS OB
ERECTAM AEDEM IN URBE OCTAVIENSI, PRO DELEGATO APLICO

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabiles fratres, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Allatum est Nobis sacrorum Antistites Canadensis Regionis, collatis liberaliter pecuniis, stabiles aedes in urbe Octaviensi Delegato Nostro copioso sumptu comparasse, ubi ille, tamquam in proprio domicilio, pro sua dignitate, resideret.—Haud

equidem Nos latebat quo studio atque observantia egregii isti Praesules Apostolicam hanc Sedem prosequerentur: verum ceteris, quas hac de re accepimus, pluribus praeclarisque significationibus novum nunc, illudque Nobis iucundissimum, testimonium accedit. Hanc autem animorum cum Apostolica Cathedra coniunctionem eo libentius commendamus, quod ut ea Nobis in tam trepidis undequaque rebus solatio est, ita ab ea maxime rei catholicae pendent vigor atque incrementa. Qua propter gratos animi Nostri sensus illis omnibus testatos volumus, qui ad stabiles aedes Delegato Nostro in Canadensi regione, honoris causa, constituendas operam contulerunt; cuius in eum obsequii pariticipes etiam accepimus meritissimos Patres Sulpicianos Provinciae Canadensis. Benevolentiae autem Nostrae pignus et caelestium munerum auspicem, universis oblatoribus Apostolicam benedictionem ex animo impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die x Maii MDCCCCI, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

FOUNDATION MASSES

PER SUMMARIA PRECUM. WRATISLAVIEN.—SATISFACTIONIS
ONERUM MISSARUM.

Georgius Cardinalis Kopp, Princeps Episcopus Wratislaviensis, haec humillime exponit: 'Die 23 Septembris 1895 S. Congr. Concilii ad dubium Emi. Archiepiscopi Coloniensis:

"utrum, quando missae fundatae transmittuntur ad Curiam Archiepiscopalem, praeter stipendia missarum transmitti etiam debeant portiones ex redditibus foundationum assignatae fabricis, ecclesiae ministris, sacristis, organistis etc. in missis cantandis vel etiam legendis aliquo modo cooperantibus, vel potius eisdem relinqui?" respondit: "portionem fabricis ecclesiarum legitime assignatam ipsis posse remanere."

'Cum dein Rmus. Episcopus Hildesiensis sub die 1 Octobris 1895 supplicasset, ut pro aedituis quoque ceterisque ministris portio posset retineri, S. Congr. Concilii die 21 Ianuarii 1896 respondit:

"pro missis *lectis* retineri posse favore ministrorum et ecclesiae inservientium eam reddituum portionem, quae in limine foundationis vel alio legitimo modo ipsis assignata fuit, independentem ab opere speciali praestando pro legati adimplemento.

' Quod ultimum rescriptum etiam foundationibus Archidioecesis Colonien., quippe in qua eadem rationes valerent, applicari posse, Eadem S. Congregation sub die 8 Augusti 1896 benigne indulsit.

' Porro eadem prorsus rationes pro foundationibus dioecesis Wratislaviensis, valent *et accedit*, quod portiones ex missis fundatis tam legendis quam cantandis sacristis et praesertim organistis competentes a Regio Gubernio plerumque (ni semper) ut pars salarii dictis personis competentis numerantur, ita ut, quando parochus impeditus quominus foundationes in propria parochia persolvat, simul cum missis totum stipendium, i.e. omnes redditus respectivae foundationis transmittere deberet, portiones sacristis, organistis aliisque personis assignatas iisdem ex propriis cum proprio damno restituere cogeretur.

' Hinc humillime petere audeo, ut :

' " parochi impediti quominus missas fundatas tam legendas quam cantandas in propria parochia persolvant, solum eam portionem reddituum ad Curiam Episcopalem transmittere debeant, quae ipsis tamquam foundationem persolventibus competit, portiones vero tam ecclesiis quam organistis, aeditus, aliis personis aliquo modo cooperantibus, pauperibusque assignatas pro iisdem retinere possint. " '

Ad has litteras Emi. Episcopi repositum fuit ab H. S. C. sub die 24 Martii 1902 --- *videri, rescripta diei 23 Septembris 1895 Archiepiscopo Coloniensi et diei 1 Octobris eiusdem anni Episcopo Hildesiensi concessa eatenus extendi non posse ut ex redditibus foundationum detrahatur stipendium pro opere quod minime praestatur. Retinendum enim est in casu exposito, stipendium persolvi debere a parochis qui forsitan Missas foundationum minime celebrant eo quod abunde pinguiore habent eleemosynas.*

Emus. Episcopus haec reposuit :

' Porro exposui in supplici libello citato easdem prosus rationes a Rmis. Antistitibus Coloniensi et Hildesiensi pro suis respectivis dioecesis allatas valere eodem modo pro diocesi Wratislaviensi. Permittant quaeso Emi. Patres, ut eas in succo repetam ; et quidem

' 1. Fundatores, qui in stabiliendis legatis piis certos redditus ecclesiis assignarunt, certo certius liberalitate sua ecclesiis suis, non alienis, subvenire intenderunt. Hinc haec portio fabricis quasi ex titulo iustitiae competere videtur.

' 2. Ecclesiarum benefactores foundationibus suis etiam sus-

tentationi ministrorum succurrere studuerunt, ita ut proventus earum partem efficiant congruae ipsis competentis, qua ipsos spoliare aequum non videtur.

'3. Exposui has portiones tum fabricis tum ecclesiarum ministris competentes Regio Gubernio notas ab ipso tamquam partem salarii dictis personis competentis computari, ita ut parochus lege civili cogatur, ut has portiones sive fabricis sive ministris restituat, si omnes redditus foundationum, quas ipse persolvere nequit, transmittere debet. Et hoc quidem bene quoad illos parochos, de quibus S. Congregatio in litteris d. d. 24 Martii a. c. (¹³⁴⁷/₂) supponit, "qui forsitan missas foundationum minime celebrant eo quod aliunde pinguiore habent eleemosynas." Quod quidem non licere nemo ignorat, et iuxta taliter agentes poenas luent. Sed quid quoad illos parochos, qui quotannis 300, 400, 500 et plura sacra fundata persolvere debent? Quid quoad illos, qui tot spiritualibus necessitatibus vivorum suorum parochianorum succurrere debent, ut ipsis pro omnibus missis fundatis persolvendis dies non suppetant? Et credo supponi posse hanc esse mentem S. Congregationis, ut parochus primo loco necessitatibus spiritualibus vivorum parochianorum provideat, ut scil. primo loco manualia persolvat pro praegnantibus, pro aegrotis, pro moribundis, pro recenter mortuis etc. et dein missas fundatas. Et si hoc, debetne parochus eo quid caritatis ni dicam iustitiae officia erga vivos parochianos satisfaciat, detrimentum subire, quia non potest simul missas fundatas persolvere, et nihilominus portiones ecclesiae ministris competentes ipsis ex propriis compensare debet?

'4. Tandem ne illud praeterire videar "non posse detrahi ex redditibus foundationum stipendium pro opere quod minime praestatur"—ecclesia, seu fabrica ecclesiae idem omnino praestat sive missa fundata persolvatur sive manualis, scil. praestat paramenta, vinum hostiam, candelas aliaque ad missam necessaria, organista pulsat organum, sive missa fundata persolvatur, sive manualis; item aedituus vestit parochum et parat necessaria, pueri inserviunt missae, sive fundata persolvatur sive manualis, quippe qui quotidie officio suo consueto fungi teneantur. Hinc patet, fructum foundationum non solum tamquam remunerationem servitii in fundatis missis exhibendi, sed etiam tamquam meliorationem salarii deberi aestimari, et insuper per transmissionem missarum fundatarum neque tolli opus neque imponi, si excipias solum parochum celebrantem. At si hoc, suscipientes foundationem, si semper excipias parochum seu

sacerdotem persolventem, carent titulo quo mercedem recipiant, et non est, cur transmittentes, si iterum excipias parochum, qui missam persolvere debet, fructibus sibi competentibus frustrentur.

‘ Haec iterum examini S. Congregationis Concilii subiicienda duxi et omni qua par est reverentia et obsequio iterum petere audeo :

‘ 1. gratiosam condonationem pro praeterito, quatenus hucusque indulto S Sedis aliter gesserint parochi ;

‘ 2. ut pro futuro impediti, quominus missas fundatas tam legendas quam cantandas per seipsos persolvant, solum eam portionem reddituum ad Curiam Episcopalem transmittere debeant, quae ipsis tanquam fundationes persolventibus competit ; portiones vero tam ecclesiis quam organistis, aedituis, a liis personis aliquo modo cooperantibus, pauperibusque assignatas propriis retinere possint.’

Quoad preces Emi. Episcopi haec mihi, de more, advertenda videntur.—Equidem patet, quamlibet stipis distractionem in alium usum licet pium, mentis offerentium commutationem secumferre ; eodem modo quo commutatio adest cum celebratio in loco ab oblatores haud designato perficitur. Ne a piis elargitionibus erga Ecclesiam fideles semoverentur, ob frequentes voluntatem defunctorum commutationes, Canones solemniter praeceperunt, pias fundationes vel ultimas morientium voluntates religiose servandas esse ; Can. *Ultima volunt. dist.* 13 q. 2 ; Clement. *Quia contingit 2 de relig. domib.* ; Caput *Si haeredes et Tua nobis de Testam.*

Cum tamen ob effraenatas hominum cupiditates innumeris incommodis Missarum stipendia occasionem praebuerint, plures ad haec removenda ab Ecclesia sanctissimae leges ac decreta diversis temporibus lata fuerunt ; quae diligenter a Benedictio XIV. *Instit. Eccles.* 56 ; *De Synod. Dioeces. lib. 5 cap. 9* ; *De Sacr. Miss. lib. 3 cap. 21* recensentur. Item Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. *Decret. de observat. et rit. in celebrat. Miss.* decretum : ‘ Cum multa.’ Huic Concilii decreto accesserunt celebres illae H. S. Cong. declarationes seu Decreta *de celebratione Missarum* Urbani VIII auctoritate editae die 21 Junii 1625 per Const. quae incipit ‘ *Cum saepe contingat*,’ ac postea additis aliis resolutionibus ab Innocent XII, decimo Kal. Ian 1697 edita est Const. quae incipit ‘ *Nuper innovata et confirmata*’ ; et Epistola Encyclia a Bened. XIV. quae incipit ‘ *Quanta cura*,’ diei 30 Junii, 1741 ; et nuper, ut alia omittamus, Decretum datum est ab H. S. C. die 25 Maii 1893, ita conceptum ;

‘Vigilanti studio convellendis eradicandisque abusibus missarum celebrationem spectantibus... Ad cohibendam pravam quorundam licentiam qui ad ephemerides, libros aliasque merces facilius cum clero commutandas missarum ope utebantur... Propositis namque inter alia sequentibus dubiis :

‘III. An, huiusmodi eleemosynarum collectiones et erogationes tunc etiam improbandae, et coercendae, ut *supra*, sint ab Episcopis, quando lucrum, quod ex mercium cum eleemosynis permutatione hauritur, non in proprium colligentium commodum, sed in prarum institutionum, et honorum operum usum vel incrementum impenditur ;

‘IV.—An liceat Episcopis sine speciali S. Sedis venia ex eleemosynis missarum, quas fideles celebrioribus Sanctuariis tradere solent, aliquid detrahere, ut eorum decori et ornamēto consulatur, quando praesertim ea propriis redditibus careant : In peculiari conventu an. 1874 S. C. resolvit : Ad III. Affirmative. Ad IV. Negative, nisi de consensu oblatoꝝ.

‘Sed cum postremis hisce annis constiterint salutare huiusmodi dispositiones ignorantia aut malitia neglectas fuisse . . . Emi. Patres S. C. . . . in duplici generali conventu officii sui esse duxerunt, quod pridem decretum erat in plenam observantiam denuo apud omnes revocare . . .

‘Praeterea iidem Emi. Patres inhaerentes dispositionibus a Romanis Pontificibus, ac praesertim ab Urbano VIII et Innocentio XII in Const. *Cum saepe*, alias datis, sub gravi obedientiae praecepto decernunt ac mandant ut in posterum omnes et singuli ubique locorum beneficiati et administratores prarum causarum aut utcumque ad missarum onera implenda obligati, sive ecclesiastici sive laici, in fine cuiuslibet anni missarum onera quae reliqua sunt, et quibus nondum satisfecerint propriis Ordinariis tradant iuxta modum ab iis definiendum.

‘Denique, revocatis quibuscumque indultis et privilegiis usque nunc concessis, quae praesentis decreti dispositionibus utcumque adversentur, S. C. curae singulorum Ordinariorum committit, ut praesens decretum omnibus ecclesiasticis . . . notum sollicito faciant . . .’

Epistola Circularis H. S. C. diei 28 Aug. 1897 ad Ordinarios Italiae directa, denuo inculcat strictam observantiam anterioris decreti, necnon decretorum (Urbaniani et Innocentiani) iam citatorum. Allata testimonia licet de missis manualibus intelligi videantur, attamen ex rationis identitate etiam ad pias missarum fundationes referri debent.

Hisce in iure praeiactis, cum Emus. Episcopus ad Pontificem confugerit, videndum est an causae adsint ut eius preces admittantur. Tales causae non apparent eo magis in themate in quo cum agatur de absolutione quoad praeteritum et de dispensatione quoad futurum, ea agendi ratio videtur opposita allatis constitutionibus, ideoque tolerari haud posse.

Etenim Rectores ecclesiarum et sacerdotes eisdem addicti, non solum habent ius celebrandi missas in respectivis ecclesiis fundatas; sed imprimis, nominatim Rectores, habent strictam obligationem illas celebrandi aut curandi ut per alios celebrentur, et hac conditione praesumuntur ab initio acceptae.—Missae fundatae, non sunt ordinatae ad supplendum defectui missarum adventitiarum, sed haec potius acceptari possunt ad supplendum illarum defectui; ita ut si Rectores ecclesiarum illis, sive per se sive per alios, satisfacere non possint, has non licet illis acceptare, nisi sub conditione easdem tradendi aliis cum integro stipendio accepto. Clara hac in re est citata Const. Innocent. XII ubi ita legitur: ‘Eleemosynas vero manuales et quotidianas pro Missis celebrandis ita demum iidem accipere possint, si oneribus antea impositis ita satisfecerint, ut nova quoque onera suscipere valeant, alioquin omnino abstineant ab huiusmodi eleemosynis, etiam sponte oblatis, in futurum recipiendis.’ Et hoc consonum esse videtur fundatorum menti, tum quia in his stabiliendis legatis piis non aliter intenderunt implicite vel explicitè quandam portionem ex fructibus foundationum ecclesiae fabricae assignare, nisi mediante missarum applicatione in eadem; tum quia semper, iuxta effatum, qui prior est tempore potior est iure. Igitur, cum reddituum portio alicui Ecclesiae ob Missarum celebrationem assignata consideretur tamquam accessorium propter principale, si missae fundatae ob aliquam iustam causam ad alium locum transmittantur, praeter stipendia missarum (quod est principale) transmitti etiam debet portio ex foundationis fructibus fabricis seu Ecclesiae ministris assignata, quod est accessorium. Nam valet contractus *do ut facias*, dum contrarium non constat.

Sed a converso in themata favore supplicantium animadvertendum est bonam fidem illis suffragari ut condonationem quoad praeteritum consequantur, uti passim S. C. Congr. indulgere solet, si pia opera absque culpa non fuerant impleta, neque superest ex quo impleri possint.

In puncto autem dispensationis quoad futurum advertendum est Trid. Synod. Sess. 23 cap. 6 de Ref.; H. S. C. Conc.

in *Taurinen.* 1 Martii 1878, et *Lucana* 14 Decembris, 1893, nos edocere, ad voluntatis commutationem concedendam generatim sufficientes causas esse *necessitatem* vel *evidentem* Ecclesiae *utilitatem*, maxime si commutatio voluntatis fuerit temporanea; neque raro contingit ut legata pia seu missae reducantur aut suspendantur, quando prospici debeat templi reparationi aut domibus beneficiarii aliisque beneficiorum necessitatibus, ut penes S. C. Conc. In *Viterbien.* 2 Martii 1765 et 1874; in *Leodiën.*, 18 Maii 1776; in *Syracusana* 8 Febr. 1773 et passim. Ob Ecclesiae utilitatem non reduci tantum sed supprimi etiam missarum onera monet Amostazus *De causis piis libr. 1. cap. 14 n. 1.* Et merito quidem; quia haec missarum legata praeter rationem suffragii, habent rationem eleemosynae et subsidii pro ecclesiae necessitatibus et ministris.

Unde, cum in casu non agatur nisi de quadam portione detrahenda quamvis inibi Missae non celebrarentur, uti hucusque factum est, in subsidium divini cultus, ministrorum, pauperum loci, aliarumque spiritualium necessitatum ob parochorum impotentiam ea satisfaciendi, videtur adesse causa iusta ut Emi. Episcopi petitioni annuatur.

Tandem iniquum videretur parochis invitis contra praxim hucusque observatam quae plurimi facienda est uti optima mentis fundatoris interpretes, (*Lotter. de re benef. l. 7. q. 11 n. 125; Rota decis. 62 n. 3 part. 10*) novum onus imponere dictam portionem solvendi, ob impotentiam celebrandi missas fundatas sive in festis diebus in quibus pro populo sibi concredito offerre debent, sive in pauperum funeribus, aliisque solemnitatibus quae aliter cum populi scandalo forsitan non celebrarentur, sive ob aliam rationabilem causam, non ex desiderio pinguioris stipendii ut patet, promanantem, sed potius ex penuria sacerdotum, et ex proprio officio.

Quare si fundatores id praeviderent, aliter de sua substantia disposuissent, Reiffenstuel *De testam n. 804*, et S. H. C. in *Sutrina, Transl. 10 Sept. 1803*. Hinc valida concedendae gratiae causa ex praesumpta oritur fundatoris voluntate.

Hisce hinc inde pro meo munere animadversis, Sapientia EE. PP. deliberabit an locus sit condonationi aut cuique alii provisioni.

Quare etc.

Emi. Patres rescripserunt: *Praevia sanatione quoad praeteritum pro facultate iuxta petita, et ad mentem.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE SCIENCE OF THE SAINTS IN PRACTICE. By John Baptist Pagani, second General of the Institute of Charity. 4 vols. R. and T. Washbourne, 4, Paternoster-row.

THE feeling which led the author to the compilation of the present work, was that 'the sacred maxims contained in Holy Writ, and the bright examples of virtue recorded in the lives of the saints, are at once calculated to please, instruct, and edify all such Christians as sincerely desire to live up to the spirit of their holy calling.' The truth of this belief will not be questioned, and if the author has given effect to this idea at somewhat great length, the manner in which he has done so is well defined and commendable. The virtues of which the saints of God gave evidence in their daily lives, are distributed over the months of the year; and then, for each day of the month, there is a short, familiar discourse, generally of only a few pages, in which the allotted virtue is explained and illustrated from Scripture, the writings, and, above all, the attractive and forcible examples of the lives of the saints.

Thus, it is evident that the work is well called '*The Science of the Saints*.' The manner in which it is divided makes it eminently suitable for meditation or spiritual reading. And those who use it for this purpose will certainly not miss the absence of full references to the numerous quotations with which the work abounds.

J. W. M.

THEOLOGIA DOGMATICA. Auctore F. Reginaldo Fei, O.P., Professore in Alma Universitate Friburgensi in Helvetia. Romae: Marietti.

THE publication of a Dogmatic Theology in which questions of the day would be treated, has for some time past been desired by many students. The well-known works by Perrone and Pesch are in this respect of comparatively little use, being more or less antiquated, while those by Scheeben and Heinrich, though eminently scientific, are not much read in this country.

Not to mention the discussions and the decisions in recent years, with which everyone is familiar, at the present time several questions of great importance are engaging the attention of theological professors, and information about the *status* of these questions and the arguments employed will be welcome to priests on the mission as well as to students in ecclesiastical seminaries.

The present work, of which two parts, viz., Vol I., *De Deo Uno et Trino*, and Vol IV., *De Sacramentis in genere*, etc., have appeared, deals with theories as new as those of Schell and other living writers. The learned author is evidently conversant with the most recent developments of theological thought, and he makes excellent use of the results attained by contemporary scholars in the various branches of knowledge that are subsidiary to theology. We may notice in particular his masterly exposition of some of the deepest questions in the treatise *De Deo Uno*, and his remarks on the nature of the sacramental character. In his explanation of the Decree of the Holy Office (Jan. 13, 1897), Father Fei quotes Arendt with approval. The nature and scope of the Decree is still a disputed question, but it seems to us that Arendt's explanation is correct.

R. W.

THE ART OF LIFE. AN ESSAY. By F. C. Kolbe, D.D.
The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland. 1903.

THE Catholic Truth Society of Ireland has not hitherto published many volumes of size larger than the penny pamphlets, which are sold at our church doors; but it is most desirable that such volumes should be produced, if the Society can keep up to the standard it has already set for itself. Some months ago we welcomed a volume from the pen of Dr. Sheehan, of Doneraile, which was an excellent contribution to our devotional literature; and we are glad to notice here a valuable work of a philosophical and quasi-controversial nature. Its author is Dr. Kolbe of Capetown, well known throughout South Africa, not merely as a doughty champion of the faith, but as an original thinker, and fearless writer on many subjects. *The Art of Life* is evidently the outcome of wide reading, of deep and mature thought, and (we think we could justly add) of steadfast prayer. For the essay deals with the higher interests of the Christian life; and though the treatment is analytical rather

than emotional, it betrays throughout a mind steeped in devotion and with a strong tendency to the contemplation of the sublime. The main thesis running through the nine chapters of the essay is the analogy existing between the laws regulating the fine arts and those of the spiritual life ; but it is impossible here to give the barest outline of Dr. Kolbe's theories, some of which we might take exception to, but which he never fails to enforce by lucid and weighty argument. There is so much real thought compressed into the short compass of a little over a hundred pages, that the book will repay more than a single perusal. It will have a double utility, as indeed all good theology ought to have—that of stimulating the mind and of directing its activity into a practical groove. As being calculated to deepen the spiritual life, we consider *The Art of Life* specially suited for those whose function it is to guide souls towards the true end of their being.

ST. MARGARET OF CORTONA. THE MAGDALEN OF THE SERAPHIC ORDER. By Rev. Leopold de Chérancé O.S.F.C. Translated by R. F. O'Connor. Dublin : Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1903.

WE welcome with very sincere pleasure this admirable translation of the *Life of St. Margaret of Cortona*. It is a revelation to us not only of the virtues of the great Saint, but of the wealth of piety and devotion to the Church that exists amongst our Catholic laity, in such pointed contrast with the noisy antagonism of a few.

The period in which St. Margaret lived is one of the most interesting in the annals of Italy and of the world ; and as in all periods of storm and stress, when the Church was assailed from within as well as from without, great servants of God arose to confound by their virtues the calumnies of her enemies, so it was at the end of the thirteenth century when the bark of Peter was strongly buffeted by the waves, and seemed on the very point of being submerged. The appearance of St. Margaret was then like the silver lining of the cloud, like the break that indicates an abatement of the storm. The author of this work introduces us to those Apostolic Brothers, to the Fraticelli, who, like the furious revolutionists of France professed their intention of bringing back the Church to the simplicity of Apostolic times. The notorious Fra Dolcino, in whose welfare Dante

makes Mahomet take such an interest from his bed in the *Malebolge*, was preaching the community of goods and the plurality of wives. The court of Naples was a regular hot-bed of rationalism and vice. The republics of Italy were devastated by war, and the Pope was driven by Roman factions to fix his abode at Avignon. With great lucidity and attractiveness the author tells the story of St. Margaret and of her influence on the life and movements of her time. We sincerely congratulate Mr. O'Connor on having given us in English so interesting and edifying a book; and we hope that what he has done for St. Francis of Assisi and St. Margaret of Cortona may be only the beginning of a long series of works equally useful and necessary.

J. F. H.

NEW REVIEWS, PERIODICALS, AND JOURNALS.

Le Monde Catholique Illustré (Paris: Poussielgue, 15 Rue Cassette); *Razon y Fe* (Madrid: Calle Isabel la Católica, 12); *España y América* (Asilo de Huerfanos, Juan Bravo, 5); *Review of Catholic Pedagogy* (Chicago: 637 S. Harding avenue); *The Messenger* (27-29 West 16th-street, New York); *The Rosary Magazine* (871 Lexington-avenue, New York); *The Homiletic Monthly and Catechist* (103 Fifth-avenue, New York); *La Rassegna Internazionale* (Florence: Via Tanabnoni, 6).

WE have to express *in globo* to the editors and managers of the various Reviews mentioned above our sincere gratitude for the courtesy with which they have sent us their valuable publications. Most of these reviews and periodicals are still in their infancy; but as they all show promise of a graceful, and several of a vigorous, future, we should like to give them a cordial welcome, and express a hope that they may safely weather the storms of youth, and in due time make their way through a useful and active career.

To our friend the Marquis M'Swincey of Mashanaglas we offer our hearty congratulations on the appearance and style of the *Monde Catholique Illustré*. It is undoubtedly the finest illustrated paper in the Catholic world, and reflects the highest credit on the publishers as well as on the editor. The descendant of an old Irish stock that took root in Portugal and Spain

and spread itself over France and Bavaria, the Marquis inherits that devotion to the Holy See which was characteristic of the best of the Irish magnates of former days. He lives in Rome, where he does duty as a 'Cameriere Segreto,' at the Vatican; but he is in close touch with the leaders of thought all over the world, poets, artists, historians, archæologists. He is one of the most zealous organisers of the 'Congress of Catholic Scientists' that has met in different European countries since the first was called together in Paris by Mgr. d'Hulst, in 1889. Few men could command the services of so many distinguished collaborators. The result is an artistic periodical, beautifully illustrated, and full of interesting articles. The *Monde Catholique Illustré* has made its way all over Europe into the homes of wealthy Catholics. Let us hope that the country of the editor's ancestors may not be an exception. The subscription is 22 francs a year.

Notwithstanding the recent outburst of anti-clericalism in Spain we are happy to notice many signs of renewed and re-awakened life amongst Spanish Catholics. This is particularly the case in the Press. Of the many Catholic publications that have come recently into existence, by far the most important is *Razon y Fe*, the new organ of the Spanish Jesuits. This periodical will be to Spain what the *Civiltà Catholica* is to Italy, the *Etudes* in France, and the *Stemmer aus Maria Laach* in Germany, *Razon y Fe* promises to be a splendid Review. It is well written. Its contributors are able men who have a wide outlook. Philosophy and Theology are ably represented by F. Z. Urrâburu and L. Murillo. The article of V. Minteguiaga, in the second number entitled, 'Los Dos Fanatismos,' and the article of L. Murillo in the first number on 'La ciencia libre y la Revelacion en el Siglo XIX.' are quite up to date, whilst the articles of J. Thomás 'La Histologia Comparada de las Glandulas Pepsicas,' and of B. Merino, 'Viajes de Herborizacion por Galicia,' show that the secular sciences are represented by men who are experts in their departments. A very valuable and useful article is that of P. Villada, entitled, 'Por que se odia a los Religiosos.'

The most recent of the Spanish Reviews is entitled, *España y América*. It is edited by the Augustinian Fathers, and published at Madrid. The following sentences from its programme will indicate its spirit.

'Ante todo, la Revista ESPAÑA Y AMÉRICA, que profusamente

ilustrada aparecerá los días 1.º y 15 de cada mes, estará casi exclusivamente escrita y redactada por los hijos de San Agustín, invicto *leader* de la ortodoxia cristiana, que ilumina con los resplandores de su genio incomparable los últimos quince siglos de la brillante historia del Cristianismo.

‘La convicción de que los grandes errores aniquilados por la poderosa pluma de ese insigne adalid de la causa católica vuelven a resurgir de su sepulcro galvanizados por el soplo de las pasiones, nos recuerda á todos los que vestimos su glorioso uniforme el deber en que estamos de continuar, en la modestísima esfera de nuestro exiguo valer, la obra gloriosa y la labor fecunda del insigne Doctor de la gracia. Conducidos, pues, por la mano de ese gladiador invencible, descienden hoy sus hijos á la candente arena del combate, para pelear como soldados de última fila, y á la sombra de ese glorioso caudillo, las grandes batallas de la fe cristiana.

‘Todo nos induce á creer que la época presente es tal vez la fase mas importante de la gigantesca y titánica lucha iniciada a las puertas mismas del paraíso, y que el siglo XX será un siglo de lucha, y de lucha porfiada y tenacísima, entre los principios cristianos, y los funestos errores engendrados por cerebros desequilibrados y enfermos y sostenidos por la fuerza brutal é inconsciente de las pasiones humanas. Nuestra debilidad que es grande, y que empezamos por reconocer, no nos desalienta; puesta nuestra confianza en Dios, no queremos que falte nuestro insignificante grano de arena en la gran obra de la regeneración social y cristiana; y si sucumbimos en medio del fragor del combate, tendremos al menos la satisfacción que engendra en la conciencia la firme convicción de no haber dejado indefensa en medio del arroyo la verdad, ni incumplidos nuestros deberes de sacerdotes cristianos. Si triunfa, como indefectiblemente ha de triunfar la causa de la verdad, del bien y de la justicia, poco importa que sean arrollados algunos de sus más débiles defensores, pues no puede haber deshonor ni mengua en el vencimiento de los soldados inexpertos y bisonños que no han ido precisamente al combate como una fuerza sino como un ejemplo.’

To the *Review of Catholic Pedagogy* we desire to extend a specially warm welcome. Edited by our former colleague, Father Judge, it can scarcely fail to make its mark amongst American Reviews. We are only sorry that Father Judge has confined himself to the subject of ‘Pedagogics.’ We should have preferred a more general title under which pedagogics might have been made a speciality; for we think that with his acute mind and ardent temperament Father Judge could edit a magazine of general ecclesiastical interest with great success.

Pedagogics is a subject which may excite interest for a time amongst a limited class of readers, but we doubt if the interest can be maintained, and if the number of readers amongst Catholics will be sufficient to keep the periodical in existence. In most of the German universities there are chairs of pedagogics ; but opinions differ as to their value. Last summer in Germany we asked a professor in one of the German universities, himself a fine Latin scholar, what he thought on the question. He smiled and said that one good practical teacher was worth all the professors of pedagogics in the country. If, however, scientific investigation has been beneficial in other departments, we fail to see why it should not yield good results here also. The pedagogues, of course, often complain that their instructors are men of no experience or proficiency in the art they claim to teach, relying on the principle which Dr. Johnson attributed to a certain school of critics,

‘ Drivers of fat cattle must themselves be fat.’

There is no man more likely to get into a rut than the pedagogue ; and there are few men more capable of shaking him out of it than Father Judge and Father Yorke. We hope they may succeed. The very discussion of the practical questions with which they deal cannot fail to be useful.

The *Homburg Monthly and Catechist* is edited from the Seminary of New York, and specially intended for priests on the mission. It is in its special line an exceedingly useful magazine, and is ably edited. The *Messenger* comes also from New York, and is the organ of the American Jesuits. Its notes on the condition of the Church in foreign countries are a special feature and are exceedingly interesting. We should like, however, to see a fuller and more systematic treatment of questions relating to Church affairs in European countries. The *Rosary Magazine* is the organ of the American Dominicans. It is already well established. It is illustrated, and deals with matters of general interest to Catholics. Its review of reviews is a special feature, and it has come well to the front amongst the enormous number of new Catholic publications in America.

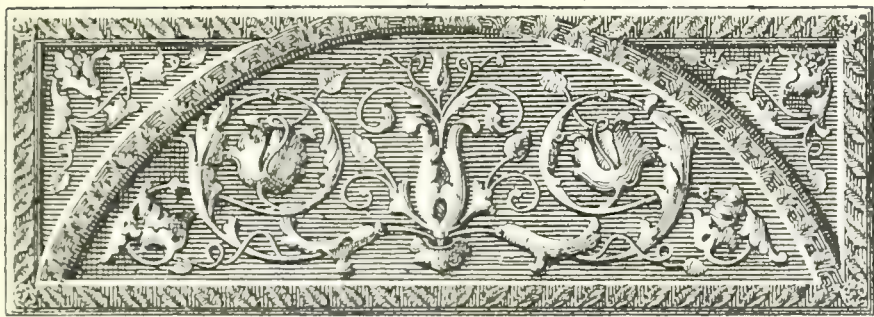
The *Rassegna Internazionale*, which must not be confounded with the *Rassegna Nazionale*, is a review which, though not, as

far as we can see, professedly Catholic, is written by Catholics in a liberal spirit. It devotes special attention to literature. Its review of French poetry is particularly good. The confession of Charles Guerin, the disciple of Verlaine and of Lamartine is thus rendered in Italian.

‘L’iniquità fu la mia amante. Ed eccomi
Gli occhi che il peccato del mondo sigillò
Mi bruciano con le loro lagrime di sangue.
O Signore, abbì finalmente pietà del tuo figliuolo!’

We should like to devote more time and space to the labours of our brethren; but for the present they must take these few lines as the expression of our cordial appreciation and thanks.

J. F. H.



LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES IN THE CHURCH

THE Catholic who at the present day moves through the world, reads newspapers and reviews, hears the opinions of all kinds and classes of men, endeavours to keep abreast of what is thought and written abroad as well as at home on questions that lie at the root of all knowledge, and frequently finds those principles challenged on which the whole conduct of life depends, cannot but feel thankful to Providence that in the midst of doubt and obscurity he may yet feel secure and trust to the light that shines for believers to guide him safely on his destined course. We know what the effect of the chaos that reigns in the world must be on those who depend on their natural powers to cleave a way through the forest of confusion. Never, perhaps, did it get more vivid expression than in that passage in the *Apologia* in which Newman tells us how it affected him:—

To consider the world [wrote the great Cardinal] in its length and breadth, its various history, the many races of man, their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship; their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens so faint and broken of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of

man, his far reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully, yet exactly, described in the Apostle's words, 'having no hope and without God in the world'—all this is a vision to dizzy and appal, and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery, which is absolutely beyond human solution.¹

The contemplation of this realistic picture led Newman to acknowledge that there was something radically wrong with the human race, that there was something out of joint and out of gear in man's most intimate nature. It led him to the doctrine of *original sin*, and from this drew him step by step to the conclusion that some infallible authority established from on high was necessary for the guidance and salvation of mankind.

On the other hand there have ever been in the Church itself men born and nourished under its protecting shadow, who, like the prodigal, would go forth into a far country, and depending on their own finite powers, would attempt to explore the forest and face those elements from which greater than they were compelled to seek shelter. Such expeditions usually end in disaster; and happy are those who are privileged to return, to don the first robe and the ring, and sit at the father's banquet after they had hungered amongst the swineherds and tasted of the husks.

But if we confine our view to the Church itself, to the household of the faith, to the great mystic family, do we find no strife, no contention, no diversity of opinion, no clashing of interests? In the great work of fortifying the Church, of securing the positions she has won, of driving back the enemy where a breach has been made or an advantage gained, of bearing forward her banner and extending her domain, of carrying the torch of faith into the dark places and establishing order and harmony amidst confusion and contradiction, are there no divided counsels amongst her children? Is there no diversity of plan amongst her leaders? Is her whole

¹ *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. Edition 1864, pp. 377, 378.

policy cast in a mould and her line of action dictated without any reference to the plans and intentions of her enemies?

Well indeed has the Church on earth been called the *Ecclesia Militans*. Her life is a warfare of every day and of every hour. It is carried on simultaneously in every quarter of the globe. We hear a good deal at the present day of the greatest empire the world has ever seen. That empire undoubtedly exists; but it is not confined within any earthly boundaries. It is co-extensive with the human race. It knows no mountain frontier, no river that delimits it. Abstracting from time and space it embraces the soul in all its manifestations and activities. The whole range of human thought comes under its sway. The touchstone of its moral standard is applied to the deeds, the passions, the weakness and the strength, the virtues, the commonplaces, and the crimes, that make up the life of humanity.

The Church has subjects everywhere, and everywhere she has to watch over their interests. In art and science and literature, in the university and the senate, in monarchies and republics alike, her claims are everywhere challenged, everywhere contested. The hand of the world is against her as it was against her Founder. Her enemies are numerous, powerful, aggressive beyond all precedent. They are skilful, patient, well disciplined, well equipped, ever resolute and persevering in their attacks. What wonder then that her children and her champions should have their hands full? And in such a variety of contending interests, in the solution of problems so complex and frequently so urgent, what wonder, that there should be divergent opinions, that even those who most ardently pursue a common object should differ as to policy, to methods, and to action?

And in fact this is the case to such an extent that the variety of plans, projects, and proposals put forward in the interests of the Church is truly endless. In theology, philosophy, Biblical criticism, systems of education, social organisation, there is a life, an activity, an eagerness which is full of interest, which is not without its dangers, but which is on the whole healthful and attractive.

If even in fancy the foremost champions of Catholicism

at the present day were brought together into one of those continental houses of parliament where the benches range in semicircles and rise in tiers before the president, they might be divided like present-day legislators into the right wing and the left, the centre, the right centre, and the centre-left. But in each of these divisions there would be numerous subdivisions and groups, with now and then an isolated individual, 'a party to himself alone,' whose views would not fit in with those of any school or of any party. All acknowledge the authority of the ruler who takes counsel with them, but whose power is independent of theirs and is not derived from them. All give allegiance and support to the executive and administrative power without which no commonwealth could hold together. All, however, do not observe the same decorum, nor conduct their discussions with the same grace, nor yield to the deciding voice with the same good will, nor easily divest themselves of the notion that by clever devices they may be able to snatch a decision in favour of their views.

In the centre and its wings we recognize the great assemblage of well-balanced minds, who, yielding neither to reaction nor to innovation, hold a steady course between the extremists on either side. They gravitate to the right or to the left according as they are influenced by what they conceive to be the dangers or the needs of their time.

Conscious and convinced that the Church is a divine institution, the depository on earth of whatever supernatural power and authority the Saviour of the world was pleased to vouchsafe to mankind, they loyally accept its formularies and decrees. They are proud of the inheritance that has been transmitted to them by the Fathers, the Councils, the Pontiffs of the past. They are conversant with the methods that have been employed against the Church in every age. They recognize with the insight of experts the snares of the heretic, the intentions of the apostate, the incipient manifestations of schism. From a life-long study of theology they have no difficulty in tracing the course of the great stream of tradition. They know, too, that where theological science does not live and flourish religion starves away and dies; that where the deep soil is seldom stirred the crop is often smothered by

tares and weeds, or runs to seed as the result of superficial cultivation.

From a study equally persistent of the Bible they have become familiar with its spirit; but they have also become familiar with the never-ending efforts of rationalism to discredit inspiration and to naturalise the Scriptures. They feel more than ever the necessity of guarding the treasures of revelation as they are being abandoned by those who so long and so loudly proclaimed themselves their only keepers, but they are not averse to an examination of anything they contain in the light of genuine scientific discoveries.

Knowing how religion is brought home to men and made a living and ever-active force, how its purifying influence ennobles life, how surely eternity depends upon it, they attach proportionate importance to its practical side, to the celebration of its mysteries, the preaching of its doctrine, the dispensing of its sacraments, the upholding of its authority; but they are far from ignoring the necessity of meeting the difficulties that arise from the progress of science and from the ever changing conditions of the world. They know full well that a miser who buries a treasure in a napkin can retain it for a life-time without increase or loss, but also without profit or advantage. They are aware that nature is impotent in the work of salvation unless it is *informed* by grace, and that the results of the best efforts of men who have not a good foundation to their will can shrink and wither like a sapless tree; but they also know that the definitions of the Church need to be impregnated with the thought that gave them birth and shape—that they must not be aimed with mechanical indiscretion against forms of opinion that may indeed be wrong but that differ materially from those against which they were framed. None know better than the experienced theologian that gems of the brightest hue in the hands of one who understands their value may be converted indeed into ‘lustreless pebbles’ by the manipulation of dull or shallow minds.

As in other days they defended reason in its own domain against those who would make of it the merest *ignis fatuus* of the marsh in the search for truth and condemn to imbecility the unguided efforts of man’s noblest faculty, so now they

would erect a bulwark against those champions of reason who seek to extinguish the divine light without whose illumination it could have effected so little for the welfare of humanity.

They are fully alive to the necessity of applying the test of scientific investigation to the records of history, and of setting forth in impartial honesty the result of their labours; but they would set about their work in the Catholic spirit of a Lingard or a Janssen and feel it no part of their duty to lay special and disproportionate stress, for the gratification of a scoffing world, on those evidences of human weakness which now and again darken the page, making of the history of the Church a mere accumulation of scandals, fishing in the mud-pools whilst they had the pure stream and the noble river, winning a reputation for independence and learning by repeating the gossip of prejudiced and malignant scribes.

They would, therefore, confront the thought and the systems of the twentieth century in the spirit in which St. Paul approached the Athenians, in which St. Augustine met the Neo-Platonists and Manicheans, in which St. Thomas dealt with the Gentiles and rationalising Christians of the West. They would meet the disciples of Kant and Harnack, of Comte and Spencer, as Bossuet and Fénelon confronted Spinoza and Jurieu. They would follow the spirit of Sir Thomas More in his controversy with Erasmus, and of Cardinal Wiseman with the Anglicans of his time. And whilst they would allow no single iota of divine teaching to be minimised or obscured, they would examine with open minds what the world has to offer with a disposition to accept and assimilate what is in keeping with its principles, and to reject without hesitation what cannot accommodate itself to the spirit of the Gospel.

Thus will the doctrine of faith get full scope for its vitality and, acting on the minds and lives of men, will it become fruitful in the accomplishment of its Author's merciful design. Its expounders must do their work under the ægis of authority; but their obedience will be the obedience of love and duty. They are the sons of light and of liberty, and are not required in their father's house to adopt the attitude of slaves.

If now we turn our attention to the benches on the extreme right we see a multitude plentifully dowered with faith, whose spiritual vision is so keen that they require no argument to convince them of the truths of religion. To them these truths are practically self-evident. They require none of the demonstrations that are so highly valued elsewhere. One thing alone they prize beyond all others, and that is the simple practice of a Christian life. They have no patience with their talkative opponents on the left, amongst whom they are convinced there is much vanity, much pride, a disposition to come to terms with the world, to adopt its ways and habits, and so to truckle with the enemies of the kingdom of God. On that side, they tell us, they had seen many come forward with fine programmes, with loud professions of devotion to the Church and to the Pope, with great flourishes about the advance of science, the progress of the world, the inventions of the age; and when their programmes were put to the test and rejected or not accepted in their completeness, they fell away and made common cause with the enemies of the faith.

There, they tell us, sat Lamennais, Loyson, Froshammer, Dollinger, Friederich, Reusch, Michelis, Reinkens, Gioberti, Passaglia, Curci, Blanco White, Hoensbroeck, Brentano, Muller, Daens, Mivart, and their followers. There, too, sat others who went to the verge of the abyss and were rescued with difficulty—Champollion, Lenormant, Maret, Gratry, Acton, Hecker; and there to-day are their successors Schell, Ehrhard, Houtin, Loisy, Blondel, Klein, Martin, Spahn, with a regular host of democratic Abbés and rationalising critics. There, they say, is the real danger. These men are the friends of the world, the friends of the lords of mammon, the admirers and companions of our enemies. See how they adopt their costume and what a figure they cut in the borrowed garb! See too, save for a few exceptions, how full they are of themselves, how little modesty in their mien, how little regard they show for the seasoned leaders in the strife! Look at Huysmans who has been spending his life in debauchery, who for a decade has been defiling the air of France with the breath of his turpitude!

He is now converted ; but instead of going to hide himself in a desert for fifty years, he comes here from a fortnight's retreat in a Benedictine monastery, and straightway proceeds to lecture us on the heavenly beauties of plain-chant, on the divine symbols of Christian art, on the self-annihilation and ecstatic love of the servants of God, on the most elementary rules of common decency ! Look at all these men on the extreme verge ! In a few hours, when they leave this place, you may see them in various disguises hastening off to the camps of the enemy with their treacherous information and disreputable tales. They are known as 'Romanus,' 'Verax,' 'Ignotus,' 'Calchas,' 'Voces Catholicae,' 'Spectator,' 'Tibur,' 'Lucens,' 'Gerontius,' 'Xenos.' They are in league with the powers of journalism all over the world. They are hailed as deliverers by that noisy band of youngsters who go about with their scraps of learning and tags of philosophy repeating the catch-words of every enemy of the Church to which, in name, they belong. Remark, too, how distasteful to them are our practices of piety, our innocent devotions, those strengthening exercises of faith which foster the supernatural spirit amongst our people, bring them into the company of their Master, make them gentle in their homes, patient in adversity, diligent at labour, tender of conscience and pure of heart. A taper offered at the shrine of St. Anthony, a flower laid at the feet of our Lady of Lourdes, a penny contributed to the Treasury of St. Peter, excites their derision and their anger ; but we have never heard that they had any of their scorn to spare for the 'mahatmas' of theosophy, the 'spooks' of 'borderland,' the 'demonstrations' of 'Christian Science,' the thousand and one freaks of credulity and superstition that are associated with Protestantism. These strong-minded Christians who speak out so boldly against what they call the 'accretions' of Christianity, the devotions and practices that have the approval of their Church, have scarcely a word to say against the 'accretions' of philosophy, against the follies and absurdities that issue in such profusion from the temples of Minerva. They look on with complacency at the practices of *clairvoyants* and palmists and at the mechanical manipulation of the powers of heaven by all kinds of charlatans ; but these are the results

of free inquiry and private judgment and deserve all our tenderness. At the worst they are but the poetic remnants of past beliefs, the

Fair humanities of old religion.

You may notice, again, with what practical unanimity they frown at any proposal to restore the patrimony of St. Peter which made the expansion of Catholicism a matter of such certainty in former days, and added so much to the dignity and preponderance of the visible Church. Finally, you may remark how it grates upon their ears to hear that the doctrine of faith which God revealed, is not, like philosophy or any human science, capable of being developed or brought to perfection by the ingenuity of man's intelligence, that it is not a matter either of deduction or induction, of germination or development, subject to expansion or decay, but a sacred deposit entrusted to the Church to be carefully guarded and taught with authority; that it is not dogma that grows or wanes or declines through the course of ages, but the Church that proclaims the truth from the treasure that she guards, making as the occasion demands what was *implicit explicit*, and recalling where necessary the explicit teaching of the past which has not changed and can never change.

Those who remind them of these things are narrow-minded, ignorant, reactionary, obscurantist, out of touch with the culture and the progress of their time. They are neither scientific in their methods nor up-to-date in their information. They are living in the Middle Ages with their heads stuck in the sands of scholasticism. On the other hand, those who love to dwell on the simplicity and poverty of the primitive Church, like Talleyrand and Grégoire during the great revolution, like Arnold of Brescia in the days of St. Bernard, like Giordano Bruno, Fra Dolcino, and all their kind; those who apply to revelation the laws of vicissitude and change that mark the caducity of nature, and that sooner or later bring to naught the works of human skill, all these are men of incomparable gifts. There is no sounding the depths of their knowledge. There is no compassing the extent of their learning. They are prodigies, and the world must know them as such.

Thus you see their black sheep are jet-black, without a single redeeming shade. On the other hand their geese are all swans, and their swans are the swans of *Lohengrin*. They, too, are the knights of the legendary bark who have set out to rescue the princess, now a widow and a captive, and deliver her from the keeping of the tyrants who persecute and degrade her.

Having listened patiently to the criticism so freely and candidly expressed by the members of the right, we should like for a moment to turn the searchlight on themselves and let them be seen as they appear to others. Here is how they are described by Mr. Wilfrid Ward, a man whose signal services to Catholic literature entitle him to be listened to with respect, and one also who, we think, would not object to be classified as belonging to the centre-left:—

But who are the members of the extreme right? They are a motley phalanx, not strictly a party. They include certain types not so much of Catholicism as of human nature. They include the mere lovers of the existing state of things—who are to be found in any polity, civil or ecclesiastical. They include also the fanatical devotees of ancient forms and those who are unable to look beyond the interests of their party or order—not the Dominics and Loyolas or their true representatives in our own time, but those who fossilise their words and lose their spirit—the Dominican who resents the addition of a word to the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas; the Jesuit who burlesques the splendid military discipline to which great saints, a Xavier and a Borgia, owed their character and their victories, by attachment to the minutiae of an intellectual drill, whose rules were made for the warfare of three centuries ago. And closely allied to these are the Professors who treat a stereotyped neo-scholastic text-book as the final and exhaustive expression of the teaching of the Catholic Church. There are also the born obscurantists who love to believe the incredible; the martinets whose pleasure it is to crush genius or originality; the petty tyrants who look jealously at promise in the young; the devotees of sheer absolutism—some characterised by heroism and piety, but blind to modern conditions; some the flatterers of the powers that be. This collection, heterogeneous but powerful, divided locally, gravitating towards each other morally, is not the Ultramontane party. It is not the Jesuit party. It does not include the best type of Ultramontaniam—the successors of Fénelon and Newman, nor the best students of scholasticism, nor the best exponents of St. Thomas Aquinas. It includes types differing in

character and motive, but agreeing in this—that they are all sworn foes to novelty, and that each is concentrated on a limited horizon of its own. Thus they cannot see the facts which are the *raison d'être* of the aspirations of those distinguished Catholics who are alive to the conditions of the time. But they can see that these men have one point in common with the restless and the disaffected—in that they are the enemies of red-tape, and the friends of life and movement in the Church. This common element in the two groups they trumpet aloud and call it 'liberalism,' a word steeped in an anti-Catholic connotation. Consequently while the ill-conditioned on the left, dimly conscious of their excesses and absence of weight, claim the wise few as their own, the indiscriminate and uncompromising enemies of progress vigorously re-echo the claim.²

Turning now our attention to the left itself what do we see? There, undoubtedly, we find a large number of brilliant and devoted scholars, orators whose eloquence has charmed the world, historians who have made the past to speak with a voice that appeals to the heart as well as to the intellect, artists who have called forth from the depths of history and of nature and of the soul the divine harmonies of the faith; scientists, philosophers, *savants*. Some of these men have explored secular knowledge in branches hitherto neglected. Others have gathered up the results of secular effort in many sciences and brought them here for analysis and investigation. All have this in common that perhaps more than their brethren they have pity on the crowd. They burn with a desire to light up the way for those who are groping in the dark. Some of them know from sad experience the perils of the wilderness. Many are spurred on by the example of Him who came to seek and to save 'that which was lost.' Of a vast number of these it would assuredly be criminal to question the motives or throw doubt on the loyalty. Who would think to-day of denying the services of Lacordaire and Montalembert? Leo XIII. himself has but recently sent his wreath to the tomb of Mgr. Dupanloup, who in his time was regarded as a consistent and uncompromising liberal.³ Mgr. Darboy sealed with his blood his devotion to that faith which he was sometimes accused of

² *The Nineteenth Century*, June, 1900, p. 268.

³ We speak, of course, of liberalism in the orthodox sense, not of the liberalism that has been condemned by the Church.

minimizing and betraying.⁴ Who does not bow down with reverence before the venerable figure of John Henry Newman over whom the 'cloud' not indeed of suspicion, but of some vague uncertainty, had hung so long? And if Isaac Hecker transgressed, as he undoubtedly did, the limits of prudence and of orthodox rule in his efforts to build the mystic bridge who can impugn the charity of his intention or entertain a moment's doubt as to what his attitude would have been had he lived to hear the judgment of the supreme tribunal on his words and works?

There is also, we imagine, but very little desire on any side to return to the methods employed in the religious wars of former ages. All is not evil in the new world; but it would be still more absurd and foolish to suggest that all is for the best. Nor can it be denied that one of the dangers amongst the advanced guard of the defenders of religion in our own times is a tendency to introduce the spirit of the world into the Church rather than the spirit of the Church into the world, a tendency to accept the testimony of our enemies rather than what has been handed down to us. People speak flippantly of the bigotry and intolerance of the past, of the narrow-minded exclusiveness of the present, of the stores of good things that the modern world has accumulated and placed within our reach, but which we have persistently rejected and left at the disposal of our enemies. These are the apologists who provoked the eloquent denunciation of Louis Veuillot some forty years ago, but are still amongst us. The words of the great French polemist are worth recalling now:

Some very orthodox Catholics [he wrote] who loudly profess their attachment to the Church, appear nevertheless inclined to lend an ear to the demands of what is at one time called the 'human mind,' at another the 'spirit of the age.' What they understand by that is never clear. Where is this spirit? Is it in Paris or in

⁴ At the very time when the martyred Archbishop was most vehemently attacked for what was represented as his opposition to the Roman See, he made his will, which began with these memorable words:—

'Je meurs dans la foi de l'Eglise Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine, croyant tout ce qu'elle croit, condamnant tout ce qu'elle condamne. Je remercie Dieu d'avoir permis que je fusse attaché à son service comme Prêtre et comme Evêque; je le prie de me pardonner mes fautes et de recevoir, mon âme dans le sein de sa miséricorde.'—*Histoire de Mgr. Darboy* by Cardinal Foulon, p. 581.

Rome? Is it less in Rome than in Paris? What is this spirit? The answer is not clear. What does it want? A great many things, if we are to believe those who put themselves forward as its representatives, without at the same time presenting their credentials. But what are those Catholics willing to concede to it who call themselves its champions? Nothing that will ever satisfy it, you may be sure. And yet these Catholics reproach us for meeting with an irritating refusal almost everything it demands.

It is freely asserted at the present day that humanity has grown out of its leading strings, that it is emancipated, that it can no longer be treated as a child. But it must be remembered that humanity was not very old when it cherished this ambitious notion. It was in the terrestrial paradise itself that the modern spirit first introduced itself to our race. It offered to show us how we might equal God Himself. We listened to the obliging doctor, and did what he recommended. Our leading strings fell off. Humanity had hitherto been led by speech and sustained by love. It has since been led by the rod and restrained by death. This was what was gained by humanity, and what is still gained by every man who renounces his leading strings.

In order to attain its end the modern spirit assumes several disguises. The principal one, and the most deceptive, is an assumption of piety, of intelligence, and of philanthropy. It shows us learned men, honest and benign of aspect, behind whom a multitude of ignorant people is ranged, ready to follow them wherever they go. Here, they say, is a crowd of catechumens. They only asked to be allowed to enter the Church. Break down those odious barriers you have set up; modify your antiquated discipline; erase from the creed a few insignificant articles; make the concessions which the *spirit of the age* demands, and they are yours. To this language there are always amongst Catholics hearts that yield, heads that give way. We speak of what generally takes place without denying that generous sentiments may have something to say to their decisions. Allowance must be made for the warmth of youth, of eloquence, of early studies, for impetuosity of character, and for that ill-timed charity that in order to increase the flock, forgetting the existence of the wolves, would suppress the shepherd, the watch-dog and the fold.⁵

Veillot goes on to say that the liberals are always loud at the commencement in their profession of loyalty and submission to the Church; but according as they find adherents and supporters their loyalty is less insisted upon. They soon begin to have an opinion of themselves, to feel that they

⁵ *Mélanges Littéraires*, vol. i., p. 417.

must be counted with. They think they are a power in the world; and when the supreme authority of the Church intervenes, they are sometimes found woefully deficient in the virtues that they claimed as almost exclusively their own.

Yesterday [they say] they brought, not a new truth, for they were still Catholics, and could not believe in *new truths*, but new developments and new applications of the truths of all time. To-day, when their pretended discovery is pointed out to them in the *detritus* of old errors, and when the torch of the Vatican points it out, lying in the depths of gehenna, with its date and its anathema attached to it, these innovators are not satisfied till they construct a new genealogy for themselves. They go back through the ages, seeking as they go their elders in perversity, finding in all of them something which they had in common with themselves. Thus, they make it clear enough, it was not the modern spirit, but the ancient spirit, that was troubling them, and what they wanted to press on their contemporaries was nothing new, but some tissue of old errors which the world had long since tested and cast aside. They should not stop, however, in their pursuit. If they go back far enough they will reach the first heresiarch, from whom all others proceed, and who has given to the world the first and the last formula of heresy 'non serviam.'

In the depths of all these errors, the degrading burthen of the human mind, which assume each one in its turn the name of 'modern spirit,' there is the soul—the soul that hungers for truth, the soul that is naturally Christian. And as long as Christ shall deign to preserve a voice upon this earth which shall be the voice of truth, so long shall it proclaim to men that they must bear the yoke. And this yoke will never be fashioned or softened by the hands of pride. It will be austere and burdensome; but the love of Christ will make it welcome and sweet—that love which has drawn to itself the finest intellects and the noblest hearts that have shed lustre on the history of humanity. The Christ of the soul will be till the consummation of the world the Christ who spoke to the simple, who loved the humble, who confounded the proud, who saw the publican justified in his confession and the Pharisee condemned in his prayer; who said to the infirm: 'Your faith has made you whole,' and to sinners, 'Your faith has saved you,' and to the doctors, 'Be like little children.' To the end of time the Christ of the human soul will be the Christ of poverty, of tears, and of neglect; the Christ surrounded by the ignorant, the Christ who was flouted and scourged and betrayed, the Christ of the Pretorium, of Calvary, of the Cross. Look well upon Him. There He is, and there is no other. 'Christus meus,' cried out Tertullian. It is the cry of the human soul

for ever. That livid and lacerated corpse, hanging from an infamous tree, was the grandest spectacle that heaven and earth could offer to the eyes of an angry Father. It has conquered the love of the human soul for nineteen centuries, and as long as the soul is capable of the flame of love, so long will the spectacle of Calvary secure within it the preference to all others. Now, as Christ was, so is the Church. As in the naked severity of the cross lies the charm that vanquishes the heart, so in the naked severity of doctrine lies the charm that vanquishes the mind.⁶

The advanced apologists of the present day would undoubtedly resent an attack of this kind as vehemently as it was resented by their predecessors forty years ago. Whether there are many to whom it would apply is a matter that is by no means easy to determine. *Homo enim videt ea quae parent, Dominus autem intuetur cor.* That in the intellectual crisis through which many Catholics are passing in France, Germany, and England, there are some who have lost their bearings and are floundering about in difficulty is evident. Their number, however, is small, and their trouble chiefly arises from the fact that whether in the desire to do full justice to the scientific spirit of the age and make things smooth for others, or to justify their own 'rationabile obsequium' they have made a 'tabula rasa' of Christian teaching, and with reason alone as their guide have sought to meet philosophy and criticism on their own ground, with, if anything, a prejudice in favour of rationalist methods as against the authority of the Church. It is to some extent a reaction against *Diana Vaughan* and her dupes, but in a few cases it has gone beyond all bounds.

The two great systems of modern philosophy that influence the movement against Catholics are the subjectivist theory of knowledge expounded by Kant, and the evolutionist theory as applied to religion by Herbert Spencer and his followers.⁷ The former is represented in France chiefly by M. Blondel,⁸ a Lycée professor, and M. Lechartier,⁹

⁶ *Mélanges Littéraires*, vol. i., pp. 429, 430.

⁷ See *Les Infiltrations Kantiques et Protestantes* of the Abbé Fontaine, 151-162.

⁸ 'Les Exigences de la Pensée Contemporaine en matière d'Apologétique'—*Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, Jan. 1896.

⁹ *Ib.*, March, 1901.

professor in a State university, and by the Abbé Mano¹⁰ and the Abbé Martin¹¹ amongst the clergy. The object of these men is to establish an *eirenikon* between the Church and the universities; for the philosophy of Kant has invaded the great seats of learning to an extent that cannot be ignored. No one can deny that an *eirenikon* is desirable if it be possible, nor can anyone gainsay that in the system of Kant, as in almost all great systems, there are large fragments of truth and many things that everyone can admit. It is another thing, however, to attempt to impose its fundamental principles as dogmas that are not to be questioned, to substitute its *categories* for the eternal law, to deny the very principle of causality as applied to external objects, to restrict liberty to the *noumenal* and deny it to the *phenomenal* operations of the soul. These are but a few of the theories that Kant's disciples would force upon the world, and that certain Catholic philosophers have shown a disposition to accept. What wonder that they should have led some of them to deny the objective reality of the Resurrection and of Transubstantiation in the sense in which they have always been accepted in the Catholic Church?

The evolutionist theory is adopted with more or less qualification by the Abbé Loisy¹² in France, as it was some years ago by Père Leroy¹³ in Belgium, and by Father Zahm¹⁴ in America. It is almost useless to speak of the Abbé Houtin¹⁵ as a Catholic apologist, a man whose tenderness is all reserved for the enemies of the faith and whose rancour is lavished on its friends, or of the author of the articles in the *Contemporary Review*¹⁶ on the 'Pope's Policy' and various questions affecting the Bible, as anything but an independent critic, apparently more anxious to expound to Protestants what he conceives to be the shortcomings of Catholicism than to hold up the Church of which he declares himself a member to the respect either of friends or enemies.

¹⁰ *Le Problème Apologetique.*

¹¹ *Démonstration Philosophique* and *St. Augustin.*

¹² *Les Mythes Babyloniens* and *L'Eglise et L'Evangile.*

¹³ *Evolution Restreinte.*

¹⁴ *Evolution and Dogma.*

¹⁵ *La Question Biblique.*

¹⁶ See *Contemporary Review*, Oct., 1892, April, 1894.

It is easy enough for anyone fairly acquainted with the apologetic literature of the past to recognize those who are sincere in their desire to serve the Church and Christianity, and to distinguish them from those who are actuated by other motives. Nobody, for instance, would think of comparing the tone of writers like Baron Von Hügel, Dr. Clarke, Father Zahm, Père Lagrange, or Mgr. Duchesne, with the intemperate hectoring of a Mivart or an Abbé Houtin, or with the sarcastic style of the author of 'The Policy of the Pope.' There is also a dryness running through the works of the Abbé Loisy which, in addition to many other objections, we fear, does not portend much good, and which is not characteristic of the works that have ever been effective in the service of the faith. We should be loathe, at the same time, to utter a harsh word against a man of great ability whose cause is just now in the balance, and whose motives for aught we know may be lofty and pure.

Everyone who has any conception of the difficulties that have been raised within the past twenty years must sympathise with those devoted Catholics who, placing at the service of the Church not only their great stores of acquired knowledge but the penetration and acumen of well trained minds, have, in language becoming dutiful and loyal sons, represented to ecclesiastical authority the actual condition of scientific thought in reference to such questions as the Mosaic Cosmogony, the Deluge, the authorship of the Pentateuch, the historical accuracy of the Bible, the traces, if such there be, of ancient beliefs influencing the narrative of inspired writers, the sense in which miracles like the falling of the walls of Jericho and the stoppage of the sun and moon over the valley of Ajalon are to be accepted, the authenticity of the text of the three heavenly witnesses, and many others of the same kind.

It is undoubtedly one of the greatest glories of the reign of Pope Leo XIII. that in his extreme old age he should have gathered together in Rome from all parts of the world men versed in every department of human knowledge and familiar with every phase of Biblical controversy to report to him on the difficulties that are urged against the traditional explana-

tion of many of these questions. When the Commission has done its work we may expect from the venerable Pontiff a pronouncement that will put an end, as far as Catholics are concerned, to most of these troubles. There may still be grumbling and criticism and controversy; but the great mass of Catholics over the world will remember that it is not to critics, nor to scientists, nor to university professors they owe the blessings of Christian faith. They will recall to mind that as a warning against the pride of place and intellect the Founder of the Church condescended to be an humble tradesman, to make tables and ploughs and cattle-yokes, and that of His chosen Apostles four were fishermen, one a petty tax-collector; two were husbandmen, one a market gardener; that they were all practically illiterate men of the poorer sort.

That their converts were of the same rank as themselves [wrote Cardinal Newman]¹⁷ is reported in their favour or to their discredit by friends and enemies for four centuries. 'If a man be educated,' says Celsus, in mockery, 'let him keep clear of us Christians; we want no men of wisdom, no men of sense. We account all such as evil. No; but if there be one who is inexperienced, or stupid, or untaught, or a fool, let him come with good heart.' 'They are weavers,' he says elsewhere, 'shoemakers, fullers, illiterate, clowns.' 'The greater part of you,' says Caecilius, 'are worn with want, cold, toil and famine: men collected from the lowest dregs of the people; ignorant, credulous women' . . . 'unpolished, boors, illiterate, ignorant even of the sordid arts of life; they do not understand even civil matters, how can they understand divine?' 'They have left their tongs, mallets and anvils to preach about the things of heaven,' says Libanius. The author of *Philopatris* speaks of them as 'poor creatures, blocks, withered old fellows, men of downcast and pale visages.' As to their religion, it had the reputation popularly, according to various Fathers, of being an anile superstition, the discovery of old women, a joke, a madness, an infatuation, an absurdity, a fanaticism.' The Fathers themselves confirm these statements so far as they relate to the insignificance and ignorance of their brethren. Athenagoras speaks of the virtue of their 'ignorant men, mechanics, and old women.' 'They are gathered,' says St. Jerome, 'not from the Academy or Lyceum, but from the low populace.' 'They are whitesmiths, servants, farm labourers, woodmen, men of sordid trades, beggars,' says Theodoret. 'We are engaged in

¹⁷ *Grammar of Assent*, p. 486.

the farm, at the bathis, wine shops, stables and fairs ; as seamen, as soldiers, as peasants, as dealers,' says Tertullian. How came such men to be converted? and, being converted, how came such men to overturn the world? Yet they went forth from the first *conquering and to conquer*.

It is in such as these that the Church has ever put her trust and hope. If others will only give their allegiance and prove themselves worthy of enlightenment, they will discover very soon that she favours culture, refinement and learning now as she has ever done through the roll of centuries. But to her own ideal she must remain ever true. She can never yield to those who call upon her to sacrifice what is essential for the transient satisfaction of feeling that she has gained a momentary triumph by adopting as her own theories and systems that change with the passing years.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

‘THE INDIVIDUALITY AND WORK OF OUR NATIONAL APOSTLE’

IT is saddening to think that after all that has been written during the last century there should exist now a necessity of writing under the above heading. Yet so it is. An article has appeared in a late number of the I. E. RECORD which has been written for the purpose of confounding our national Apostle with Palladius who preceded him on the Irish mission.¹ The writer of the article states that the account of Palladius in the *Book of Armagh* ‘is vague and lays the foundation of a new legend.’ Not an additional word of explanation is given about the legend. But in a few days subsequently I read a book written by a German Professor of Celtic in the University of Berlin, who, like the writer in the I. E. RECORD, confounds Palladius with St. Patrick: he goes further by asserting that our so-called apostle Palladius-Patrick did nothing worthy of the title, that Ireland had been Christianised before him, and that his mission was an utter failure. This book is only a reprint of a contribution to a Cyclopædia of Protestant Theology and Church History; and this fact accounts for the sectarian bitterness and reckless statements of the author.²

The theory of Zimmer and other writers is nothing new. In the year 1845 a remarkable article was written in the *British Magazine* by the Hon. A. Herbert, under the title ‘*Palladius Restitutus*.’ He argued on the slender and negative grounds of no mention having been made of St. Patrick during the sixth century in Continental countries, that his history was a forgery. However, he afterwards acknowledged that when writing the article referred to he had never read Dr. Lanigan or any of the Irish writers on his subject.

The renewal of exploded theories or the broaching of groundless new ones about St. Patrick is saddening and

¹ ‘The Double Personality of St. Patrick,’ by William J. D. Croke, LL.D. Rome.

² *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, by Heinrich Zimmer.

mischievous. For the general reader is disposed to adopt a plausible theory if not contradicted; and if it be contradicted and exposed the general reader is often disposed to consider that nothing certain can be known on the subject.

Herr Zimmer states that the spirit of ‘deliberate falsification appears in the Irish Church only after its union with Rome,’ as if, indeed, it was not always united to Rome. Again: ‘Once the evil principle had been adopted that in the interest of the Church faith might be broken, lies invented, and fiction resorted to, the historical faith was violated.’ All this prepares us for his historical positions, and they are maintained in his answers to these two questions:—

Firstly, how is the historical Patricius related to Prosper’s Palladius?

Secondly, what part did he play in the Irish Church of the fifth century?

Firstly, that our historical Patricius is different from Palladius is quite certain. In fact, as truly observed by Cardinal Moran somewhere, ‘that to Patrick and not to Palladius was given the apostolate of Erin’ passed into a proverb with Irish writers. In the year 429 the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine, who was in Rome then and on friendly terms with Pope Celestine, contains this statement:—

Agriola, a Pelagian, son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, corrupted the Churches of Britain by the insinuation of his doctrine; but at the suggestion of Palladius the deacon, Pope Celestine sends Germanus of Auxerre in his own stead to displace the heretics, and direct the Britons to the Catholic faith.

And in the same Chronicle, under the year 431, we read the following statement:—

Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent to the Irish believing in Christ.

After the death of Pope Celestine in 432, Prosper, who had left Rome and wished to exalt the deceased Pope, dwelt on his zeal against Pelagianism, and added the following statement:—

By ordaining a bishop for the Irish, while he laboured to keep the Roman island Catholic he made also the barbarian island Christian.

Prosper in thus writing anticipated that the scattered knots of Christians in Ireland to whom Palladius was sent would, under his leadership, become a Christian, flourishing Church.

The venerable *Book of Armagh* briefly describes the conduct of our Apostle after his escape from captivity in Ireland, and tells us of his studies and preparation for ordination during many years in the famous school of Germanus, who had been employed by Pope Celestine to defend the faith in Britain. The departure of St. Patrick from home to Germanus in order to prepare himself for the Irish mission is thus described in the *Book of Armagh* :—

When the proper time had come, with the divine assistance he enters on his journey for the work of the Gospel, for which he had prepared for a long time. Germanus sent with him the venerable priest, Segetius, as a companion and witness ; because he had not been consecrated bishop by his lordship Germanus ; for Palladius, archdeacon of Pope Celestine, bishop of Rome, the 25th in succession to the Apostle Peter in the Apostolic Chair, had been already consecrated and sent to convert this island, bound in wintry rigour. But he did not succeed ; for no person can acquire on earth what is not given from heaven. Nor did these uncultured and savage people willingly listen to his teaching, nor did himself wish to spend his time in a strange land ; but returned to him who sent him. On his returning home, having crossed the first sea, and begun his journey by land, he died on the confines of the Britons.

Having heard of the death of Palladius in Britain, for his disciples, Augustine, Benedict, and others, while returning, reported it in Ebnoria, Patrick and his companions interrupting their journey, turned aside to a certain wonderful man, a chief bishop named Amatus, who lived in the neighbourhood ; and there St. Patrick, knowing all that was to happen to him, received consecration from the holy bishop, Amatus.

Without following the account of St. Patrick's journey to the coast and across to Britain, can any person, without abdicating his reason, doubt that our national Saint was a different person from Palladius ? Since the entry in Prosper's work in reference to Palladius there is found no reference to him at home or abroad till the notice in the *Book of Armagh*.

But if uncontradicted by any writer, you may ask on what authority has the statement been made. The Life containing

this reference to our national Saint was written at the dictation of Aedh, Bishop of Sletty, who died in the year 698. The writer informs us that many previously had written Lives of our Apostle, and narrated 'what they learned from their fathers, and what was handed down from those who were witnesses of the Word from the beginning;' and therefore the writer Muirchu had the use of these materials which touched the age in which our Apostle lived. Nor was Bishop Aedh, by whose direction the Life had been written, an ordinary man. The *Martyrology of Donegal*, noticing his death, states, that Aedh was an anchorite, and was among the saints whom Adamnan found as security to free the women of Erin from every slavery that was on them.' St. Aedh, then, was no ordinary saint.

Every subsequent Life of our national Saint follows the *Book of Armagh* in differentiating him from Palladius. If prejudice could have influenced the holy Bishop of Sletty it would tend to have confounded them. For though the consecration of St. Patrick, with the consent of Pope Celestine, was as valid as if actually performed by himself, yet it would be more gratifying to the national vanity of the Irish to have their Apostle consecrated actually by the Pope himself or in his presence; and this would be the result of identifying St. Patrick with Palladius who was ordained and sent directly by Pope Celestine to Ireland. But the consecration of St. Patrick with the consent of the Pope given through Germanus or Palladius whom he was to succeed, was substantially Papal. All the Lives endorse the statement of the *Book of Armagh*, and contrast the shortness of the mission of Palladius with the length of that of St. Patrick—the failure of the one with the wonderful success of the other. I now proceed very briefly to answer the objections of Herr Zimmer.

1. He says it is incredible that two persons should be sent to Ireland within a year, each charged with a different mission.

Why, from the statement in the *Book of Armagh*, the second came as bishop only when the first missionary had died. St. Patrick was on his way to Ireland when he heard of the death of Palladius, but he was coming only as a helper and subordinate to the chief. The mission of each was the same.

The evangeliser of pagan countries received the fullest powers from the Pope. He had powers to unite and break up districts, and to mould all elements into a harmonious whole. His Faculties were limited only by the divine law or the general discipline of the Church. St. Patrick might possibly have been left by Palladius to work as a simple priest for a time as Archbishop Carroll, first Bishop in North America, had, as parish priest, his appointed successor working under him. Such, too, were the powers received by St. Augustine. He could appoint and consecrate his successor lest, as Bede says, the Church should be for a moment without the necessary aid.³ We learn from the 'Confession' that our Apostle's elevation to the episcopacy was talked of for some time previous to his consecration.⁴ The missions of Palladius and St. Patrick present not the least difficulty to any person acquainted with the discipline of the Church.

2. Herr Zimmer grounds the identity of Palladius with our Saint because one was said to be *ordained*, and the other *appointed* bishop for Ireland.

Why, this scarcely deserves an answer. If a half dozen of bishops were appointed these terms *ordination* or *appointment* would be employed.

3. Herr Zimmer says that 'owing to the inferior position of a deacon in Rome Palladius could not be supposed to have been appointed bishop if he were not a Briton and on intimate terms with Germanus.'

(a) No conclusion favourable to him can be drawn by Herr Zimmer from his supposed premises. Several could be Britons and on friendly terms with Germanus without being identical.

(b) If the *Book of Armagh* be appealed to in order to prove there was an understanding entered into at Auxerre between St. Patrick and Germanus, that same Book establishes the identity of Palladius as distinct from our Saint.

(c) I object to the supposition of Palladius being a Briton.

³ 'Ne se defuncto status ecclesiae tam rudis ad horam pastore destitutus inciperet vacillare.'—Lib. 2, ch. 8.

⁴ Intimation to St. Patrick of his contemplated consecration and their opposition to it afterwards from those in Britain prove that the consecration did not take place in Rome.—*Vide Confession*.

I remember only one person who makes such a supposition. Many writers maintain that Palladius was an Egyptian; others that he was a Greek; very many claimed him as a Gaul; while the Bollandists claim him as an Italian. The probabilities then, amounting to a certainty, are opposed to the *supposition* of Zimmer on which his theory rests and therefore is groundless.

(d) It is asserted that the promotion of a person in such an *inferior* position as that of deacon presupposes a connection with Britain or some private understanding with Germanus.

To suppose a deacon's position in the fifth century to have been of no account betrays ignorance. The power and influence of deacons were incalculable owing to the fact that they had the custody and distribution of the property of the Church. Does Herr Zimmer forget, if he ever heard of, St. Laurence in connection with Pope St. Xystus? On the deacons also devolved the powers of absolving from censures and inflicting punishment while public penances were in use. Who is not acquainted with the correction administered to the lady Lucilla by the deacon Cæcilian of Carthage? So overpowering was the influence of deacons, and overbearing was their conduct even to priests, that Pope Innocent I., in the year 398, had to check the insolence of the deacons and the undue resentment of the priests. Deacons sometimes represented even Popes at General Councils, and by and by became themselves Popes. The deacon John became Pope, who, but a few days previously, addressed 'the holy and apostolic' Bishops of Ireland on the Paschal question. Only ignorance of the history of the early Church could have made Herr Zimmer rest an argument on the supposed inferior position of a deacon in Rome.

(e) The last argument used by Herr Zimmer runs thus: *if* Palladius was a Briton and lived in Rome, his Romanized name was *probably* formed from his barbarian name; and the Lives state that Patricius was called Succat, which signifies warlike, therefore Palladius was Patricius.

Alas! for the reasoning of the Berlin Professor, who tries to help it by still more unreasonable explanations. He states that our Saint as being ignorant got his name changed by others into the equivalent Roman name *Palladius*.

Why, all this wild talk is only begging the question. Does not all this suppose that Palladius and the unclassical author of the 'Confession' are one? And even though we were to admit that Palladius was a Briton, which he was not, may not his name, a very common name, have been his real, original name without any change?

Furthermore, the supposed change of Sucat, our Saint's *baptismal* name, is changed by our imaginative historian into the *family* name Palladius; and if he rejects the account of Palladius in the *Book of Armagh*, he cannot consistently quote it for an account of Sucat on which his argument rests.

But the most ridiculous part of our writer's explanation is reserved for the name *Patricius*. In this particular, as in every other portion of our Saint's career, the writer differs from the old Lives. They assure us that our Saint received this name at his consecration; but the writer from Berlin assures us it was assumed by himself. For, we are told, the 'Saint had a good dose of arrogance,' and that 'he was proud of his alleged aristocratic descent, which was not as distinguished as he would have us believe, and that he was narrow-minded in applying Roman conditions to the small town of his birth,'⁵ and then felt himself justified in assuming the *Patricius*.'

This foul and false picture of our Saint is worthy of a sectarian writer. He states that the name Palladius recommended to our Saint as an equivalent for his barbarian name was used by him going to Rome, and that on leaving Rome and coming to Ireland he dropped the Palladius and called himself *Patricius* or *Sucat*, without telling the Irish that he went by the name of Palladius in Rome; and when the writers of the *Book of Armagh* in the seventh century learned from Prosper's Chronicle of a Palladius being sent to Ireland they made two persons out of one, Palladius-*Patricius*! The writer of the above rubbish adds, as a reason for our Saint's concealment of the adoption of the name Palladius from the Irish, their jealousy of imperial Rome.

(a) Now, did not the name *Patricius* suggest imperial

⁵ Placing the town near Daventry is another of the countless blunders the Berlin Professor

authority and aggression as much as Palladius; for it was assumed by the representatives of the emperors? The ordination of Palladius at Rome, mentioned by Prosper, did it not suggest aggressive possibilities? If our Saint concealed from the Irish his having adopted the name Palladius in deference to their jealousy of Rome, how had he the boldness to tell them to be Romans as they were Christians?

(b) Having, as is admitted, Gaulish and British helpers with him coming to Ireland, how could our Saint expect that they would keep as secret the fact that he was known only as Palladius till he came to Ireland?

(c) The Saint states in his 'Confession' that he was faithful and candid in his dealings with all, even with the heathens among whom he lived (Zimmer states that he never mentions a heathen); and is not this declaration inconsistent with his supposed wanton and capricious assumption and dropping of names, and with their concealment from his dearest converts. (*amicissimi*)?

It is trilling with a serious subject to say that the entry in the chronicle or letter of Prosper led to any mistake about St. Patrick. Prosper merely states of Palladius that he was sent in the year 431 to Ireland by the Pope. No attempt is made to prove that the Irish writers ever saw Prosper's statement, which the wildest of theories postulates. Of course the mission of Palladius as distinct from St. Patrick was well known to the writer of the *Book of Armagh*, who had the use of the writings and tradition 'of those who were witnesses of the Word from the beginning.' The Irish writers accordingly carefully defined the limited circuit within which Palladius' brief and unsuccessful career was confined, while they dwell on the long, long stay, and the national, triumphantly successful progress of St. Patrick in Ireland.

Finally, we find the name of St. Patrick in the Roman Martyrology. Is this reconcilable with the supposition and reckless assertion that this name was never known in Rome, but assumed by an 'arrogant,' 'proud,' and 'untruthful' man?

Perhaps I should notice some remarks of Zimmer on the name *Patrick*. In allusion to the term *Cathraige* applied to our Saint by all the Lives on account of his reputed four-fold servitude in Ireland, Herr Zimmer asserts it was a fifth century

form for Patrick, as the Irish employed the letter *C* for *P*, but did not know the meaning of the word they used. Now there is reason for doubting this, and for believing that as *Patricc* was the Irish form in the eighth century so it was in the fifth.

(a) It is a general rule that a loan-word from the Latin dropped the suffix or the declined part, so that in Irish a syllable was cut off: thus we have from the Latin *oblatio* in *oblaid*, *infernus* in *issfern*, *offerenda* in *aiffrin*, *sacrificium* in *sacerbac*, *sacerdos* in *saggart*, *altare* in *altoir*; such instances could be indefinitely multiplied; so that *Cathraige* as an Irish form for Patrick would be at variance with the general rule.

(b) It is not true that *P* in proper names was changed into *C*: thus we have Peter (Pedar) Paul (Pol) Pontius (Phoint) Pilatus (Pilat). Tirechan in the *Book of Armagh* gives the Latinized equivalent of *Cathraige* by 'Cahirtiacus,' and not Patricius; and with all respect for Herr Zimmer I believe the Irish scholars of the seventh century are more to be relied on than he for an Irish expression of the idea which they associated with our Apostle. The Celtic professor would have us believe that as the Irish scholars in the seventh century 'ignorantly differentiated' Patrick from Cathraige, so, too, did they make two persons out of Palladius and Patricius. The development of his wild theory is worthy of Baron Munchausen.

Secondly; we come now to the supposed legend: it is this: 'That Ireland was pagan at the coming of St. Patrick and that he converted it in a short time.' Herr Zimmer continues and says, 'he *thinks* the legend thus arose: that the Irish on seeing Columba honoured as the apostle of the Northern Britons, and Augustine as apostle of the Saxons, naturally wished to have an apostle for themselves.'

Now, no person maintains that Ireland was entirely pagan at the coming of St. Patrick. Even the *Book of Armagh* to which the legend is attributed, states that St. Patrick pointed out some spots where glass chalices were hidden, and removed crosses which he found placed over unworthy objects. But at the same time we contend that our Apostle found Ireland virtually pagan and left it substantially Christian.

(1) In order to have his legendary theory accepted Herr Zimmer would give St. Patrick only twenty-seven years of missionary life, and have him die in 459; whereas all the Irish annals assign his death to the year 493. St. Patrick himself tells us he commissioned a priest whom he trained from infancy to excommunicate Coroticus. The priest was at least thirty years when ordained; he may have been long ordained before receiving the commission; and St. Patrick lived a long time after the excommunication, judging from the fire displayed in his Epistle, before he wrote the 'Confession,' and he lived for an indefinite time after his 'Confession'; and yet we are asked to believe he was only twenty-seven years on the Irish mission!

Herr Zimmer appeals to the writings of our Saint, but not in a fair spirit or truthful language. He has the temerity to state that 'our Saint threatened to turn his back on Ireland because he recognised the failure of his work.'

Nothing could be more untrue. These are the words of our Saint:—

May God grant that I may never lose my people whom He has acquired at the end of the world. I beseech God to grant me perseverance and make me a worthy witness for Him to the end of my life, and the grace to shed my blood with my proselytes and captives for His sake, even though I should be deprived of burial, and my body torn limb from limb by the beasts of the field or birds of the air; for I am certain that should such happen me I would save my soul and body.

Does this look like a desire to turn his back to Ireland?

(2) Zimmer finds another proof of failure in that the Saint says, 'although now I am despised by some men,' and in his 'Confession' says, 'I am despised by most men.'

St. Patrick, referring to his being 'despised by some men,' spoke of Coroticus who slaughtered or took away those who were lately baptised, and who was excommunicated because he did not restore the captives.

As regards the other phrase, that of being 'despised by most men.' This is not an honest translation. The Saint does not say, *contemptus*, but *contemptibilis*, in a spirit of profound humility. His words are:—

I, Patrick, a sinner, the most rustic, the least of all the faithful and *worthy of contempt*.

There are abundant proofs that the Saint did not represent himself as despised by all. He says:—

I ask not honour from man. Sufficient for me is the honour founded on truth. And now I see I am exalted beyond measure in *this world* by the Lord of which I am not worthy.

(3) Herr Zimmer asks (page 31), how could the Irish Church be founded by such a rustic?

He thinks that the high culture exhibited by the Irish Church in the sixth century is inconsistent with such a founder as St. Patrick. However, he ought to remember that St. Ignatius of Loyola was advanced in manhood before he mastered a Latin grammar, yet every path of science and literature was familiar to, and illuminated by his illustrious disciples.

It is forgotten by Herr Zimmer that the humble St. Francis, comparatively uncultured, had followers who were synonyms for knowledge. Such were the 'irrefragable' Hales, the 'seraphic' Bonaventure, the 'subtle' Scotus, the 'wonderful' Antony, and our own countryman, the 'illuminated' de Moronis.

Furthermore, it is not culture of the mind so much as the disposition of the heart and spiritual gifts that lead to conversion. The weak things of this world were chosen to confound the strong; the foolish, to confound the wise; and those of no account, to bring to nought those that are.

While a message or appeal touches only the mind of one man it affects also the heart of another. The judgment of others on the writings of St. Patrick, in contrast to that of Herr Zimmer, illustrates my meaning. The learned Tillemont (*Memoires Eccles.*) speaking of the writings of our Apostle, thus proceeds:—

It must be admitted that the Latin of the saint is very bad. But on the whole this work is full of good sense, and even intellect and fire, and what is better, it is full of piety. The saint exhibits throughout the greatest humility without however lowering the dignity of his ministry. He had also a great desire of martyrdom, even though his body was destined to be eaten by birds and beasts. In a word, we see in the tract much of the character of St. Paul.

Let us now look to the impression left on Herr Zimmer's mind by the writings of the Saint. It was this:—

Celestine, not of his own free-will, but rather yielded to his incessant appeals, and ordained the *eccentric* Briton, Palladius (Sucat), who was arrogant, and his descent was not as distinguished as he *would have us believe*.

Nor is it merely pride or ignorance that is laid to the charge of our Saint. In page 43, he is represented 'as young Sucat who gave himself up to worldly pleasures, and himself owns to have sinned against the sixth commandment in his fifteenth year.'

For these untrue and shocking statements there is no authority. I challenge him to produce any for the alleged youthful habits. The reference given for the other charge does not allude at all to the Saint; but the real reference is found in the passage where our Saint alludes to the opposition to his consecration as he was leaving Auxerre for the Irish mission. 'They came,' he says, 'after thirty years and brought against me *a word* which I had confessed before I became a deacon.' Here, or in any other place, there is no mention of the sixth commandment. It may have been a word of impatience, of indeliberate falsehood, or of a resisted temptation against faith. This is not unlikely; for the Saint added that, notwithstanding the charge against him, 'my faith was approved before God and man.'

(4) The next argument against the apostolate of our Saint shall not long detain us. It is that Pelagius is supposed to have been an Irishman, which proves that cultured Christianity prevailed in Ireland before St. Patrick; therefore Ireland was then Christian.

St. Jerome is the only person who insinuates Pelagius to have been of Irish descent; but St. Jerome was not a good geographer and was away in Bethlehem when he wrote his Preface to the Commentary on the Prophet Jeremias. Moreover, Pelagius is maintained to have been a Briton by Prosper, by Gennadius, by Orosius, by Mercator, and by St. Augustine, the successful antagonist of Pelagianism. And even if we were to allow that a bright youth educated in Christian knowledge on the Continent had come from Ireland, it would not

avail against a volume of historical evidence and solid tradition.

(5) The last argument against our Apostle is founded on the tradition of four bishops having been in Ireland previous to him. These were, as stated, Saints Ailbe, Ciaran, Ibar, and Declan.

In his *St. Patrick*, Dr. Todd shrewdly observes that the tradition of the pre-Patrician Bishops was set afloat about the eleventh century, in order to have a Metropolitan Bishop in the south as in the north of Ireland. It was thought natural, as national supreme authority was established in Munster through Brian Boru, that there should be a spiritual provincial chief in Munster. The alleged pre-Patrician Bishops claimed to have been ordained in Rome and entitled to supremacy as St. Patrick.

I cannot enter into the details of these eleventh-century apocryphal Lives, but shall merely touch on a few salient points.

The first line in the Life of St. Ailbe tells us⁶ that he was 'father of all the saints of Munster and another *Patricius* of all Ireland.' This proves that Patrick preceded Ailbe. Fintan, Declan, Colman, Kevin, Bridget, Sampson, are represented as his contemporaries; Pope Clement is represented as unworthy to consecrate him, and then sent him to be consecrated by the angel Victor—Victor, by the way, is described by the *Book of Armagh* as St. Patrick's guardian angel. All these saints mentioned in connection with St. Ailbe belonged to the sixth century, and are commemorated only after St. Patrick in the Stowe Missal of the Mass belonging to the seventh century.

As to St. Ciaran of Saigir, he is represented as consecrated by Pope Celestine, though a contemporary of St. Brendan and of Kieran of Clonmacnois. The compiler of this rubbish, in order to guard against chronological objections, gave three hundred years to the life of St. Ciaran!

In like manner St. Ibar is made the contemporary of Saints Bridget (p. 167), Declan, Ailbe, and of Abban, the nephew of St. Ibar and companion of Patrick Senior (p. 518); and yet all

⁶ Salmanticensian copy, p. 236.

these holy people lived in the sixth century. These worthless Lives, full of self-contradictory statements, are dishonestly appealed to as against authentic history.

I now shall produce direct proof, though probably unnecessary, of the substantial conversion of Ireland by our Apostle. I do not appeal to the venerable *Book of Armagh* which is charged as the source of the alleged legend. I appeal to the Saint himself who alludes to his work, though incidentally, as his object in writing was to defend himself against the charges of presumption or selfishness.

To meet the charge the Saint indignantly asks: ‘Did I expect or receive the smallest coin for the so many thousands whom I have baptised and for the clergy (which includes priests and bishops) whom my littleness ordained everywhere.’ (*ubique*). The sending missionaries everywhere for the work of the Gospel and the countless thousands of people left to St. Patrick for baptism, would not this statement alone be proof that the backbone of paganism was broken by him.

The Saint in the ‘Confession’ exclaims, ‘Whence comes it that in Ireland those who never had a knowledge of God, and who worshipped idols and unclean things have *lately* become the people of the Lord, and are named children of God?’

Does not this clearly prove that the Irish were not Christianised at the coming of our Saint? They made sticks, and stones, and unclean things objects of worship; and this state of things prevailed in Ireland (Hiberione) without qualification.

And in continuation the Saint says:—

The children of the Irish and daughters of princes appear as monks and virgins of Christ. There was a very beautiful Irish lady of noble birth whom I baptised; and after a few days she came to me, and said she received a heavenly intimation that she should become a virgin of Christ and draw near to God. God be thanked! within six days with greatest eagerness and edification she received what all the virgins of God receive, not with the wish of their parents; for they suffer false upbraidings from their parents, and yet their number still increases: and besides widows and observers of continence the vast numbers of virgins born here of our own race are beyond counting; but those in slavery have the most to suffer, yet even these, despite threats and terror, have persevered.

I have given without a break this long passage in order to show that not only the commandments, but the counsels of Christianity were observed not merely by the high-born dame, but by the lowly slaves. The passage anticipates an objection made by Herr Zimmer which I did not think worthy of notice: the objection raised is that the monastic spirit in the sixth century in the Irish Church was inconsistent with the episcopal spirit in the fifth.

In another fine passage the Saint meets an objection reproduced at this very moment, founded on his want of learning:—

I ought to give thanks to God for having even me, *ignorant* as I am, undertake in these latter days so pious and wonderful a work, and thus imitate some of those whom God foretold would be preachers of His word, as a testimony to all nations before the end of the world. This indeed, as we have witnessed, has been accomplished. For we are witness that the Gospel has been preached here at the end of the world.

These passages prove that the conversion of Ireland by our Saint was no legend.

Passages might be multiplied in proof that Ireland was substantially converted from a pagan state by our Apostle. Thus again:—

God has bestowed on me the grace of having the many born again for God through me, and that clergy have been ordained (*ubique*) for a people *lately* come to the faith, whom God has adopted at the end of the world, according to the promise of the prophets, 'The Gentiles shall come to thee and say our fathers have made false idols.'

Our Apostle felt justified in stating that the state of things brought about in Ireland verified the rapturous prophetic description of future conversions.

If it were not 'gilding refined gold' to strengthen the testimony of St. Patrick, we would add that of the neighbouring Britons. In order to hinder his coming to Ireland they said amongst other things: 'Why does this man throw himself into danger among enemies *who know not God?*' (*Deum non moverunt*). These men who might, any bright morning, have caught a glimpse of Ireland from their Welsh mountains were

better acquainted with the state of Erin then than is now our professor in the Berlin chair, and were, I believe, more disposed to tell the truth.

The tradition of heathenism prevailing in Ireland, and afterwards disappearing through the ministry of St. Patrick, was embodied in Irish Missals. In the Canon written fifty years before the Life in the *Book of Armagh* and found in the Stowe Missal, the priest offers the Sacrifice for 'the preservation of the founder of this Church and all the people from *the worship of idols*.' In this Canon St. Patrick is the first Saint commemorated after the Roman Martyrs and Saints.

From another Missal found in Cambridge Library, Corpus Christi College, I translate and heartily echo the following prayer:—

O, God, Who chose St. Patrick, apostle of the Irish, for the purpose of bringing them from darkness and the errors of heathenism (*gentilitatis*) to the true light of the knowledge of God, we beseech Thee through his pious intercession that we may hasten the quicker to do what is right.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

A STAGE has now been reached in our enquiry, where it is not only desirable, but in fact necessary, to consider the origin, probable pronunciation, and meaning of that divine name popularly known as Jehova.

As we saw,¹ the starting point of all higher criticism was the discrimination of alleged Jehova passages from Elohim ones, and around the former group the literary and theological battle still wages at the present day. A hotly contested point is whether the sacred name itself (JHVH), or as in the course of this article it will be called simply *the name*, was first revealed to Moses. The critics almost to a man hold that it was, and their arguments for this amazing assertion will be considered in due season. In this preliminary article, however, our attention may profitably be confined to the three questions already mentioned, which are regarded as the external aspects of the case; afterwards we shall be in a position to examine the two momentous texts of Scripture² that are misinterpreted by the critics.

Reverting, therefore, to the first question under consideration at present, it is evident that *the name* or its equivalent in another language is of pre-Hebrew origin.³ Its use at a very

¹ I. E. RECORD, December, 1901.

² Exod. iii. 14; vi. 3.

³ The time is gone when Hebrew or any other of the Semitic tongues could be regarded as the oldest language in the world. Collectively they form but one family among many, and that family is by no means either the largest, or the most perfect, or the most fundamental. Scholars of the present day, when a thousand different languages are known to exist, have abandoned the hope that was formerly cherished of being able to account for all these varieties, although it is certain that they all come from one stock. The ablest philologists while aware of the common origin of all languages have to be content with well established connections and analogies between the Aryan, Semitic, Turanian or Ural-Altaic, Hamitic, and other great divisions.

Then as regards the Semitic group, and in particular that member of it with which we are concerned, *viz.*, Hebrew, it is certain that when the Semites entered the plain of Sennaar or southern Babylonia (Genesis xi. 2) they found there a people that spoke a non-Semitic language, or to put it positively, a Turanian one. Thousands of inscriptions in this agglutinative

early period in the history of mankind is attested in Genesis iv. 26. It belongs, as we shall see, to a period when as yet the Semitic dialects (Assyrian, Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, Samaritan, and Arabic) had not been differentiated, and existed only potentially in some parent form of speech.

But wherever *the name* came from originally, one thing is certain, it was in course of time preserved only in Hebrew. A great many attempts have recently been made to show that it could be found in the language of the northern cuneiform inscriptions, but as a writer in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* truly says: 'The occurrence of this name or of a similar one in Assyrian cannot be regarded as certain.' Assyriologists, or at least the orthodox ones, agree on this, so it may be sufficient to give the relevant words of the Oxford Professor of Assyriology.

language, dating approximately from 4500 to 2500 B.C., have within the last twenty years been dug up in the country that lies between the Euphrates and the Tigris. We designate the people as Sumerians, from Sumir, their name for their own country, which the Hebrews called Sennaar. From this people the Semites borrowed the system of cuneiform writing or syllabary which is used in the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, though as belonging to an agglutinative tongue, it does not suit their own Semitic which is inflectional. They also borrowed words, one of which, as we shall see just now, is preserved in Genesis. Here, however, it should be observed that neither instance of borrowing shows conclusively that the Semitic language was of later origin than the Sumerian, though a presumption exists that the Sumerians were the more cultured race in one respect, and the less cultured in another.

The word preserved in Genesis, one of great importance in the history of the human race, is 'Eden,' the name of that region in which the garden of Paradise was situated. The word Eden though found also in Assyrian (*edinnu* = a desert, or a plain) is originally not Semitic, but Sumerian. On the bilingual tablets (Sumerian-Assyrian), the Assyrian word '*seru*,' which means 'desert,' is the translation of '*edinnu*.' Of course many people imagine that Eden is synonymous with Paradise, indeed a Hebrew word exactly resembling it does mean delight and is used in the later books; but that is not the Eden of Genesis. There, ii. 8, we read of the 'garden in Eden,' and *ib.* v. 10, of the river which flowed from Eden into the garden. In addition to this it may be said that though other proper names occurring in the beginning of Genesis, *viz.*, Adam, Eve, Abel, Seth, can be shown to have a suitable meaning if they are interpreted by Hebrew (red [?], life, son, placed) and one of these meanings is attested by Scripture, still if these words be taken as Sumerian, a meaning will be obtained which is equally in accord with Holy Writ. Thus, Adam (Sumerian, Ada-mu, my father, or Ada-me, *our father*. Ball however explains A-dam as 'side-spouse'; see his *Light from the East*); Eve (Sumerian, Ama, *mother*. M in Sumerian becomes V in Semitic, thus Ava is easily got. In Hebrew Ava is our first mother's name); Abel (Sumerian, ibila, *son*). It is true that though no Hebrew stem appears to be connected with this word, it can be explained by the Assyro-Babylonian 'aplu' = a son; *cf.* Assur-bani-pal = Assur-begot-a-son; nevertheless the

Sayce makes the following observations⁴:—

The name of Yahveh, which is united with Elohim in the second account of the creation in Genesis, and by which the national God of the Hebrews was distinguished from the gods of the heathen, is a name upon which oriental archæology has yet shed but little light. Even its meaning and origin are obscure, though we now know that the full form Yahveh, or rather Yahavah, and the shorter Yeho, Yo, existed side by side from an early date. In the cuneiform texts, Yeho, Yo, and Yah, are written Yahu, as for example in the names of Jehu (Yahu-a), Jehoahaz ((Yahu-khazi), and Hezekiah (Khazaqiyahu). But there are also contract-tablets found in Babylonia, on which the names of Jews occur, and these names are compounded not with Jahu, but with Ja(h)ava(h). Thus we have Gamar-Ya'ava or Gemariah, and Ya'ava-natanu or Jonathan.

Such names prove that in the time of the Babylonian exile there was as yet no superstitious objection to pronounce the name of the national God, such as had become prevalent before the Greek translations of the Old Testament were made.⁵ The substitution of *Adonai* or Lord, for Jahveh, was the work of a more modern age. It was a substitution which had curious consequences when the study of Hebrew was revived in Western Europe.

The employment of either form of the name by any other people than the Israelites is a matter of doubt. It is true that in the time of Sargon, there was a King of Hamath who was called Yahu-bihdi, and since the name is also written Ilu-bidhi in one of Sargon's inscriptions, where Ilu or El takes the place of Yahu, it is plain that Yahu here must be the Yahu or Yeho of Israel. But Yahu-bidhi was an ally of the Jewish king, and it is therefore quite possible that he may have been of Jewish descent. It is also quite possible that his earlier name was Ilu-bidhi, which

prototype of the word is not Semitic but Sumerian. Seth (*Sumerian*, Sesh *brother*). Sh in Babylonian is constantly changed into Th in Aramaic, through which, perhaps, the name Seth passed into Hebrew. (See the article by Sanda, in the *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie*, Jan., 1902.)

If these names were Sumerian and have been made Semitic as they now appear in the Hebrew Bible, so that in Semitic they bear a meaning, may it not be possible that *the name* (JHIVH), is not the earliest word to embody the idea which it expresses, but only a Semitic translation? May not Genesis iv. 26, 'Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord,' refer not to the enunciation of JHVH, but of a word belonging to Sumerian, or perhaps to the primitive language itself? May it not be that this little text of Scripture carries us back to a time before Semitic was spoken?

⁴ *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 87 ff.

⁵ Sayce might have added that a contemporary of Isaias, Mesa, the idolatrous King of Moab, shows that he knew the name of the God of Israel, for in the 18th line of his famous inscription on the 'Moabite Stone' (discovered in 1868, and now preserved in the Louvre), he says, 'I took the . . . of JHVH.'

was changed to Yehu-bidhi after his alliance with Juda, just as the name of Eliakim was changed into Jehoiakim after his accession to the throne.⁶ It would seem that this had really happened in the case of another Hamathite prince.⁷

Apart from the names of Jews and Israelites, and that of Yahu-bidhi, the cuneiform inscriptions, in spite of the wealth of proper names which they contain, show us none that are compounded with the name of the God of Israel. Until, therefore, evidence is forthcoming, we may conclude that it was not used beyond the limits of Israelite influence. That it was known, however, is evident from the cuneiform tablet now in the British Museum, which gives a list of the various equivalents of 'ilu,' god. Among them we find 'Yahu.' The Babylonian scribe has attempted an etymology of the name, which he has connected with words signifying 'myself' in his own language. Such etymologies, however, have no scientific foundation, and are in consequence valueless.⁸

We may now pass on to the second part of our enquiry: what is the probable pronunciation of *the name*? In order to answer this question it will be necessary to enter into details which are in themselves rather uninteresting, so the indulgence of readers is craved while these technicalities are being explained, and it is promised that the explanation shall be as short as possible.

* * * * *

With occasional exceptions in the case of certain letters, it may be said that all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are consonants. Or, to put it in another way, the written word represents only the consonantal sounds of the spoken word. This is due partly to the peculiar structure of the Hebrew language (and of course of the other Semitic ones) in which consonants are of paramount, indeed almost of exclusive importance, and partly to the radical imperfection of the Hebrew alphabet itself, which was made at a time of rudimentary knowledge, and never afterwards altered or improved. To

⁶ 2 Kings xxiii. 34.

⁷ Sayce wrote this eight years ago: it should be mentioned that recently grave reasons for doubting the existence of this Ilu-bidhi have been given. See *Encycl. Bibl.*, iii., 3322. On the other hand, Schrader refers to Yahu-bidhi and other alleged instances, in the new edition of his monumental work *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.*, p. 66.

⁸ Delitzsch also in his *Babel und Bibel*, June, 1902, says that Jahve and Javu were known in Babylon, and that the proof is found in the proper names, Ja-ah-ve-ilu and Ja-hu-um-ilu. (See *Revue Biblique*, July, 1902.)

read Hebrew script correctly, or in many places even to understand it, a knowledge of the vocalization is of course indispensable, but that information was imparted orally at first and continued to be so as long as Hebrew was a living language. It began at a much later date to be represented by means of lines and dots collectively known as vowel-points. These written signs which indicate the phonetic complement of consonants in speech or of the letters in the script, were invented in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era by the Jewish doctors called Masorets (*i.e.*, possessors of tradition), in order to denote authoritatively and to fix for ever the traditional pronunciation of the books of the Old Testament. The whole collection of these proto-canonical books is indeed so small, that the correct reading could have been, and was down to that time, preserved by memory alone. With reference to the vowel points is is particularly to be observed, that these subsidiary helps as not being part of the sacred text—or Scripture materially considered—are regarded by the Jews as profane. They are consequently not admitted into the MSS. destined for liturgical use. They may be found in private copies, but the reader in the synagogue has to depend for his pronunciation altogether on his acquaintance with the consonantal text. So much by way of introduction.

Our next introductory remark is this. In Hebrew there are several names for God (in fact six, besides metaphorical appellations), and the most expressive of them all, not only most appropriate but incommunicable, the so-called *tetragrammaton*, is thus written in the original, JHVH (Jod, He, Vau, He).⁹ It is found no less than 6,823 times. The pronunciation is however unknown; at some remote period it was either deliberately kept secret or accidentally lost; and since that time wherever JHVH occurs alone, another divine name 'Adonai' (*Lord*) is read instead by the Jews, both in the synagogue and outside it. This practice of substitution is very ancient, traces of its existence being found long before the Christian era. It explains why the Septuagint version (begun about 250 A.C.)

⁹ Consonantal Jod is always pronounced as Y; in diphthongs it corresponds to 'i.' For convenience JHVH is used here instead of the Hebrew יהוה.

almost invariably represents JHVH by *ο κυριος* (the solitary exception being *ο δεσποτης*, Prov. xxix. 26), and what is more significant still, why the Peshitta, which was apparently made by a Jew,¹⁰ uses in the same way the word 'marja,' as if it were an equivalent. The Syrian translator, in contradistinction to the Greek, could not have experienced the slightest difficulty in forming in his own Semitic language a word that would correspond letter for letter to JHVH, be derived from the same stem by the same process, and have the same meaning. It would have been easy for him to make a word that would correspond to it more closely than the Syriac 'Alaha' corresponds to the Hebrew 'Elohim.' He must have acted as he did solely for extrinsic reasons. So, too, Origen did not transliterate JHVH, but put Adonai in the second column of his Hexapla (*i.e.*, the column in which the pronunciation of the Hebrew was indicated). Our own Vulgate shows that St. Jerome too was influenced by the practice of his Jewish masters in this, as he was in many other things.¹¹ For JHVH the Vulgate has Dominus almost everywhere.¹² Indeed the only place in the Pentateuch where Dominus is not thus employed is the all-important text, Exodus vi. 3, but here St. Jerome surpasses his customary loyalty, for the conventional substitute is actually retained. The Vulgate has: 'Et nomen meum, Adonai non indicavi eis.' In the original JHVH is still to be seen, but true to the teaching he had received, St. Jerome reproduces in the middle of his Latin version, the Jewish pronunciation of the tetragrammaton. This he did presumably on account of the supreme importance of these words in the Book where everything is important, or in order to emphasize and we might say to italicise the narrative of a revelation made to

¹⁰ See *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v., or Kaulen's *Einleitung*, p. 122.

¹¹ See *Revue Biblique*, 1898, p. 564.

¹² With reference to the other divine name which is so irreverently bandied by the higher critics, viz., Elohim, it may be useful to some readers to know that St. Jerome translates it almost everywhere by Deus. Hence, nearly all the so-called J, E, JE. passages (*i.e.*, those respectively characterised by the use of Jehova, Elohim, or Jehova Elohim, as the name of God), may be identified in the Vulgate, by means of Dominus, Deus, Dominus Deus. (N.B.—For sake of perspicuity, the popular pronunciation of JHVH may be tolerated here.)

Moses that had not been vouchsafed to Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob. We shall have occasion elsewhere to refer to the consequences of this departure from his habitual practice.¹³

It may also be mentioned that in one of his epistles to Pope St. Damasus, St. Jerome retains the customary Adonai even in his transliteration of a Hebrew sentence. He says, 'In centesimo decimo septimo Psalmo, ubi nos legimus "O Domine salvum me fac, O Domine bene prosperare: benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini," in Hebræo legitur, Anna Adonai Osianna, Anna Adonai aslianna, baruch abba basen Adonai.' In the three places where St. Jerome writes Adonai, the text has JHVH.

The last step in our investigation is the examination of

¹³ The only other place in the Vulgate where Adonai occurs is Judith xvi. 16: 'Adonai Domine, magnus estu.' This book was translated from the Aramaic or Chaldaic, but as the original text is no longer extant, it is not possible to know which divine name or names St. Jerome had before him.

Adonai occurs in the Hebrew, or the protocanonical books of the Old Testament, 131 times (*Dict. de la Bible*) or 134 times (Gesenius). For instance it is found in Genesis eight times (being used seven times by Abraham, and once by Abimelech), and in Exodus in three places (being used by Moses) before the passage vi. 3, where, as we saw, it does *not* occur, though a person dependent on the Vulgate would be led to think it did. The word itself is a plural of excellence, for it literally means 'my lords.' It is used by men in reference to God, as Gesenius says, 'precipue (atque in Pentateucho, ni fallor semper) ubi Deum submitte alloquantur.' Adonai is, so far as we know, always translated in the Vulgate by *Dominus*, and no word could convey its meaning better. But for this very reason, where *Dominus* is made to do double duty, it fails. Where it is employed to represent JHVH, it obliterates the marked distinction that exists between the two Hebrew words and thus prevents many people from knowing the significant antithesis that in some places is to be seen in the original. One such instance will suffice. 'Dixit Dominus Domino meo' stands for 'JHVH said to my Lord (*Adoni*),' but it does not perhaps convey to everyone that reads it, the meaning which David expressed and which our Lord explained in His argument (St. Matthew xxii. 44). David means that Jehovah, God Eternal as such, said to God Incarnate, Adonai. David's Lord (in the sense in which He, Jesus of Nazareth, is our Lord, but neither the Father nor the Holy Ghost is) to sit at His right hand. There is, therefore, in these few words of the Psalmist a complete Messianic prophecy.

In many similar passages, to understand the sense, it is necessary to read the original. As Vigouroux says well (*Dict. de la Bible*): 'Il faut consulter l'original en plusieurs endroits, pour savoir quel est le nom divin dont s'est servi l'auteur inspiré, parce que les traducteurs n'ont pas rendu les appellations bibliques d'une manière qui permette de les distinguer les unes des autres. C'est ainsi qu'on peut savoir seulement par l'hébreu si le terme original, rendu par Dominus, est Adonai ou Jehovah; la Vulgate, en effet, n'a que le mot Dominus pour ces deux dénominations divines. Voir Abdias, i, ou Dominus Deus correspond a "Adonai Jehovah," et Habacuc iii. 19, ou Deus Dominus traduit Jehovah Adonai.'

this very word Adonai. In Hebrew it consists, as *the name* JHVH does, of four letters; namely, Aleph (the light breathing, or *spiritus lenis*), Daleth, Nun, Jod. Its traditional vowels are, *a, a, o*, and in a Masoretic Bible their corresponding 'points,' for which we will here substitute italics, are combined with the consonants thus: 'aD_oN_aI.

Now to conclude. As we saw above, the original or proper vowels of *the name* are no longer known, and the word, whatever its true sound may be, has now to be conventionally pronounced—Adonai; therefore in Masoretic or vocalised copies of the Hebrew text, the vowel-points of this name are joined to JHVH, but simply and solely as a mnemonic. By a rule of Hebrew orthography, however, the 'a' which belongs to the Aleph must first be changed into 'e' to suit the letter Jod. Thus, instead of J_aII_oV_aII we see J_eH_oV_aH, the first vowel-point of which must nevertheless in consequence of a law of orthoepy be read as 'a,' because the whole artificial combination has to be pronounced as Adonai. In Masoretic editions this occurs no fewer than 6,518 times¹⁴; the 'Kethib' or written word being J_eII_oV_aII, and the 'Keri perpetuum' or pronounced word invariably being 'aD_oN_aI, or Adonai, so that to mark it on the margin would be superfluous.

When both these divine names occur together, as happens in 305 places (216 of them being in the Book of Ezekiel), JHVH has to borrow the vowel-points of another divine name, Elohim. There it appears to the eye thus J_eH_oV_iH, and the compound appellation is read as Adonai-Elohi, or where the order of the names is reversed, as it is once in the Book of Habacuc, and thrice in the Psalter, Elohi-Adonai. If our readers have had the patience to master these details, they must see that the Masorets were aware that *the name* had no longer its own inalienable vowels, and acted in conformity with this knowledge, by supplying it with different sets of vowels according to different circumstances.

There are two other very interesting facts which show just as conclusively as the variable phonetic complement, that the vowels, *e, o, a*, generally combined with the letters of *the*

¹⁴ Oxford *Heb. Lex.*, s. v.

name, are not considered its own, and consequently that the fixed pronunciation which it must have had at one time is lost, but the arguments based on these facts are rather too technical for use here, and the proofs given above will, it is hoped, be deemed sufficient.

Nevertheless, though it was contrary to all the laws of Hebrew grammar and to analogy, as well as to the clearly expressed intention of the Masorets, some unknown individual *did* combine those consonants and vowels, the result being the barbarous word JeHoVaH.

It is, sad to say, now so firmly established in popular usage, that any, even the most heroic, efforts to dislodge it, would certainly prove unavailing. It has a poetic sound, and the ears of the people are attuned to it. On the part of scholars, however, there is no desire to attempt its removal, and in all probability it will never be set aside, nor outside scientific circles is it worth while even to allude to the speculative advantages that might result from an approximation to the correct pronunciation.

No one can tell who invented Jehovah, but it is found for the first time in a celebrated work, the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martini, O.P. (1278). The author, who is thought to have been a convert from Judaism, shows in his great controversial treatise a most intimate and extensive acquaintance with both Jewish usages and Rabbinical literature, and parts of the literature quoted by him are not extant elsewhere. It is quite possible that he saw Jehovah in some book that is no longer to be found. The next writer to bring this mispronunciation, as we must call it, into prominence was P. Pietro Galatini (better known as Galatinus), a Franciscan, and confessor to Leo X. In his famous work, *De Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis*, he used it and recommended it, though at the same time he did not quite approve of its being uttered. He says: 'Sed sic omnino debet et scribi et pronuntiari (si tamen pronuntiandum est.)' Luther adopted the new form, and the great popularity it enjoyed among the early Reformers is doubtless due to the currency of Luther's version.

On the other hand, scholars like Drusius (who is however mistaken in saying that Galatinus fabricated it), Capellus who

was the adversary of Buxtorf, and Genebrard, O.S.B., who was St. Francis de Sales' professor and afterwards became Archbishop of Aix, condemn Jehovah as an ignorant innovation. Speaking of the passage in which Diodorus Siculus calls the God of the Jews Iao, Genebrard observes:—

Conatus est exprimere tetragrammaton, sed satis incommode. Nam literæ quidem ad hunc sonum (Iao) inflecti possunt, ut ad illum quem hodie multi novitatis cupidi efferunt, Jova¹⁵ vel Jehova, verum aliena, imo vero irreligiosa, nova et barbara pronuntiatione, ut contra Calvinianos et Bezanos multis locis docuimus.

Elsewhere he expresses himself thus:—‘Impii vetustatis temeratores et nominis Dei ineffabilis profanatores atque adeo transformatores Jova vel Jehova legunt, vocabulo novo, barbaro, fictitio, irreligioso et Jovem gentium redolente.’ Genebrard erroneously attributes the innovation to Sanctes Pagninus:—‘Qui vocem peregrinam Jehovah primus confinxit ac irreligiosa profanaque novitate novatores istos imbuunt.’ We have looked through Sanctes Pagninus’ Latin version of the Old Testament (Lyons, 1527), but found Dominus everywhere; and a careful examination of the great scholar’s *Thesaurus Linguae Hebraicae* has been made, but nothing that would substantiate this charge was found. A writer in *Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible* states that the form Jehovah is not older than the Reformation. This mistake could have been avoided had the writer consulted (Archbishop) Smith’s work on the Pentateuch (1868) in which it is stated that the word was used by Raymond Martini.

We may here sum up what we have said by observing

¹⁵ This attempt to connect Jehovah with Jove has been in recent times again made by De Wette, Gesenius, etc. Scholars such as many of them were should have known better. Jove is a contracted, or to speak more precisely, an apocopated form of Djovis which comes from the Sanscrit *diva* (heaven), of which the Sanscrit word, *deva*, (god), *deus*, *Zeus*, *Tiu*, Tuesday, are also derivatives.

Many are the tentative or suggested pronunciations of the name. Clericus proposes *Jahavoh*, Delitsch *Jahavah*, Böttcher *Jahvah*, Fürst *Jihveh*, Robertson Smith *Jahaveh*. Some modern scholars, however, still defend *Jehovah*; the ablest among them being Leusden, Fuller, Michaelis, and Drach. The last named was a convert from Judaism to Catholicity, and his work, *L’harmonie entre l’Eglise et la Synagogue* (1844) is a masterpiece of erudition. The pronunciation, however, which at present, for reasons both intrinsic and extrinsic, commands most respect is ‘*Yahwe*’ which was first proposed by the great Hebraist, Ewald.

that whatever doubt may exist with respect to the original and correct pronunciation of *the name*, one thing is certain, viz., that Jehova is not it. The *Encyclopædia Biblica* utterly ignores the conglomerate, apparently because it considers it beneath notice. As Sanday truly remarks: 'It is a conflate form, with the consonants of one word and the vowels of another.' Almost all competent judges condemn it, as being a mispronunciation. From the grammatical point of view it is incorrect and inadmissible; moreover, it has no meaning, and it could never have got into currency but that the pronunciation of *the name* is lost. Few facts in history are more significant than this, and none perhaps more clearly indicative of the rejection of the Jews. They have neither altar, nor sacrifice, nor knowledge of *the name* of God.

We know, however, that the ark of the covenant and the altar of incense are still preserved, but that no man shall see the place where Jeremias deposited them, till God gather the congregation of His people and receive them to mercy. On that day perhaps *the name* of God, pronounced of old before the ark by Moses and Aaron and Aaron's successors in the priesthood, will be heard once more as the token of reconciliation and peace. But in the present circumstances all that can be hoped for is a tentative reconstruction of the word. We can attain no more, and therefore a pronunciation that will satisfy the requirements of the case, so far as we understand them, may be provisionally accepted.

JAHVE (*pronounced* Yahwe) is as near the true form, as antecedently we are likely ever to get. It is recommended by a large body of eminent scholars, and it has a meaning;¹⁶ besides, it has in its favour analogy, and what is more—the ancient transliteration of the Hebrew word. St. Epiphanius, who was well versed in the language, mentions among the six

¹⁶ The grammatical analysis of this suggested form discloses a meaning which, as we shall see, when we come to consider Exodus iii. 14, is that expressed by Almighty God. He says there, 'I am who am,' and declares that this is signified by His name. This metaphysical truth of the unity of God, and of the identity of essence and existence in God alone, which is familiar to students of the *Summa*, is so clearly explained in Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, that it seems we cannot do better than quote the passage. 'Dieu ne peut se définir que par l'existence, car il est l'Etre, l'Etre tout court, rien de plus, rien de moins; l'Etre concret, l'Etre absolu, l'Océan de l'Etre substantiel.'

names of God *Ιαβη*, which he explains as *ος ην και εστι και αιει ων*.¹⁷

Theodoret on his part informs us that the Jews of his time pronounced *the name* as *Αια* or *Ια*, but that the Samaritans [who were apparently not restrained by superstitious fear], as *Ιαβε*.¹⁸ It should be added that the cognate forms *Ιαουε*, *Ιαη* are given by Clement of Alexandria and Origen respectively. And an Ethiopic MS. now preserved in the Bodleian,¹⁹ gives as one of the names of our Lord, *Jahve*, which according to it means 'faithful and just.' It must, however, be acknowledged that the MS. is not said to be of Jewish provenance, and also that the list it contains was confessedly drawn up for use in magical rites. Nevertheless, if *Jahve* here be due to genuine Jewish tradition, the MS. affords an additional argument.

Next to 'Jahveh,' the form 'Jehjeh' is, perhaps, the one most entitled to consideration. It is that given by St. James of Edessa (✠ 708). As he was so well qualified to speak on this subject, being thoroughly conversant with the rules of comparative Semitic orthoepy of which indeed he made a special study, and being, moreover, the inventor of an improved system of Syriac vowel-points, his statement is authoritative and the pronunciation which he gives has a claim to respect.

It is obvious, however, that the pronunciation just suggested cannot be the archaic one, but is due to the change of 'v' into 'j' (JHJH for JHVH), an alteration caused apparently by the desire of assimilation to 'Ehjeh asher ehjeh' ('I am who am,' Exodus iii. 14): the modified pronunciation current in the time of Moses. We shall in the next

¹⁷ He says:—'Ατινα και ενταυθα σπουδασθησονται ερμηνευθεντα κεισθαι το Ισραηλ Θεος. το Ελωειμ Θεος αιει, το Ηλι Θεος μου, το Σαδδαι ο ικανος, το Ραββωνν ο κυριος, το Ια κυριος, το Αδωναι ο ων Κυριος, το Ιαβη ος ην και εστι και αιει ων: ως ερμηνευει τω Μουση, ο ων απεσταλκε με ερεις προς αυτους (Migne, P. G. xli. 685).

¹⁸ Τοιτο δε παρ' Εβραιους αφραστον ονομαζεται, απειρητον γαρ παρ' αυτοις δια της γλωττης προσφερειν. Γραφεται δε δια των τεσσαρων στοιχειων, διο τετραγραμμον λεγουσι. Καλουσι δε αυτο Σαμμαρειταν μεν Ιαβε, Ιουδαιοι δε Ιαω.

¹⁹ See Driver's article, 'Recent Theories on the Origin and Nature of the Tetragrammaton,' *Studia Biblica*, i.

article have occasion to revert to this point, so at present it may be said that St. James of Edessa is not the only one to attest the existence of this mode of writing *the name* in the Christian era. It is a very interesting fact that the very same consonants (JHJH) written in the ancient or pre-exilic Hebrew character have been found in a recently recovered fragment of Aquila's version (given in Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 39), and that even here, as Burkitt has ingeniously shown, these letters are to be read as *o κυριος*. St. Jerome was evidently aware of this method of writing *the name*, for in an epistle to Marcella²⁰ he mentions a curious consequence of thus retaining the four letters in a Greek MS. 'Nonum, τετραγραμματον quod ανεκφωνετον id est ineffabile putaverunt, quod his literis scribitur, Jod, He, Vau, He. Quod quidam non intelligentes propter elementorum similitudinem cum in Græcis libris reperint ΠΙΠΙ legere consuverunt.'

Though he mentions JHVH, it is obvious to anyone who knows Hebrew that the mistake he speaks of almost requires that JHJH should be in the MS. And writing to Pope St. Damascus he indirectly shows his own use of the form JHJH, for he speaks of the 'quod proprie in Deo ponitur, Jod, He, jod, He, id est duobus Ja, quae duplicata ineffabile illud et gloriosum Dei nomen efficiunt,' but as appears from his words he pronounces it somewhat differently and derives it from the repetition of another divine name, Ia (which occurs, *e.g.*, as the last component of *Allelu-ia* = Praise ye the—Lord).

In both these passages St. Jerome speaks of *the name* as 'ineffable.' It is well known that the rabbins tried to find a reason for their avoidance of *the name* in Lev. xxiv. 16 ('He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, dying let him die'), which they said meant that he who pronounced JHVH should die. There can be no doubt that 'nakab' the first verb here is sometimes equivalent to 'to manifest,' but it has not this meaning here: and it is equally true that it often signifies 'to blaspheme,' and this is the meaning it has here. The context (v. 11) proves this conclusively. Hence the Vulgate 'Qui blasphemaverit nomen Domini, morte moriatur' is right, and

²⁰ *Epistola de decem nominibus Dei*, Migne, P.L., xxii., c. 429.

the Targum, the Peshitta, and the Septuagint) *ονομαξων δε το ονομα κυριου θανατω θανατουσθω*) are, with due respect to them, all wrong. Reinke quotes²¹ some passages of the Talmud which go so far as to assert that he who dares to utter *the name* will not have eternal life.²²

The Jews' painfully anxious observance of self-imposed precepts, their minute attention paid almost exclusively to externals, their erroneous substitution of their own traditions for the law of God could hardly be exemplified in a more striking way. 'Behold Israel according to the flesh.' Their Scriptures attest that the patriarchs had addressed God by this His holiest name, He Himself uses it and commands Moses to use it when before Pharaoh and in the presence of the people. Not only this, God also declared that it was His name for evermore, and declared that His purpose in leading the people out of Egypt was that 'His name might be spoken of throughout the whole earth.' The prophets and the psalmists never tire of proclaiming the glory of that name and of calling on the people to praise it. But notwithstanding it all, that people misled by their Scribes and Pharisees, deem

²¹ *Beiträge*, iii., p. 25.

²² This Jewish practice of not pronouncing *the name* was known to ancient ecclesiastical writers. Theodoret, as we saw already, remarks that *the name* is *αβυσσος*, and Eusebius that it is *αρητων*. This is quite in agreement with the statement of Philo, who says that the golden frontlet or the plate which the high priest wore on his forehead had inscribed on it the four letters of *the name* 'which may be uttered and heard in the holy place, by those only whose mouth and whose ears are purified by wisdom, and may not be spoken elsewhere by anyone whomsoever' (*Life of Moses*, Bk. III): χρυσουν δε πεταλον ωσανει στεφανος· εδημιουργειτο, τετταρας εχον γλυφας ονοματος, ο μονοις τοις ωτα και γλωτταν σοφια κεκαθαρμενοις θεμις ακουειν και λεγειν εν αγιοις, αλλω δουνδενι τοπαρσταν ουδαμων. If the statement in the Jerusalem Talmud, tract Joma iii. 9, quoted by Scholz (*Die hl. Alterthümer*, ii. 84), be correct, on the Day of Expiation or Atonement the high priest when with his hand laid on the head of the victim in the holy place he confessed his sins aloud (Lev. i. 4; v. 5), thrice uttered *the name*, and each time the priests, Levites, and others present, knelt and praised it. Philo also says that to pronounce *the name*, which by the way he was the first to call the *τετραγραμματον*, at a wrong time was a crime deserving capital punishment. Clement of Alexandria also says *το τετραγραμματον ονομα το μυστικον, ο περιεκειτο οις μονοις το αυτον βασισμον ην*. The Babylonian Talmud states that the name was not uttered even in the holy place by a high priest, after the time of Simeon the Just (*circa* A.C. 270): in this, it is opposed to the Jerusalem Talmud, Philo and Josephus. As we have spoken of the golden band or plate worn by the high priest (often called a crown or diadem) we may add that it is mentioned in Exod. xxix. 6, also in xxxix. 29, where we read that on it was engraved 'The holy of the Lord,' or literally 'Holy to Jahveh' (קדש יהוה) but, of course, in the archaic characters.

it a crime to utter *the name* which summed up and recalled all the mercies of the Covenant. But it is time to pass on to the third question.

Without entering into details that must be reserved for the following article, we may now explain the meaning of the name. Jahve comes from 'havah,' a Hebrew verb, the infinitive of which signifies 'to be.'²³ Havah is, to speak accurately, the third singular masculine perfect, which is considered by grammarians as the stem, and Jahveh is the corresponding part of the so-called future, or imperfect tense. It should be noted that neither 'perfect' nor 'future' possess in Hebrew the special signification they have acquired in Latin or in Greek; neither of them indicates the order of time (past, present, future), they express on the contrary only the kind of time (incipient, progressive, complete). The Hebrew future or imperfect must often be rendered by our present. Jahveh means 'the one who is' (*i.e.*, the absolute and everlasting one), and its explanation²⁴ 'Eljeh asher

Josephus, too, speaks of this inscription: in the *Antiquities* he says, 'τελαμων δ'εστι χρυσεος, ος ιεροις γραμμασι του Θεου την προσηγοριαν επιτετηνημενος εστι,' and in the *Wars of the Jews* he adds, 'χρυσους στεφανος εκτυπωμα φερων τα ιερα γραμματα.' (Cf. S. Jerome's words about the high priest in one of the most valuable letters he ever wrote, 'Habet cidarim et nomen Dei portat in fronte, diademate ornatus est regio.'—*Epist. ad Fabiolam*). It may be interesting to know that the identical golden plate made by Moses was preserved not only down to the time of Josephus (*Antiquities*, viii. c. iii., 8, 'The crown upon which Moses wrote the name was only one, and has remained to this very day,' η δε στεφανη εις νε του Θεου Μωυσης εγραφε μια ην και διεμεινεν αχρη τησδε της ημερας), but even to the time of Origen (Reland, *De Spoliis Templi*, iii.).

There is presumably some connection between the practice mentioned above and a statement in the Mishna, tract Sota, (quoted by Scholz, *Die hl. Alterthümer*, p. 76) to the effect that when giving the blessing of Aaron (Numbers vi. 24–26) the priest uttered the ineffable name if he were in the temple, but Adonai if he happened to be elsewhere, for instance, in a synagogue. Josephus, though he was a priest, when describing the revelation of the name to Moses, stops short and merely remarks 'concerning which it is not lawful for me to say any more'—περι ης ου μοι θεμιτον ειπειν. (*Antiquities*, Bk. ii., xii. 4.) He has a similar scruple about making known the exact words of the Ten Commandments (*ib.* Bk. iii., v. 4). As however Josephus himself was by no means an exemplary individual, his external respect may be due to the servile traditions of his nation and to his having been for a time a Pharisee.

²³ It means also 'to live'. From it, as was said above, the name of one of our first parents is derived—Eve, in Hebrew 'Havah,' given to her because she was the mother of all the living.

²⁴ Exod. iii. 14.

ehjeh' means 'I am who am.' As Fürst quoted by Reinke says:—

Jahveh factum est ex futuro verbi *Havah*, ad similitudinem formarum *Jitsaak*, *Jahakob*, quibus status perpetuus, continuus et in infinitum durans exprimitur. Quare *Jahveh* vertendum est *ens æternum*, explicatioque nominis qua æternitas illa tanquam tres in eones discinditur (ο ων και ο ην και ο ερχομενος, Αποκ. i. 7, cf. xi. 17) non in vocabuli tanquam compositi tripartiendi etymo, sed in futuri vel potius imperfecti, quod statum diuturniorem limitibusque temporis non circumscriptum denotat, emphasi maxime fundata est.

In the next place, it may be useful to say that the J in *Jahveh*, as in the two personal appellations (Isaac, Jacob) which Fürst refers to, is an indication that the bearer of the name possesses as his characteristic quality whatever is denoted by the verb that forms part of the word itself. For instance, Isaac (from *isaak*, to laugh) means 'the laughing one,' Jacob (from *kahab*, 'to supplant') 'the supplanter': and so Jabin (*bin*) 'the intelligent man,' Jebsem (*basem*) 'the amiable,' Jephth (*patah*) the deliverer, etc. Hence the verbal noun *Jahveh* means 'the One who is, the Existent in a sense in which nothing else exists.'²⁵ Many scholars are of opinion that St. John paraphrases the name of *Jahveh* in the Apocalypse, where he calls God ο ων και ο ην και ο ερχομενος²⁶ (i. 4, 8; iv. 8) and ο ων και ο ην (xi. 17), where the Vulgate adds, 'et qui venturus es.' St. John's ο ων may be a reminiscence of the Septuagint which has Εγω ειμι ο ων and ο ων απεσταλκε με (Exod. iii. 14). The same idea is expressed in ωωνιος, which occurs in the Septuagint of Baruch (iv. 10, 14, 20, 22, 35; v. 2.), and as Hebrew was the language of the original, it is morally certain that *Jahveh* was the word used in all these places. It should be mentioned also that the *Græcus Venetus* usually translates *Jahveh* by by one of these words, οντωτης, οντουργος, ονσιωτης.²⁷

²⁵ Oxford *Heb. Lex.*

²⁶ It is conjectured that ερχομενος, which is found in these two passages has, in preference to εσομενος, been used by St. John on account of its being a Messianic title in the Gospels and in order to indicate that Christ will come to give the victory to His Church militant, the trials of which are foretold in the Apocalypse.

²⁷ Swete, p. 57.

The verb 'havah' in this form is quite common in Syriac and Aramaic, but rare in Hebrew.²⁸ In the Old Testament it occurs only ten times. The form used there is 'hajah,' which is found in very many passages (3,570 according to Oxford *Heb. Lex.*). Havah was the original or first form, and apparently belonged to the parent Semitic language or stem of which Hebrew and Syriac are offshoots. The word survived in one, and became almost obsolete in the other, being found in Genesis and then perhaps as an archaism after a long interval in some of the later books, viz., Ecclesiastes, Isaías, and Nehemias.

The following is the explanation of the name given in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The statement in the first paragraph is correct, but in the second and third there are some errors, which will, however, easily be detected.

A much more difficult point to decide is the original meaning of the word Yahwe. In E. of the Pentateuch, JHWH transposed from the third person into the first, is explained by God Himself first by 'I am that I am' (Ehjah asher ehjah) and then by the simple 'I am' (Ehjah). YHWH is here obviously regarded as the third person imperfect of the archaic stem HWH (to be), in the sense of 'he is (and manifests himself) continually,' with the additional connotation of remaining the same, so that the name would express both the attribute of permanence and that of unchangeability, and especially unchangeability in keeping promises, *i.e.*, faithfulness.

This explanation, offered in the Old Testament itself has been felt by many modern scholars (beginning with Ewald) to be only an attempt to explain a primitive name that had long since become unintelligible, and, further, to be simply the product of a religious-philosophical speculation, and far too abstract to be by any possibility correct. Increased importance is given to these considerations by the observation that the name is in no sense peculiar to the Hebrews [*sic*], and on other soil it must originally have had a much simpler, and in particular a much more concrete signification.

²⁸ Hommel's remarks on this subject are worth quoting. 'I may here mention that Yahveh does not mean "He who strikes down" (*i.e.*, the God of battle or of lightning), as the higher critics fondly imagine, but is an Arabic rather than a Hebrew (Canaanitic) form of the ancient verb "*hawaya*," Hebrew, "*hayah*," "to be, to come into existence," and belongs to the very earliest language of the Hebrews, as spoken in the time of Abraham and of Moses, prior to the epoch of Canaanitic influence. The names of the witnesses in the ancient Babylonian contract-tablets of the time of Abraham bear witness, therefore, to the correctness of the traditional Biblical explanation of the All-holy name of Yahweh.'—(*Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 102.)

Then comes a list of fanciful and irreverent etymologies and interpretations suggested instead of the Scripture one, by Wellhausen, Schrader, etc.: all which the writer in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* has the good common sense to condemn. He then continues:—

It is not to be denied that JHVH may have had originally a much more concrete signification than that given in Exodus iii. 14. Nevertheless, it seems precarious to suppose that while Hebrew was still a living language, the people should have been so completely deluded as to the meaning of the most important the sacred name. The objection that Exodus iii. 14 rests on a piece of too subtle metaphysical speculation, falls so soon as we cease to force into it the abstract conception of 'self-existence,' and content ourselves with the great religious idea of the living God, who does not change in His actions.

There is, however, an explanation in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, which, inasmuch as it is subsidiary to this one, and at the same time brings out prominently the idea of faithfulness which is implied or connoted here, should be mentioned, though it is not to be understood that mention is unqualified approval.

With regard to the verb 'havah,' *first*, it does not mean 'to be' essentially or ontologically, but phenomenally; and *secondly*, the imperfect has not the sense of a present (am), but of a future (will be). In Exodus iii. 10 ff, when Moses demurred to go to Egypt, God assured him saying, *Ehyeh immak*, 'I will be with thee.' When he asked how he should name the God of their fathers to the people, he was told *Ehyeh usher ehyeh*. Again, he was bidden to say '*Ehyeh* has sent me unto you'; and finally, '*Yahweh*, the God of your fathers, has sent me unto you.' From all this it seems evident that in the view of the writer 'Ehyeh' and 'Yahweh' are the same: that God is *Ehyeh* when speaking of Himself, and *Yahweh* 'he will be,' when spoken of by others. What He will be is left unexpressed—He will be with them, helper, strengthener, deliverer.

This is called the 'historical' interpretation; in the opinion of some, the 'metaphysical' one is better; but this is a question that will engage our attention some other time.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

THE IRISH RESIDENTS IN ROME

A SHORT time ago, the editor of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* was good enough to send me a copy of that Journal, containing an article on the Irish in Rome in the seventeenth century. The reading of this article was to me a genuine pleasure, as, indeed, it could not fail to be to all those interested in the relations, past and present, of Ireland with the Holy See. It occurred to me at the same time, that some account of the Irish residents, and Irish influence in Rome in the twentieth century, would be very acceptable to a wide circle of readers. The migratory tendency of the race has been noted from the earliest times, and it may be accepted that, even now, in every country of the habitable world, Ireland's faith and nationality are represented in her children. If the Irish are to be found so universally in the world, whether by tendency or necessity, we are not to be surprised to find them in Rome, to which we are bound by a thousand ties. It has been calculated, that Ireland is represented in no fewer than fifty ecclesiastical institutions of the city; and not only in the Church, but the medical, literary, and social departments are fully and adequately represented; and so, I might go on grade by grade, to find an Irish cabman in the streets of Rome.

Of the Irish institutions in Rome, perhaps, the most interesting are the Irish College, St. Isidore's, and St. Clement's. The Irish College was founded by Pope Urban VIII., at the earnest request of the Irish Bishops, in 1626, who hoped thereby to keep in closer contact with Rome, and maintain uniformity of ecclesiastical teaching and discipline. Like many young institutions, it had its days of severe trial, and at various times occupied four different sites in the city, not to speak of its having, at times, to eke out a kind of wandering existence. In 1835, the present College, which had been until then utilised as a convent, was presented by Pope Gregory XVI., to the Rector, Dr. Cullen, subsequently

Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin. It is situated in the Via Mazzarino, adjoining the magnificent and gorgeous buildings of the Bank of Italy, and almost by the Via Nazionale, which is a new street, and now the great thoroughfare of Rome. At present its students number about forty, although heretofore, it accommodated more than seventy; but owing to improvements in the plan, and sanitary arrangements made recently, portions before occupied by students had to be utilised.

The Irish generally who visit Rome, call at the College, partly on account of its historic associations, and the position and influence of its Rector, who may be able to secure an audience, or permission to see the Holy Father, for such, at least, as are fortunate enough to reach the Eternal City, when such opportunities arise. Indeed, it happens, that many remain months in Rome, and are obliged to leave without seeing the Pope. This may arise from the fact that, at times, audiences and other facilities of seeing the Pope are suspended. In the church of St. Agatha, attached to the College, is enshrined the heart of O'Connell; and scarce a day passes during the tourist season that does not bring hither its quota of pilgrims. The students of the Irish College attend the Propaganda College for lectures, but there are private classes, which are attended to by the Rector, Vice-Rector, and Prefect of Studies, who is usually an Italian. The Prefect of Studies, now, is Don Massimo Massimi. Monsignor Murphy, and Rev. Father Byrne, both of the Diocese of Dublin, are, at present, Rector, and Vice-Rector respectively.

Very closely associated with the Irish College is St. Isidore's. Indeed, it may be said Father Luke Wadding, its founder, and first guardian, was also the founder of the Irish College. To his advocacy, aided by the princely Cardinal Ludovisi, nephew of Pope Gregory XV., the Irish Bishops entrusted their appeal to the Holy See, for its foundation. St. Isidore's was founded in 1625, and is now the chief educational centre of the Irish Franciscans. The community numbers about thirty, and all the studies, including lectures, are confined to the monastery. It is stated, the discipline is very rigid, and the original rule of the Order is as closely

observed as existing circumstances will allow. The coarse brown habit and sandals are worn, even, on the streets, with bare heads, and very broadly tonsured. There is the midnight Office, when all assemble in the choir, and nearly an hour is devoted to the divine chant. The fasts of Lent and Advent are most rigidly observed; and yet the health of the community is excellent. A common impression exists in the monastery, that the general health has considerably improved since the return and strict adherence to the original rule. St. Isidore's was originally a hospice belonging to the Spanish Franciscans. The property was purchased of them, by Father Luke Wadding, along with the church dedicated to St. Isidore (Agricola); and the church still retains its original name.

The façade has a statue life-size to the patron saint over the right entrance, and on the left is similarly a statue of St. Patrick. Exteriorly the church is not very imposing, but the interior is decorated with much taste and expense. Indeed, it is quite common in Rome to find churches whose exterior is anything but inviting, decorated within in the most elaborate and artistic fashion. There is also a valuable library attached to the College, with frescoes of Father Luke Wadding, Father Hugh MacCaghwell, Father John Colgan, and Father John Punch. Father Wadding was born in Waterford, 1588, and died in 1658. He was the author of many learned and interesting works. His bones have been transferred from the church and placed in a little oratory by themselves, in a carved wooden Sarcophagus, and are regarded with great reverence by the community. The Sarcophagus bears the inscription, 'Ossa Waddingi Collegii Fundatoris.' Curiously enough, in those days, the names and surnames were both translated into Latin. Father MacCaghwell was born at Saul, County Down, in 1572. He belonged to the Scotist school of Theology. He wrote several theological works, and was appointed to the See of Armagh, by Urban VIII., on the feast of St. Patrick, March, 1626. He was consecrated in Rome, 7th June of the same year, but died of fever shortly afterwards, and never reached Ireland. On the tablet in the church to his memory, his name is translated Hugo Cavellus. The name of Father John Colgan must not be omitted, who was also associated with

St. Isidore's. Father Colgan was born at Carndonagh, in Inishowen, County Donegal, in 1592. He was the author of several works, including the *Acta SS. Hib.*, published in Louvain, in 1645, and the *Trias Thaumaturga*, in 1647. His death occurred at Louvain, in 1658. Father John Punch was a contemporary of Father Wadding, and was born in Cork. He was for some time Rector of the Irish College. These names readily occur to me, and are among the most prominent of those associated with the institution. I had the privilege of knowing the late Guardian, Father Bonaventure Ahearne, a native of Kerry, and his assistant, Father Antony Clery, a native of Clare, who maintained all the traditions of St. Isidore's for learning and piety. The present Guardian is Father Patrick Cahill, and the Vicar is Father Francis Walsh. The monastery and church occupy a very elevated position, not far distant from the Propaganda, commanding a view of the entire city. Portion of the studies and novitiate are made at Capranica, a town of some 3,000 inhabitants, which is about twenty-five miles distant from Rome. Capranica is also the summer residence, where the community spends the vacation. Father Antony Clery is now in charge of the convent there. It will thus be seen that St. Isidore's is a valuable acquisition to the Franciscan Order, and, as it happens, 'tis immediately under the protection of the British Government, so that its appropriation by the Italian Government, under any circumstances, is impossible. It is stated, the Guardian, time and again, has been offered enormous sums by the municipality of Rome for portion, even of the recreation grounds. The good Father rightly, I think, refused the tempting offers. St. Isidore's possesses a beautiful original portrait painting of Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon. The face is youthful, but betrays a sadness in keeping with his visit to Rome. O'Neill's sword is also preserved there, and the Fathers are always pleased to exhibit this most interesting relic.

I purpose speaking briefly of St. Clement's, the monastery of the Irish Dominicans at Rome. Its record is better left to one or other of the many historians, and archæologists, for which the Order is so renowned. The church of St. Clement, situated in the Via di S. Clemente, is one of the

best preserved basilicas of Rome, and its history dates back to the days of the republic. Father Mullooly, who died in 1880, formerly prior of the monastery, did much in antiquarian research, causing excavations to be made, which resulted in most important historical discoveries for St. Clement's. Underneath the present church, which is unique for its sanctuary and mosaics, three different strata of masonry have been discovered. The Basilica under the church at present in use, is mentioned by St. Jerome as early as 392, and a Council of the Church was held here in 417. It is beautifully lighted on the feast of St. Clement, 23rd November, when it is visited by vast crowds. It may also be visited on the 1st February, and the second Monday in Lent. On these occasions it is illuminated and therefore seen with better effect, but the Fathers always endeavour to meet the wishes of visitors to Rome, who are anxious to see the Basilica. A variety of opinion exists as to the exact uses of the two strata of buildings, to be found beneath the Basilica; even the buildings immediately below the lower church are visited with difficulty, not to mention the lowest strata. The church is dedicated to St. Clement, the third successor to St. Peter, and is built according to tradition, on the site of his house. St. Clement's is in close proximity to the *Colosseum*, and about equidistant from the grand Basilicas of St. Mary Major, and St. John Lateran, not, however, in a direct line. The community numbers about twenty-five, the Prior being the Very Rev. P. Dowling, who, though exceedingly retiring, has the reputation of being a distinguished theologian. Father Costello, who has been for many years resident in Rome, and is noted for his researches on Irish history at the Vatican Library, where he is almost a daily student, is Sub-Prior. Father Lyttleton and Father Duggan are also connected with the institution. Father Lyttleton is one of the editors of *St. Thomas*, and it is understood that St. Clement's has the honour of giving an additional member to that staff in the person of Father Horn. The summer residence is at Tivoli, some eighteen miles from Rome, where is also the summer residence of the Irish College. From Rome there is a communication by train, and tramway, and here, not unfrequently, the students of the

Irish College and St. Clement's meet and sing on the hillsides overlooking Tivoli, some cherished Irish air, which is occasionally caught up by the Italian peasantry coming to town, and sung with the most ludicrous effect.

I cannot omit to say a word of San Pietro, in Montorio, even at the risk of departing from the original title of this paper. Here repose the remains of the princely O'Neills and O'Donnells. The church, which is now in the hands of the Spanish Franciscans, is on the Vatican side of the Tiber, near the gigantic monument of Garibaldi, and overlooking the entire city. The tombs are side by side, half way up the nave of the church, and except the arms of the O'Neills and O'Donnells, with the lengthened inscriptions in Latin, there is nothing to arrest the attention of the Irish visitor. They are placed horizontally, and form portion of the pavement, so that they are easily overlooked. It is hardly necessary to state that the O'Neills and O'Donnells were of the little band of Ulster Chieftains who sailed from Lough Swilly, in Donegal, 14th September, 1607, to escape from the hands of Sir Arthur Chichester.

The reigning Pontiff received them with open arms, and extended to them every consideration due to their rank and misfortunes, at the same time rendering them even pecuniary assistance.

The Pontiff rose, and took them to his breast,
And, weeping, blessed, and welcomed them to Rome :
' Here may the exiles of the world find rest ;
Here, O my children, find a hearth and home—
Religion is the host, and you the guest.
Lord ! with thy sweetest consolations come
To those who, firm through agony and shame,
Contended for the glory of Thy name.'

Worn out with fatigue and anxiety, Roderick O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, died a year after his arrival in Rome. The date of his death is given as 28th July, 1608. On the 15th September of the same year, his brother Cathbar died, and soon afterwards his secretary, Matthew O'Multully, and his physician, O'Carroll of Moydristan, who are all buried in Montorio. In the same church there was a monument to Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, bearing the simple inscription,

'Here rest the bones of Hugh, Prince O'Neill.' The slab is no longer traceable, and probably has been defaced during the progress of the church's restoration. His death is recorded on the 20th July, 1616, and he was the last of the chieftains buried here. Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, his son, pre-deceased him, his death occurring on the 24th September, 1609, and while yet in his twenty-fourth year. In 1610, his son Bernard was assassinated at Brussels, and his youngest son Con, who had been left behind in Ireland, was confined in the Tower of London, and nothing is known of his end. The slab and lengthened inscription are to the young Baron of Dungannon. The inscription details the sufferings for the faith, his relationship with the Earl of Tyrconnell, being his nephew, and the date of his death. As we have seen the monument to his father, the Earl of Tyrone, cannot be traced.

He died : Rome keeps his ashes evermore.
Of all his greatness, but his tomb remains—
A fragment wreck upon a sainted shore.
The dawn breaks and the golden evening wanes
Down crypt and aisle, and folds its splendor o'er
The sepulchres abloom with tender stains—
The holy monuments, within whose space,
Inurned, repose the chieftains of our race.

Thus it will be observed the Ulster Chieftains, notwithstanding the welcome and generosity so liberally extended to them by Pope Paul V., but survived their harsh treatment a few years.

Side by side with the O'Neills and O'Donnells repose the remains of Archbishop MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, in 1609, and subsequently of Dublin, 1611. He founded the Irish College at Louvain.

From the days of St. Patrick, Ireland has ever been a source of spiritual solicitude to the Head of the Catholic Church, and in return the fidelity of the Irish has always remained unshaken. As in the late South African War, the Irish by their bravery, have popularised and legalised the wearing of the Shamrock, so, too, they covered themselves with glory, fighting bravely for the Papal States, against

unprincipled Victor Emmanuel, and his notorious emissary Garibaldi. It will be remembered that owing to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, the protection of the French Government could, or, at least, was no longer extended to the Holy Father. In 1870, the followers of the Sardinian King found it comparatively easy to turn to good account the war-cry of a 'United Italy.' Among the many Irishmen who distinguished themselves on the frontier, we find the names of Peter J. Byrne, Sergeant Shea, and Captain D'Arcy. On the 20th September, the Italian troops invested Rome, by some strange coincidence, the very day on which the German army invested the Capital of France, the city of Napoleon III., who had ordered the French troops to be withdrawn from Italy, thus, leaving the Holy Father practically defenceless. The bombardment commenced at five o'clock in the morning, and continued for five incessant hours. Perhaps the most destructive fire was directed against the Porta Pia, which was defended by Captain Delahoyd, an Irishman, with about 100 Zouaves, against 25,000 Italian troops having no fewer than 100 siege guns, and 40 light ones, pouring forth a flood of fire against the antiquated walls of the doomed city. The position was gallantly defended until the last moment, even until all hope of successful resistance had vanished. Throughout, Captain Delahoyd displayed the greatest bravery, and his conduct elicited the admiration of the army and people of Rome. Writing to the father of Captain Delahoyd, a resident in Rome on that occasion, stated, 'You may well feel proud of him. He defended the Porta Pia gallantly, against vastly overwhelming odds. Everyone in the army gives him the greatest praise. He carries with him into whatever other service he may enter a prestige few men attain as a good soldier, a brave officer, and a thorough Irishman, faithful to his country and the Pope.' Amongst those who held the breach and distinguished themselves for valour, may be mentioned Charles Lynch, James Egan, D. Sampson, Mr. O'Cleary, all Irishmen: Sheehan and Cronin, County Cork; Dooley, County Kildare; and Murray, Dublin, equally distinguished themselves, and were presented, after the fight, to their superior officers, in recognition of their gallant conduct.

The Irish, therefore, it will be seen, have stood by the Holy See in its greatest hour of trial, and for this reason, their devotion is, and shall always be remembered.

It is stated the present King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III. was trained by an Irish governess, and from this source secured what English he has, which he is said to speak with something akin to a brogue. Let us hope he profited, in other respects by the example of his teacher. I have heard him spoken of variously. One account referred to him as the most thoughtful and considerate of men, with a strong religious tendency; and, again, I have heard him spoken of as more anti-Catholic and hypocritical than Victor Emmanuel or Garibaldi. Personally, however, I am inclined to believe, without giving any reasons here, he would be very pleased to have the Italian difficulty with the Vatican settled.

The late Apostolic Delegate to the United States, now Cardinal Martinelli, received his English education from the Irish Augustinians of Rome, being for some time connected with that community. The Cardinal speaks the language fairly well, but with a marked accent. His knowledge of English acquired during his connection with the Irish Augustinians, probably led to his appointment at Washington. Of the Irish Augustinians at Rome, the Very Rev. Robert O'Keeffe is now superior. The convent is at Sant Agostino. Father O'Keeffe is a native of Kilkenny, and, in appearance, might be on one or other side of sixty, but is strong, healthy, and cheerful. The relaxing Italian climate in no way lessens his energy. He has settled, with great difficulty, the question of St. Patrick's church and hospice, eliciting well-deserved and general praise. Most of the circumstances have been detailed recently in the public press. The Very Rev. A. Walsh is Assistant-General. He resides at Santa Monica, Via Sant Uffizio. The summer residence is at Genazzano, about thirty miles from Rome. There is attached to the monastery here a vineyard, while the monastery itself is an extensive pile of buildings, built in the Italian monastic style. Not unfrequently, the Irish Augustinians extend their hospitality to pilgrims to the famous shrine at Genazzano, where is the miraculous picture of the Madonna

of Good Counsel. Genazzano must not be confounded with Genzano, which is also a town somewhat of its population, and about equidistant from Rome. The mistake is sometimes made, and I have known visitors to Genzano who were privileged to see there a painting of the Madonna, leave with the full impression they had actually been to Genazzano, and seen its miraculous picture.

Among the most distinguished Irishmen now at Rome may be mentioned the Most Rev. Father David Fleming, Vicar-General of the Franciscan Order, since August 31st, 1901. It is noteworthy that Father David is the first Irishman who was elected to that position, and is one of the best-known of the illustrious sons of St. Francis. He was born at Killarney, some fifty-five years ago, entered the Order at an early age, and made his studies in Belgium, and returned to England, where he was appointed Lector of Theology. Subsequently he became Provincial, and in 1896, was selected with Father Gasquet, and Monsignor Moyes, as one of the best fitted to represent England in the Papal Commission on the Anglican Orders question. At Rome, he was appointed Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Antony's International College of the Order, and Consultor of the Congregation of the Holy Office. At present his charge numbers over 16,000 friars, of whom 10,000 are priests. The Order is spread through every country in Europe. He is literary, and has taken part in most of the recent Scientific International Congresses, and in the various Congresses of the Third Order of St. Francis. It may be mentioned that, recently, he has been appointed one of the two Secretaries to the Biblical Commission, established by the Pope. Father David is somewhat more than the average height, physically strong, and brimful of good nature. His exceeding geniality causes his society to be very much sought after. The impression generally in Rome is, that there are yet greater honours in store for him.

The Irish Redemptorists at Rome, are represented by the Very Rev John Magnier. Father Magnier was born at Kildorrey, County Cork, June 9th, 1842, and while yet young was engaged in business pursuits at Fermoy. He felt called, however, to the religious life, and with a view to entering the

Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, he studied at the Diocesan College, Fermoy, then presided over by the late Archbishop Croke. In 1866 he entered the Novitiate of the Congregation, at Bishop-Eton, Liverpool, England, and was professed on September 8th, 1867. His ecclesiastical studies were made partly at Wittem, Holland, and partly at Bishop-Eton. On the 20th September, 1873, he was ordained priest; three years later he was appointed Prefect of Studies, and Lector of Moral Theology, which duties he discharged for eleven years. Afterwards he was appointed, in succession, Consultor of the Very Rev. Father Rector, St. Mary's, Chapham, London; Rector of Mount St. Alphonsus, Limerick; Consultor of the Very Rev. Father Provincial, and since 1894, Consultor of the Most Rev. Father-General of the Order at Rome. The Italian climate ill-assorted with his constitution, at no time very robust, but, it is pleasing to know he is now fully recovered, and continues to represent the Order as formerly. He is noted at Rome, for nothing so much as his piety, and is the most gentle and unassuming of men. In everything connected with St. Alphonsus, he is a specialist, and has wonderful souvenirs of the Saint. Several of St. Liguori's works have been edited by him, and issued in a form to bring them within the reach of the poorest. 'Tis agreeable to have the Very Rev. Father Schwartz, the American representative of the Order, co-resident. Father Schwartz, though of German descent, is very sympathetic towards Ireland. The monastery is at St. Alfonso, Via Merulana, and Father Magnier, who is the only Irishman there, is glad of a visit from his compatriots. He is brother of the Rev. Father Michael Magnier, C.S.S.R., Clonard, Belfast.

I may be pardoned for introducing here and there, some of our Irish lay representatives at Rome. The name of Dr. John J. Eyre at once occurs to me, associated as he was with the Irish College. Dr. Eyre is one of the hardest workers in the profession, and all the moments he can spare are devoted to literature. He has translated several important Italian medical works, which have been published in London, and is the author himself of some publications. His *Hygienic Guide to Rome* is very interesting and instructive, and could be read

with profit by intending visitors. He is rightly accredited with bringing before the notice of the English-speaking people, the valuable spas of Italy, which contains more of them than any country of the same extent in Europe. At Salsomaggiore, in Northern Italy, near to Milan, he is the leading English physician, and has been largely instrumental in popularising its curative springs. Here he remains during the summer months, while the winter and spring are spent in Rome. Dr. Eyre is little over the prime of life, having been born in Shanagolden, Limerick, 1852. He studied medicine in Dublin, and practised in England, notably in London, where his medical skill was greatly appreciated. In 1893, he came to Rome, and, since then, has been of what is commonly known as the English Colony. The English Colony simply means those who speak the English language. Among the English-speaking residents and visitors, as a physician, Dr. Eyre is held in the highest esteem, having been the regular or consulting doctor for the Irish, English, American, and Scotch Colleges. He is much devoted to his family, on whose education he spares no pains. As a conversationalist, he is bright and entertaining, his long residence in England, and wide experience since, giving him a grasp of most of the leading and vital questions of the hour. Dr. Eyre is, I believe, one of the most interesting and intellectual men it has been my lot to meet. He lives at Piazza di Spagna, where he is accessible as a physician or a friend.

Rome is the last place in the world one might expect to find the propagators of heresy. But even Rome is not free from their incursions. Various methods have been devised to sap the faith of the young Roman. One while, the proselytisers have operated through the instrumentality of hospices for children; again, through money gifts to attend Protestant church service; and also through free schools. In these schools English was taught, and here there was exceptional opportunity for perverting the faith of the youth. The Protestant English Bible could be used as text book, while Protestant English literature was scattered broadcast. Of course, an interpreter for both was occasionally required, and, thus, poison could be judiciously intermixed with the honey. Not

only the English, but the Americans as well, worked with a zeal that would be highly commendable in a better cause. The American Methodists especially wreaked great havoc, and their dire work was only frustrated by the establishment of the Catholic English free schools. In this Father de Mandato, the distinguished Jesuit of the Gregorian University, and Mr. William Osborne Christmas heartily co-operated. Their best efforts were unable to cope with all the requirements of the case, and additional assistance was indispensable. The Sisters of the Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Via Nazionale, and also the Sisters, Via Sebastianello, did excellent work for the girls, and had already fully equipped their schools which were largely attended. Something more should be done for the boys. In 1896, one of the Irish Bishops transmitted to Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of Propaganda, the petition of Very Rev. Br. R. A. Maxwell, to establish a house in Rome with schools annexed, for the teaching of Commercial English. The matter was referred in due course to the Holy Father, and the decision was received June 11th of the same year. Permission was not, however, formally granted, but the wording of the document left good grounds for hope. For some time the matter was in abeyance, and in 1899, Monsignor Colletti, a distinguished Roman ecclesiastic, on meeting the Irish Christian Brothers at Gibraltar, urged the project, and promised them all his influence at Rome. A petition was now forwarded to Cardinal Jacobini, the recently appointed Vicar of Rome. The reply was favourable, but unfortunately his Eminence died a few months afterwards, and before any decision was arrived at. From the Propaganda the matter was, therefore, transferred to the Vicariate, and from this source eventually the Brothers received the requisite Rescript on the 20th March, 1900, in which the Holy Father granted them full permission to establish themselves at Rome, but, at the same time, owing to circumstances, not to expect from him any pecuniary assistance. The Brothers owe their indebtedness to Monsignor Checchi, Secretary of the Vicariate, who is the distinguished professor of Moral Theology at the Propaganda, and Father Sinibaldi, the ordinary confessor at the Irish College, both of whom

treated them with every consideration. Through the kind offices of Father de Mandato, suitable and commodious premises were secured, at 10 Via Firenze, with an entrance for students from the Via Napoli, at a yearly rental of £135 sterling; and the day-schools were formally opened 10th October, 1900. The night schools commenced 6th November, of the same year, embracing English and French. A small fee is exacted for the day schools, but the evening classes are free. Both schools have been an unprecedented success, and the pupils are now counted by hundreds. The Institution is in charge of the Rev. Brothers Costen, Murphy, Mescall, and Thayne; and it was found necessary, at a very early stage, owing to the rapidly increasing numbers, to call in the assistance of lay professors. It is a coincidence that Ireland, which is accredited with maintaining and spreading the faith over the countries of Europe, in the sixth and seventh centuries, through her missionaries, should now, in the twentieth century, through the Christian Brothers, beneath the very shadow of the Vatican, largely contribute to protect the faith of the Roman youth from the vile inroads of American and English proselytisers.

D. F. M'CREA, M.R.I.A.

(*For the continued*)

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CONDITIONS FOR ACQUIRING AND RETAINING A QUASI-DOMICILE

THE following decision in a matrimonial case given by his Eminence the late Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda has been kindly forwarded to the Editor, with permission to publish it. The case involved a rather unusual set of circumstances, and it will have an interest for many readers of the I. E. RECORD.

BEATISSIME PATER.

N. ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus humiliter exponit casum matrimonialem.

Puella, cui erat maternum domicilium in quadam hujus Dioecesis paroecia, in aliam proxime conterminam ejusdem Dioecesis paroeciam tredecim abluic annis se contulit eo fine ut rei domesticæ duorum coelibum avunculorum ibi simul habitantium curam in se susciperet. Clara, distincta et continua intentio tum puellae tum matris ejus circa durationem hujus commorationis in domo avunculi ea erat ab initio ut *quocumque die alteruter ex avunculis sibi uxorem ducturus esset (et hoc quidem quovis die contingere potuit)*, illa commoratio finem omnino acciperet et puella in domum maternam reverteretur. Hac mente et intentione puella officiis avunculorum domesticis incumbendo duos annos *diu noctuque* ibi commorata est.

Elapsis his duobus annis, unus ex avunculis mortuus est, altero nondum in matrimonio juncto. Deinde puella, consulente matre, pernoctare incipiebat in domo materna, quae, uti antea dictum est, etsi in diversa paroecia, non longe distabat a domo avuncularia. Ea consuetudo scil. transeundo mane in domum avunculi et revertendo noctu ad dormiendum in domum matris, striete et fideliter servabatur per undecim annos. Quo omni tempore, omnino immutata perseverabat intentio puellae abeundi in toto e domo avuncularia et revertendi in domum maternam in quocumque die avunculus in matrimonium iniisset.

Quaeritur igitur 1^o utrum, stante, uti describitur, puellae intentione quoad habitationem, illa acquisiverit quasi-domicilium in paroecia avunculi in ordine ad matrimonium his duobus annis in quibus permanenter diu noctuque ibi habitabat. Et 2^o, Si primæ questioni respondeatur affirmative, utrum puella amiserit

hoc quasi-domicilium in illis undecim subsequentibus annis, die operando in una paroecia et pernoctando in alia.

Addictissimus servus in Christo.

N. N.

March 7th, 1902.

Roma, 18 Marzo, 1902.

Per litteras datas die, 7 vertentis mensis Martii A°. Tu proposuisti dubium de quasi-domicilio in ordine ad matrimonium cuiusdam puellae istius Dioeceseos, quae post continuatam com-morationem duorum annorum apud avunculos postea per successivos undecim annos quotidie se domicilio materno in alia paroecia restituit ad pernoctandum. Respondeo quod licet puella praedicta per duos annos, quibus apud avunculos com-morata est, quasi-domicilium in respectiva paroecia acquisivisset, illud tamen successive amisit, quum nonnisi per diem se illuc contulerit ad operam suam praestandam, ut solent qui officinis aut aliis cuiusmodi negotiis incumbunt. Ego vero Deum precor ut Te diu sospitet.

A. T., Addictissimus Servus.

M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI.

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius*.

Briefly the facts of the case are these. This girl had a parental domicile in parish A. Retaining meanwhile her parental domicile, she went to reside with her uncle in parish B. Her residence in parish B was to be terminated by the marriage of her uncle, which might have come off any day, but might also, as the event proved, be deferred for years. In this way, she resided in her uncle's house, day and night, for two years. Then she changed her mode of residence, and for eleven years she spent the night in her mother's house in parish A, and spent each day at household work in her uncle's house in parish B. At the end of all these years, she thought of getting married herself, and the question arose, Who was her parish priest? The parish priest of parish A, in which she all along retained her domicile, could, without doubt, have validly assisted at her marriage, and his right to do so was not questioned. But the parish priest of parish B also claimed that he was the girl's *proprius parochus*, on the ground that she had a quasi-domicile in his parish.

To clear up the whole matter two questions were sent to Rome :

1. Did this girl acquire a quasi-domicile in her uncle's parish by her residence there for two whole years night and day? The reason for doubting was suggested in the preamble to the question. Two conditions are assigned as necessary to acquire a quasi-domicile—(a) *factum habitationis*, et (b) *intentio manendi per maiorem anni partem*. This girl might seem not to have had the requisite intention. She intended to remain until her uncle's marriage, which might have taken place before the lapse of six months.

2. If the girl did acquire a quasi-domicile during her first two years' residence with her uncle, did she lose that quasi-domicile, when she ceased to remain at night in her uncle's house? There was reason to think that she did lose it. A quasi-domicile is lost when one leaves the quasi-domicile without any intention of returning to it, as to one's place of residence. When this girl ceased to sleep at her uncle's house she left her uncle's parish with no intention of returning to that parish again as her home. For the next eleven years her uncle's house was her place of work, but it was not her residence or her home any longer.

To the second of the questions put, the late Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda returned, as we see in the reply above quoted, a clear and decisive answer. If the girl ever had a quasi-domicile in her uncle's parish, she lost it, we are told, when she changed her mode of residence and ceased to remain in that parish at night. From which, of course, it followed that the claim of the parish priest of the uncle's parish to assist at the girl's marriage as her parish priest could not be maintained.

The reply to the second point settled the whole practical difficulty, and hence, perhaps, no direct reply was given to the first question.

It has been suggested, however, that the form of the reply conveys that, in the opinion of the Cardinal-Prefect, the girl had not acquired a quasi-domicile during her first two years' residence with her uncle. The use of the pluperfect subjunctive, *acquisivisset*, seems to imply, it is suggested, that the

girl had not acquired a quasi-domicile. We cannot accept that interpretation, and for the following reasons. In the first place, we are not to expect the niceties of classical latinity in ecclesiastical documents. And in any case, the use of the indicative mood, *amisit*, seems rather to convey the opposite suggestion, viz., that the girl had actually acquired a quasi-domicile; otherwise why say absolutely that she lost it. Moreover, we should be slow to interpret this reply of the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda in a sense that would conflict apparently, with the now well-known decision of the Congregation of the Holy Office. The Congregation of the Holy Office decided, in a case submitted a few years ago, that actual residence for six months complete was sufficient to acquire a quasi-domicile irrespective of one's intention.¹ And though that decision was given for a particular case, it must have been based, as far as we can see, on a general principle, which would equally apply to the case we are just now considering.² For these reasons we cannot see our way to accept the suggestion that the reply above quoted conveys that this girl did not acquire a quasi-domicile by her first two years' residence in her uncle's parish.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

USE OF GRAMOPHONE IN CHURCH CHOIRS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I was asked lately a rather embarrassing rubrical question *re* a gramophone in a Catholic Church. A gentleman was in possession of a very expensive gramophone, and had a record of a Mass rendered at the Sistine Chapel. Would he be allowed—for the edification of the faithful—the use of the same during divine service. The query was a novel one, and I thought that as long as the manipulator did not put on the wrong record, say, one of Sims Reeves, I could not see any objection to its use. However, I promised to submit the same

¹ *Vide* I. E. RECORD, May, 1899, p. 475.

² *Conf. Feije, De Imped. et Dispens. Matrimonialibus*, 4 ed., p. 133, n. 213.

to the Rubricians of the I. E. RECORD, and bow down to their opinion.

May I ask the Rev. Editor for an answer in the I. E. RECORD, and oblige

YOUR CONSTANT READER.

The idea mentioned in our correspondent's question is, indeed, a novel one. We have considerable misgivings, however, as to the lawfulness of putting it into practice. The Mass as a composition may be quite suitable, and the only question that concerns us is the propriety of rendering it in the manner proposed. The method seems to us to be open to grave objections.

In the first place, the very extensive legislation dealing with the subject of Church music contemplates a choir in which the living human voice plays the most important part, by rendering the ecclesiastical chant with becoming gravity, solemnity and reverence. The laws of the Liturgy prescribing the duties to be fulfilled, and the ceremonies to be observed by the singers were not intended for a counterfeit choir such as would be constituted by the gramophone, which merely reproduces the sounds of various musical instruments including those of the human voice. Then there would, we fancy, be great incongruity in having the responses to the celebrant at the various parts of the Divine Service returned by a mere automaton. Again, the character of Church music ought to be such as to edify the faithful and stimulate their devotion. 'Cantus iste ille est,' says Benedict XIV.,¹ 'qui fidelium animos ad devotionem et pietatem excitat.' Our very limited acquaintance with the gramophone does not warrant us in believing that its introduction into the Church would help towards these ends. The instrument referred to by our correspondent may be very perfect and not in the least conducive to distractions, but we feel the other reasons alleged are fatal. The duty of honouring God by 'psalms and hymns and spiritual canticles' is an act of supreme worship. Surely such an exalted act ought to spring from the noblest faculties of man, who is born, as St. Chrysostom says, to yield to the Creator the

¹ Bulla 'Annus qui,' 19 February, 1749.

homage of his praise. 'Ad hoc enim creatus est homo ut laud et Deum.'² To have recourse, for the performance of this sublime duty, especially during Divine Service, to a vicarious mechanical contrivance, seems to us a grave deordination.

**INDULGENCE ATTACHED TO BLUE SCAPULAR FOR
VISITATION OF THE SICK**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Those who wear the Blue Scapular can gain an indulgence of twenty years whenever they visit the sick and help them corporally or spiritually (*corporaliter vel spiritualiter*).

The question has been raised as to whether this indulgence can be gained either once a day or *toties quoties* by Mary and Elizabeth, whose circumstances are described below.

Mary is a nurse in a nursing institution: she may visit her patient or patients every hour.

Elizabeth, living in her own home, has to attend frequently to a bed-ridden sister.

These two persons doubt whether they can gain the indulgence, and have referred the case to me. Would you kindly give me the benefit of your opinion.—I remain, etc.,

Y^{rs} appa.

The Indulgence of which our correspondent speaks is a Partial Indulgence, and may, therefore, be gained *toties quoties* by those fulfilling the requisite conditions.³ Now, in the present instance, these are, in the words of the *Summarium* of Schneider's collection,⁴ 'Ut quis infirmos invisat et eos corporaliter vel spiritualiter aliquo modo coadjuvet, aut si impediatur pro eis recitet 5 Pater, Ave, et Gloria Patri.' There is no exception made here. Everyone performing the works enjoined may gain the Indulgences, and we see no reason why Mary and Elizabeth may not gain them several times each day as long as either can say to herself that she has fulfilled the requisite conditions. But here is the difficulty. Both are in such close contact with their patients that they may visit them frequently each day, and perhaps it may not be easy to differentiate the visit paid for the purpose of gaining the Indulgence from other visits made with different objects

² St. Chrys. In Psalm 116.

³ Beringer, tom. i., p. 96.

⁴ Rescr. Auth. S. C. Indulg., p. 577.

in view. Nevertheless, we are of opinion that each time Mary goes to see her patient, exclusively, or at least primarily, with the intention of gaining the Indulgence, and ministers some corporal or spiritual assistance at the bedside, she gains the Indulgence. The same may be said of Elizabeth, with the remark that as she is in much closer communication with the invalid, the differentiation we spoke of would be more difficult, perhaps, in her case. Points might be raised as to what part of the house, for instance, Elizabeth should start from in order that she might be able to say she performed a real visit. We may not go into these except to say, in a general way, that such questions must be answered in the light of the common estimation of men. Now, as to reasons for the opinion we advance. The first is we see nothing to the contrary. Again, those hindered by distance or other causes from performing the visit may gain the Indulgence by reciting the prayers mentioned, and they may gain the Indulgence as often as they recite the prayers with the necessary intention. Now, why should Mary and Elizabeth be in a worse position? And they would be if they could not gain the Indulgence frequently during the same day. It is, then, their good fortune that they are so circumstanced, and the work of paying a visit in either case may be almost as onerous as it would be in the case of a next-door neighbour to Elizabeth, about whose qualifications to gain the Indulgence *toties quoties* there can be no doubt.

REQUIEM MASSES IN 'CORPSE HOUSE'

REV. DEAR SIR,— Kindly say in next issue of I. E. RECORD if the altar erected in a private house, on the occasion of a Corpse Mass, may claim the privilege of a private oratory with regard to Requiem Masses.

The altar is erected in the room where the corpse is, or in an adjoining room, and may be there for one or two days, and of course with the approval of the Bishop. The books and some of the decisions given at Rome seem to speak of a private oratory and a portable altar in a private house as one and the same.—I remain, faithfully yours,

SACERDOS.

For all practical purposes we may regard the house in

which Mass is said on the occasion of a death as a Private Oratory for the time being. It certainly has, as regards Requiem Masses, all the privileges enjoyed by the latter. That is to say, granting that there is authorization for saying Mass at all, you can say a Requiem Mass in the corpse-house in the same circumstances and subject to the same conditions under which it is lawful to say it in a Private Oratory. With regard to the phrase 'praesente cadavere,' this is verified even though the remains are not actually present in the *room* in which Mass is celebrated. It is sufficient if they are present in the same *house*. In this connection the words of the Congregation of Rites are, 'praesente cadavere in domo.'⁵

**MASS TO BE SAID AT MONTH'S MEMORY OFFICE HELD
AFTER THE THIRTIETH DAY**

REV. DEAR SIR,—In making arrangements for a Month's Memory Office it sometimes happens that the 30th day falls out to be an inconvenient one, and the Month's Office is postponed to a convenient semi-double of a later date.

Will you kindly say, in your 'Notes and Queries,' which of the four is the correct Mass to be sang on this semi-double, and with what prayer, or prayers.—I am, Very Rev. Sir, faithfully yours,

PAROCHUS.

The Office being postponed not for rubrical reasons, but from motives of general convenience, the special privileges attached to the *thirtieth* day cease, and consequently the Mass to be said on the next suitable semi-double will be the *Missa Quotidiana*. In this Mass the prayers shall be three in number. The first will be taken from the *Orationes Diversae* and proper to the quality and dignity of the deceased: the second is *ad libitum*: and the third must be *Fidelium*.⁶

PATRICK MORRISROE.

⁵ S.C.R., April 3, 1900.

⁶ Cf. Decr. Sac. Rit. Cong., 30 June, 1896.

CORRESPONDENCE

‘KNIGHTS OF FATHER MATHEW’

REV. DEAR SIR,—Since writing the article which, by your courtesy, appeared in your February issue, under the above heading, I have received the subjoined communication, which, I trust, will be deemed of sufficient interest to claim publication :—

‘ Supreme Council,
‘ St. Louis, Mo., *January 27, 1903.*

‘ DEAR FATHER O’BRIEN,—

‘ I trust you will excuse the delay in answering your kind favour, but I have been so crowded with work at this season of the year that I have been unable to give prompt attention to correspondence, not however that I am not pleased to have the honour of a favour from you, and I will be glad to give you any information I may have in regard to our organisation.

The Knights of Father Mathew being an insurance organisation, and having a financial department, is incorporated by the several States in which we operate, and we must receive license each year that we are in sound financial condition to pay our death claims, which is shown by sworn reports which we submit to the State departments each year. *We have found, after 21 years’ experience in America, that the only way in which you can make total abstinence successful among laymen is to give them a financial interest in an organisation.* We boast the proud fact that we have to-day the strongest and largest Catholic total abstinence and fraternal insurance organisation in the world bearing the name of the great Apostle of Temperance. We are increasing splendidly. We make a special feature of the boys and young men, as our experience has taught us that the success of the cause is with the young. The idea of reforming drunkards is an exploded theory : it cannot be done with any success. The place to begin is at the foundation—the *Boy*. We have, of course, many of mature years, and we do not refuse anyone who desires to join us : we are pleased to have them do so. We also admit those who are over the age (50 years) to be admitted to insurance, as honorary members. As regards insurance in Ireland, I am not, of course, well enough informed to say whether it would be successful with you or not—that is a matter for you to decide on—however, form organisations at all hazards. Many of your young men will come to America, and they will be easily got into temperance

organisations here when they have begun it at home. No young Irishman need fear to come to America who is sober ; the destruction of our race in America, as elsewhere, has been *Drink*. You will pardon me in saying that in this the Irish priest has a work at home that will prepare the way to success in the New World for the men of our race. We are proud of our sober Irishmen in America, and any disgrace or shame that has come to us, of Irish blood, has been through the curse of drink. I am glad to know that the Irish priests are taking up this work ; we, too, are receiving noble support from our young priests.

' You ask me how we began our organisation. The first step taken was that a few who were interested in the work called a meeting to which each one invited a friend ; the beginning was small—only fourteen. At this meeting it was decided to organise, and to apply to the State for incorporation. The State, after going through the necessary legal process, granted us a charter, the same as it does to other corporations. Next, meetings were called in the several parishes, and what we call " Councils " were organised, and these are under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council or the supreme officers. We have an office, and these subordinate councils report each month those admitted, expelled, etc.

' It is hard for me to explain in a letter all the details, but you will find them in the Constitution I sent you. I hesitate to advise you how you should proceed—as I said before, I am not familiar with local conditions in Ireland—but, if you think it advisable, organise the young men, make them pay some small amount each month, and in case of sickness you could pay them so much a week. I don't suppose you could organise on our plan, as I am fully aware the poor people of Ireland cannot find money so easily.

' Now, Father, I have tried to make up for my delay by this long letter, and if there are any other matters you desire explained, or printed matter, I will be pleased to give it at any time. We in America want to see those of our blood at home and abroad sober, and, if they are, *they will lead the world*.

' With sincere regards and best wishes for your success in the cause, believe me, sincerely yours,

' THOMAS S. BOWDERN, Supreme Recorder.'

For myself, I cannot see why such an organisation should not be perfectly practical, and feasible, in every parish in Ireland. In this very parish from which I write (and, of course, it is only one of a large number) there is an English insurance company working amongst the poor ; they have a resident agent who collects the weekly premiums, differing in amount, but the maximum is only a few pence. When death occurs, they pay the sum insured to the relatives. I don't quite know

what they do in the event of sickness. Now, why not have a Catholic Irish society, *plus the temperance feature?*

A good deal of very interesting correspondence on temperance has lately appeared in your pages; with much that has been said I am in cordial agreement, but with the following paragraph I am not:—

‘It seems to me not only inopportune but absurd to *aim* at making the Irish people all total abstainers: inopportune, because it turns away sensible people by proposing to them an ideal that is impracticable, however desirable; *absurd because it tries to achieve the impossible.*’

That it is highly improbable that all shall become total abstainers, I freely admit, but that it is impossible, I deny. May I remind the writer that Theobald Mathew had five millions on his roll, that is, considerably more than the total population of Ireland to-day, and considerably more than half the population of his own day? Now, if Theobald Mathew was able to do this, unaided and alone, why should it be impossible for 3,000 priests to do as much? I firmly believe that if *all* the clergy were total abstainers to-morrow, *all* the people would follow suit. We ought at least *aim* at making all total abstainers, even though we only succeed in making half. It is just as absurd, impracticable, impossible, chimerical, to try to make *all* men chaste, honest, charitable, and yet I hope we are making the attempt.

WALTER O'BRIEN, C.C.

‘IS OUR EARTH ALONE INHABITED?’ A CORRECTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—I feel under an obligation to Rev. Father Selley, and to your readers as well as to myself, to point out a mistake in my article on the above subject, published in the February issue of the I. E. RECORD—a mistake which I regret did not occur to me till after the number was made up. True, it was only a little slip, yet the consequences of it are somewhat portentous.

On p. 137, I wrote: ‘A man who weighs ten stone on our earth, would on Jupiter, weigh about 3,100 stone; or between nineteen and twenty *tons.*’

Through some inadvertance, I did not take into consideration the fact that astronomers, in making their calculations, always take the *centre* of a planet, and never the *surface*, as the point

from which the force of gravity is supposed to act. Consequently, although it remains perfectly true that an object which weighs *ten stone*, when placed at a certain given distance, say 50,000 miles from the *earth's centre*, would, if placed at the SAME distance from *Jupiter's centre*, weigh 3,100 stone, or between *nineteen and twenty tons*. Nevertheless, the same conclusion cannot be drawn when the weight of an object placed on the surface of the earth is compared with the weight of the same object, when placed on the surface of Jupiter. Because, an object, lying on the earth's *surface is within 4,000 miles of the centre of attraction*, whereas an object lying on the *surface of Jupiter is about 44,000 miles from its centre of attraction—i.e.*, eleven times the distance—due, of course, to the difference in their respective diameters.

Now, since the force of attraction (as I pointed out on p. 137) is inversely proportional to the square of the distance, we must, in this case, not only multiply ten stone by 310, as before, but having done so, we must then proceed to divide that again by the square of the distance, *i.e.*, $11^2 = 121$. Now $\frac{3100}{121}$ is about 26. So, as a matter of fact, a man who on the surface of the earth weighs ten stone would, on the surface of Jupiter, weigh only about sixteen stone more, or, in all, about 26 stone.

The slip does not, of course, destroy my argument, for limbs and muscles carefully adjusted to support a weight of only ten stone would be utterly oppressed and overburdened if called upon to support a weight of even twenty-six stone. Still, I must admit, with humble apologies, that twenty-six stone is a very different thing to twenty tons!

From this point of view, Jupiter was a most unfortunate planet to select, since it is so exceedingly *light, as compared with its size*. Were it of the same consistency as our earth, then, instead of multiplying ten stone by 310, we should have had to multiply it by 1200 ($10 \times 1200 = 12,000$), and divide that by the square of the distance (thus $\frac{12000}{121}$), which would give us, in round numbers, 100 stone, or considerably more than half a ton! And what man of average size could carry such a crushing burden continually weighing him down?—I am, yours etc.,

JOHN S. CANON VAUGHAN.

Westminster, S.W., February 5, 1903.

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In Father Boyle's interesting article on the 'Catholic University of Paris,' in your January Number, there occurs a passage (p. 106) which is calculated to lead your readers into error. Father Boyle rightly distinguishes between the *doctorat simple* and the *doctorat d'agrégation* (equivalent to a Fellowship), but he wrongly insinuates that a thesis is required only for the latter.

In point of fact, a printed, or lithographed, thesis must be presented for each doctorate.

It is, moreover, difficult, not to say impossible, to obtain the doctorate at the end of the second year of residence, seeing that the thesis cannot be sustained until the so-called preliminary examination for the doctorate, which takes place at the end of the second year, has been successfully passed.—Faithfully yours,

CYON.

London, 14/2/'03.

DOCUMENTS

CONSUETUDO THURIFICANDI STATUAS

LUGANEN. CIRCA CONSUETUDINEM THURIFICANDI STATUAS IN CASU.

Hodiernus Rmus Episcopus Administrator Apostolicus Pagi Ticinensis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur dubia pro solutione humiliter exposuit ; nimirum :

In aliquibus parocciis huius Dioceseos ritu Ambrosiano utentibus, occurrentibus solemnitatibus patronalibus ceterisque Festis cum exteriori pompa concursuque populi concelebratis, simulacrum Sancti, cuius solenni perficiuntur, prius in medio templi exponi, deinde, pomeridianis horis, a sodalibus Confraternitatis in respectiva parocchia erectae, processionaliter deferri solet.

Hisce in adiunctis ab immemorabili viget consuetudo, ut, sive mane ad Offertorium Missae sollemnis, sive post meridiem dum canitur *Magnificat* inter Vesperas, ab eo qui Diaconi munere fungitur, nonnullis Confraternitatis sodalibus cum intortitiis comitantibus, post Cleri incensationem, haec sacra Icon thure addeatur. Hinc quaeritur :

I. An tolerari possit praefata consuetudo, nempe ut huiusmodi thurificatio fiat, uti supra describitur, a Diacono?

II. Et quatenus *negative* ad I, an statuac in medio ecclesiae eminentis incensatio, tum intra Missam tum intra Vesperas prorsus omittenda sit?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature perpensa, respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative*.

Ad II. Attenta consuetudine, thurificari potest praedicta statua in Vesperis dumtaxat, ab ipsomet celebrante, post incensationem SSmi Sacramenti, ad normam Decreti n. 3547, *Sanc-torich.* 4 Maii 1882.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 28 Novembris 1902.

D. Card. FERRATA, S. C. R. Pro-Praef.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.

COMMISSION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE FAITH
IN THE CITY OF ROME

INSTITUITUR COMMISSIO PRO MODERANDO AC PROMOVENDO PIO
OPERE PRAESERVATIONIS FIDEI, IN URBE.

LEO PP. XIII.

Motu proprio,

Litteras ante annos duos dedimus ad Virum Eminentissimum vice Nostra Romae fungentem, quibus effrenatam licentiam adsertoribus haeresum ipsa in Urbe permitti dolebamus. Hanc enim civitatem catholici nominis principem Divina Providentia constituit, unamque delegit ex omnibus unde in universum terrarum orbem, quemadmodum tot saecula factum potestate libera est, evangelicae doctrinae lumen diffunderetur. Quod quidem nobilissimum planeque divinum Romanae Sedis officium aperte declarat quam sit iniquum et quanto cum discrimine coniunctum ut templa heic et scholae ab haeresum propagatoribus aperiantur, pravis infensisque opinionibus Nostro in grege disseminandis. Ut hisce igitur novis incommodis, quantum quidem erat in nobis, occurreremus, recens opus *Praeservationis Fidei*, quod nostris consiliis ac studiis fuerat excitatum, libentissime probavimus. Verum accrescunt misere in dies pericula et damna, ob eamque rem Apostolicae sollicitudinis caritate impulsus, laudatum opus firmiore instruere praesidio statuimus ac deliberavimus, peculiare consilium S. R. E. Cardinalium eidem moderando praeicientes. Hinc sane Curiones Urbani, quorum navitati vel maxime hac in re confidimus, maiora habebunt adiumenta ad sacerdotii partes cumulate omnique cum fructu explendas; hinc etiam animos ad maiora praestanda egregii viri sument, qui nomen ad hoc usque tempus amplificando operi magna cum laude dederunt.

Quamobrem praesenti Motu proprio Consilium seu *Commissionem* instituimus Operi *Praeservationis Fidei* moderando ac promovendo. Haec autem *Commissio* e nonnullis, quos Pontifex designaverit, S. R. E. Cardinalibus constabit; eligimus vero primos

SERAPHINUM CRETONI

FRANCISCUM DE PAULA CASSETTA

PETRUM RESPIGHI

SEBASTIANUM MARTINELLI

IOSEPHUM CALASANCTIUM VIVES

Quibus autem muneribus atque officiis supradictum Consi-

lium incumbere debeat, quibusque regendum sit legibus proprio documento praescribimus.

Haec interim decreta rata et firma, consistere auctoritate Nostra volumus et iubemus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die vicesima quinta Novembris MDCCCII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quinto.

LEO PP. XIII.

THE LITURGICAL COMMISSION

DECRETUM. INSTITUITUR COMMISSIO HISTORICO-LITURGICA.

Sacra Rituum Congregatio, probante Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone PP. XIII, peculiarem Commissionem historico-liturgicam constituit quam constare voluit ex quinque eximiis sacerdotibus RR. DD. Aloysio Duchesne, Iosepho Wilpert, Francisco Eherle, Iosepho Roberti, Humberto Benigni et Ioanne Mercati. Atque insuper, annuente eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, Sacra eadem Congregatio sibi facultatem reservavit seligendi in posterum nonnullos socios consulentes qui ad opus apti videantur.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 28 Novembris 1902.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Pro-Praef.*

L. ✙ S.

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicea., Secret.*

THE SANCTUARY OF EMMAUS

ORDINIS MINORUM SANCTI FRANCISCI TERRAE SANCTAE RESCRIPTUM
IN FAVOREM INSTAURATI SANCTUarii EMMAUNTINI

Hodiernus Reverendissimus Pater Custos Terrae Sanctae a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII. supplicem efflagitavit, ut donec officia cum Missis propriis pro Sanctuariis Terrae Sanctae Apostolicae sanctioni subijcienda, approbentur, in Sanctuario Apparitionis Domini Nostri Jesu-Christi resurgentis Discipulis in Castello Emmaus celebrari possint :

I. Missa de Sanctissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento cum epistola et Evangelio desumptis ex missa Feriae secundae post Pascha ;

II. Missa *In virtute* cum eodem Evangelio in honorem Sancti Cleophae Martyris ;

III. Missa *Statuit* cum hoc ipso Evangelio in honorem Sancti Simeonis Episcopi et Martyris.

Insuper idem orator expetivit, ut huiusmodi Missas celebrare fas sit quibuslibet Sacerdotibus in omnibus et singulis Sanctuarii supradicti altaribus.

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, vigore facultatum sibi specialiter ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro tributarum, attentis expositis peculiaribus adiunctis et prae habito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, praefatas Missas ita approbavit et concessit, ut tantummodo ad annum legi vel cantari possent in praedicto Sanctuario in Festis respectivis, sive singulorum Sanctorum Cleophae et Simeonis, et etiam extra illa festa, quo in casu in omnibus Altaribus Missa Mysteriorum, et in propriis Altaribus aliae Missae de duobus Sanctis, a quolibet Sacerdote etiam peregrino, singulis per annum diebus (dici possint), exceptis duplicibus primae et secundae classis, Dominicis, aliisque Festis de praecepto servandis, Feriis, Vigiliis, Octavisque privilegiatis, et quoad Missam de Mysteriorum etiam excepto alio Festo Domini occurrente : servatis de cetero Rubricis et Decretis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 8 Augusti 1902.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

FEAST OF THE HOLY FAMILY IN CONCURRENCE WITH THE FEAST OF THE CROWN OF THORNS

DIVIDANTUR VESPERAE, QUANDO FESTUM S. FAMILIAE CONCURRIT
CUM FESTO SS. CORONAE SPINEAE

Rmus Dnus Onesimus Machez, canonicus ecclesiae Cathedralis Atrebaten. et extensor Kalendarii dioecesanii, de licentia Rmi. sui Ordinarii a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione sequentis dubii humillime resolutionem expostulavit, nimirum : Quomodo anno proximo 1902 ordinandae sint Vesperae festi Sanctae Familiae Nazarenae quod, ex Apostolica concessione, transfertur ad feriam V post Cineres, et ita concurrat, cum primis Vesperis SSmae Coronae Spineae cujus officium apponitur insequenti die?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque rite perpensis, rescribendum censuit: *Dividantur Vesperae juxta Rubricas.*

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 4 Martii 1901.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

LEO XIII. AND MGR. DUPANLOUP

LEO XIII GRATULATUR EPISCOPO AURELIANENSI DE CELEBRANDIS
SOLLEMNIIS, ANNIVERSARIO RECURRENTE CENTESIMO A NATIVI-
TATE EPISCOPI FELICIS DUPANLOUP

Venerable Frere, Salut et Benediction Apostolique.

Grande a été Notre joie d'apprendre que vous et vos prêtres aviez formé le projet de célébrer solennellement le centenaire de la naissance de Félix Dupanloup.

En cette circonstance, Nous voulons vous témoigner hautement Notre approbation pour ces sentiments de reconnaissance qui sont tout à l'honneur de vos coopérateurs, élevés au sacerdoce par ce pasteur éminent. En des temps où la vérité et la justice sont traitées en ennemies, c'est d'un grand et efficace exemple que de rappeler, dans une cérémonie solennelle, le souvenir du vaillant soldat qui soutint tant de combats, surtout pour les droits et la liberté du Pontife romain.

Aussi, ce Nous est un espoir assuré que la mémoire toujours en honneur de cet homme illustre affermira chez les clercs la volonté de conserver inébranlable leur union avec la Chaire de Pierre. Nous louons donc, comme il le mérite, chacun de vous, et en témoignage de Notre bienveillance, à vous et à vos prêtres, Nous vous donnons, avec toute la tendresse que Nous avons pour vous en Notre Seigneur, Notre Bénédiction Apostolique.

Donné à Rome, près Saint Pierre, la vingt-cinquième année de Notre pontificat.

LEON XIII.

INDULGENCES FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM. CHAMBERIENSIS. DE
SURDO-MUTIS QUOAD LUCRANDAS INDULGENTIAS.

Quamvis hæc S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis præposita, ut suppleretur impotentiae, qua surdo-muti detinentur recitandi perces ad lucrandas indulgentias iniunctas, iam providerit per Generale Decretum diei 10 Februarii 1852, in quo edixit: '*Quod si agatur de privatis orationibus, proprii mutorum et surdorum confessarii valeant easdem orationes commutare in alia pia opera aliquo modo manifestata, prout in Dno. expedire indicaverint*'; nihilominus Episcopus Chamberiensis animo revolvens surdo-mutos nunc perfectiori methodo esse instructos, ut ipsi facilius et uberiori spiritali fructu Indulgentias

assequi valeant, sequens dubium huic S. Congregationi dirimendum exhibuit :

‘ Utrum expediat, ut surdo-mutis, quin in singulis casibus ad proprium confessarium recurrant, per generale decretum gratia concedatur acquirendi Indulgentias, iniunctas preces signis, vel mente fundendo, vel tantum easdem legendo sine ulla pronuntiatione? ’

Emi. Patres in generalibus Comitibus ad Vaticanum habitis die 15 Julii huius decurrentis anni responderunt :

Affirmative ; et supplicandum SSmo. pro gratia, firmo manente decreto generali diei Februarii 1812.

In audientia vero habita ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto die 18 Julii anni praedicti, SSmus. sententiam Emorum Patrum approbavit et petitam gratiam clementer elargitus est.

Datum Romae ex Secr. eiusdem S. C. die 18 Julii 1902.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANC. SOGARO, *Archiep. Amiden., Secr.*

IOS. M. CANCUS. COSELLI, *Subtus.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SUMMA THEOLOGICA AD MODUM COMMENTARII IN AQUINATIS SUMMAM, Tomus IV., Tractatus De Deo-Homine, Pars Prior, Christologia pp. 870; Tomus V., Tractatus De Deo-Homine, Pars Altera, Mariologia—Soteriologia, pp. 1021. Auctore Laurentio Janssens, S.T.D. Friburgi Brisgoviae, Sumptibus Herder.

TRACTATUS DE BEATISSIMA VIRGINE MARIA MATRE DEI, pp. 484. Auctore Alexio Maria Lépicier. Parisiis, Sumptibus P. Lethielleux.

TRACTATUS DE SANCTISSIMA TRINITATE, pp. 483. Auctore Alexio Maria Lépicier. Parisiis, Sumptibus P. Lethielleux.

WE offer our congratulations to Father Janssens on the publication of these additional volumes of his able commentary on the *Summa* of St. Thomas. Many works have been published bearing the title: Commentary on St. Thomas. Some of these have been commentaries only in name. The volumes of Father Janssens are, however, commentaries on St. Thomas not merely in name, but also in reality. They contain a commentary on the text of the *Summa*. When reading them the *Summa* itself must be open, since the text is not embodied in the work. The addition of the text would be a great convenience to readers, though this would add immensely to the size of the volumes, already great in their number of pages.

These volumes are a commentary on St. Thomas, but they are much more. They are not confined to a mere textual criticism. They discuss the subjects discussed by St. Thomas. Every aspect of these subjects is laid bare to the reader's gaze. Patristic teaching receives its full share of attention. The views of many schools of Catholic theology are placed before the student. The rival systems of St. Thomas and Scotus are brought into sharp contrast. We notice that, in his admirable chapter on the doctrine of St. Thomas on the Immaculate Conception, Father Janssens holds that St. Thomas denied the Immaculate Conception. In this he agrees with Father Lépicier,

who treats the same subject very ably in his Tract on the Blessed Virgin. If the doctrines of the Fathers and of the divergent schools of Catholic thought are thoroughly discussed in these volumes, so too are the views of modern as well as ancient opponents of Christianity. In this connection we may call the attention of our readers to Father Janssens' chapter on the modern theosophists' views of the Incarnation. Annie Besant, Madame Blavatsky, and their followers, receive a patient hearing and a logical criticism.

The great defect in these volumes is their apparent want of unity. This must be so. Being commentaries on a text, they could not well avoid this danger. Father Janssens, however, has done much to overcome this difficulty by little schemata which he has added to each chapter. These schemata are admirable in their way. They give a connected and scientific view of the subject under discussion. They go far to make the want of unity be more apparent than real.

Father Lépiciér in his two works follows a different method of treating his subject. His books are not commentaries on St. Thomas, though St. Thomas is, generally speaking, his great theological guide. We get an idea of Father Lépiciér's method of treating theological subjects from an incidental statement which we find on page 191 of his Tract on the Trinity. His words are useful in themselves, so we think it well to quote them: '*Pessima enim ratiocinandi est illa methodus qua aliquid sententiae valor non intrinseca ejus veritate, sed utilitate mensuratur; nec magis est rectae rationi consentanea illa via, quam tamen multi hisce temporibus ingressi sunt, qua videlicet quaestiones theologicae potius doctorum extrinseca auctoritate, quam argumentorum intrinseco robore, dirimere contendunt.*' As Father Lépiciér preaches so he practises. He is more intent on finding truth in theological discussions than in discovering the authors who were on one side and the other. He is temperate in his views and cogent in his reasoning. His works, too, breathe a spirit of devotion which is rare in scholastic treatises. We recommend his two volumes to students of theology and to preachers of the Word of God.

J. M. H.

COMMENTARIORUM IN VET. TEST. Pars I., in Libros Historicos III. 3, *Josue*. Auctore Fr. Hummelauer, S.I. Parisiis, 1903. 10.50 francs.

THIS commentary on the Book of Josue, by Father de Hummelauer, is the latest instalment of the great *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae*, by the Jesuit Fathers, a work which, when completed, will be a monument of patient industry and profound scholarship, in every way worthy of the best traditions of the great Order to which we are indebted for it.

In the present work, Father de Hummelauer devotes nearly a hundred pages to the Introduction to Josue, and many questions of far-reaching interest are discussed. By a comparison of the present Hebrew text with Lucian's Recension of the LXX as edited by de Lagardi in 1883, and with the Textus Receptus of the LXX, he shows that we are far from possessing at present a perfect text of Josue. The differences between the Hebrew and Greek are numerous, and of such a kind as to seem to prove that they are in many cases due to the work of revisers, who were endeavouring to simplify or elucidate the text. He concludes that the Hebrew text was for long in an unsettled condition, and rejects unhesitatingly the claims of Josephus and Philo that the Jews had always possessed a fixed and stereotyped text of their Scriptures. While admitting that the Greek of Josue is not perfect, he holds, and in our opinion, proves that it is decidedly superior to the present Hebrew.

He discusses and rejects the view so commonly held by the critics, that Josue and the five Books of the Pentateuch are homogeneous, and compiled from the same sources; and with the name Hexateuch, as implying this homogeneity, he will have nothing to do.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the work is that in which our author discusses the sources and authorship of the Book of Josue. He holds, as many Catholics indeed held before him, that the Book is called the Book of Josue not because Josue is its author, but because he is its hero. Who the author was is unknown, but he wrote some time between the death of Josue and the reign of David.

As to the sources of our present Josue, the following is a brief summary of the author's view. The chief source were *annals*, which described from year to year in the order of their occurrence the deeds of Josue, the wars he waged, the battles

he won, the distribution he made of the land of Canaan, and contained also an account of his death. Such annals, as the simplest form of history, are known to have existed among the most ancient nations, as, for instance, the Assyrians; and that they were used in the compilation of our present Josue is held to be proved by the occurrence in two passages: xi. 2, 3; xiv. 15 of the formula, 'and the land rested from war.' This was a favourite formula of annalists, and its presence, especially in the second passage referred to, where it is out of joint with the context, is held to prove that the writer of Josue used annals. And this is rendered all the more probable by the fact that the Jews, from the time of their acquaintance with a literary people, such as the Egyptians were, would be likely to compose and preserve annals.

From these annals, then, according to our author, the Book of Josue was compiled, a religious book from historical annals. So far, indeed, there is nothing new in the view, for such great Scripture scholars as Masius, Simon, A Lapide, and Bellarmine held the same view long ago. But our author goes farther, and holds that the book compiled from the annals was not our present Josue, but what he calls 'Josue primigenius,' from which, by means of some abbreviations and changes (*quasdam imminutiones et mutationes*), our present Josue was produced. If the reader ask: Where did inspiration come in? our author replies: Wherever, and as far as, it was necessary to secure that the result should be the Word of God.¹ Of the commentary itself the exigencies of space forbid us to say much. We cannot, however, close this notice without directing attention to the author's interpretation of the famous passage in the tenth chapter, where we are told that 'the sun stood still in the midst of heaven' (Josue x. 13). We need hardly say that until the publication of the Copernican System in the sixteenth century, indeed until the time of Galileo in the seventeenth, this passage was commonly taken to mean that at the prayer of Josue the sun was miraculously stopped in its course. In later times it has been as commonly taken to mean that our earth was stopped in its revolution round its own axis. But,

¹ 'Tantum in variis, qui libro manum applicuere, auctoribus, amanuensibus, glossatoribus, restitutoribus, paraphrasis adstruas divinae providentiae adminiculum, quantum requiri existimaveris, ut hic liber vere sit verbum Dei. Non enim ex ipsa *libri indole* motibusque in legentium animis excitatis cum veteribus protestantibus, libri inspirationem inferimus, sede *testimonio magistrali ecclesiae*.'—p. 11.

according to our author, neither sun nor earth stood still, but the miracle is to be explained in this way. A violent and miraculous hailstorm (Josue x. 11) darkened the whole face of heaven, so that it seemed as if night had fallen. Josue prayed for light to continue the battle against the Amorrites, his prayer was heard forthwith; darkness at once ceased for the Hebrews, and it seemed as if night had been succeeded by a new day. We leave to others to decide whether this view satisfactorily explains the text.² We have noticed it both because of its own interest, and to show that our author is not afraid, where he thinks it necessary, and where no ecclesiastical tradition seems to bind him, to depart from the beaten track. For the work as a whole we have nothing but praise. Father de Hummelauer's mastery of Hebrew and his familiarity with the ancient and modern commentaries on Josue are apparent on every page. In some instances we should hesitate about adopting his conclusions, but one must always respect his arguments and admire his scholarship.

J. McR.

PSALLITE. Freiburg: Herder. 2s.

THIS well printed work contains a carefully made selection of English hymns, one hundred and sixty in number, all set to music. They are followed by hymns and litany for Benediction, and by morning and evening prayers. The work is admirably suited for choirs and confraternities. If we might, however, suggest what seems to be an improvement in the wording of a favourite hymn, viz., 'I'll sing a hymn to Mary,' it would be this: 'When wicked men forget thee,' sounds much better than 'When wicked men *blaspheme* thee.' Over and over again the word here italicised, sung as it was with most determined emphasis, sent a thrill of horror through a certain listener, till at last he got his choir to change it into 'forget.' To forget the Blessed Virgin is bad enough for reprobation, and there is little likelihood that the devout worshippers who sing this beautiful hymn will ever be pained by witnessing any deeper degree of wickedness.

F. O'L.

² It is to be noted that in Josue x. 14 the words 'so long,' or any equivalent, are not read in either the Hebrew or Greek.

FIRST LESSONS IN THE SCIENCE OF THE SAINTS. By R. J. Meyer, S.J. Herder. Price, 5s.

It is the author's purpose, as he tells us in his preface, to treat of those subjects which have often afforded matter for consideration during the annual retreat, such as mortification, humility, etc. All are well and practically treated. Minute directions on certain points show that the writer is well versed in the inner life, and experienced in helping beginners to surmount the difficulties they must encounter on the way to perfection. The book will prove helpful to many.

F. O'L.

BIBLISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT. Herder. 12s. annually.

THE establishment of this new periodical is part of the noble response made by the clergy in Germany and Austria to the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. In furtherance of the Pope's wish that Catholic *savants* should devote themselves more to Biblical studies, a number of learned priests, with Dr. Bardenhewer, of Munich, at their head, began some years ago to issue the *Biblische Studien*, and now, in connection with that series, a still larger number of priests have founded the *Biblische Zeitschrift*. Needless to say, this periodical represents the acme of Catholic scholarship in Germany. It is the counterpart of the *Revue Biblique* in France. Among the names of the contributors it will be enough to mention those of Ehrhard, Knabenbauer, Schanz, and Zapletal. The first number, which has just been issued, contains articles on questions of vital interest, and reviews and classified lists of books, which will be found most useful. We wish the new serial all success.

R. W.

THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. By Dr. Nicholas Gihl. Herder. Price 15s.

PRIESTS in these countries will welcome the translation of Dr. Gihl's great work on the Mass. The fact that no fewer than six editions of the original have appeared, and that almost every German priest's library contains a copy, is no doubt sufficient testimony to its excellence. The dogmatic portion, or the First Book, contains an exposition of the nature of sacrifice in

general, and then of that of the cross which is continued daily on our altars. To quote the learned author's words: 'As the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is the centre of Catholic life and worship, a more profound knowledge of the Mass is considered essential for all the faithful, but especially for the priest.' The Second Book, which is historical, liturgical, and ascetical, treats of the prayers and ceremonies of the Mass, from the Introit to the Last Gospel. The origin and meaning of everything is admirably explained. The words of the *Missal* are given *in extenso* and each part is followed by a copious commentary based on the liturgies, the works of the Fathers, the great theologians, and the liturgical writers. Some idea may be formed of the thoroughness of Dr. Gihl's labour of love when it is known that he quotes from about two hundred sources of information. Nothing in the whole range of ecclesiastical literature appears to have escaped him. He tells us that his object has been to enable his fellow-priests to say Mass with all reverence and devotion, and he has certainly succeeded in his noble endeavour. We do not know of any other books so suitable as a gift to a person on his ordination, and we hope that before long a copy of it will be found on every priest's table.

F. H. D.

HORÆ SENEFFICAE, Nos I, II. The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac. The Didascalia Apostolorum in English. By Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S., LL.D. Cambridge University Press.

THE *Didascalia*, which appears from internal evidence to have been written early in the third century, is undoubtedly one of the most valuable works that have come down to us. It is especially interesting to the student of canon law or of liturgy, containing as it does many regulations that were in force during the sub-apostolic period. The work might almost be described as a manual for Bishops in the government and administration of their dioceses. The only view taken of Bishops is that of their being *rulers*, they are regarded exclusively in relation to the inferior clergy and the laity of their respective dioceses; hence there was no occasion to mention their own subjection to the Pope, the supreme head of the Catholic Church. Reference

to this subordination would have been irrelevant. We cannot, therefore, regard the writer's silence on a point which did not fall within his scope, as noteworthy or significant. We know, however, that if he had occasion to speak about it, he would have professed his belief in the Papal Supremacy, else he would not have been a Catholic. We are sure that he would have agreed with the Bishop of Antioch who, addressing the Church of Rome, said of it *ἡ τις καὶ προκαθῆσαι ἐν τοπῷ χωρίου Ρωμαίων*, and of the Bishop of Lyons, who said of it: 'Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potiozem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est quae est ab apostolis traditio.'

Though Lagarde, who first published the Syriac version of the lost Greek text, was of opinion that the author of the *Didascalia* belonged to the sect of the Audæans, there is nothing in the work to justify the surmise; on the contrary, there is an utter absence of anthropomorphism, and the few theological statements that occur are perfectly orthodox. Rothe and Hilgenfeld conjectured that the author was a Judaizing Christian, but as Funk shows,¹ this can hardly have been the case. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the author addresses his work to the Catholic Church! As is well known, the first six Books of the so-called Apostolic Constitutions are only an amplification of the *Didascalia*, and stand in the same relation to it, that the Seventh Book does to the *Didache*. St. Epiphanius knew and esteemed the *Didascalia*, and, though its influence may have been limited, yet the Verona fragments of a Latin version discovered by Hauler, and the Arabic and Ethiopic versions are an indication that in some places it was regarded with interest or with respect. Its mention of Subdeacons (c. III.) and of a Lector (c. IX.) deserves notice, but it need scarcely be said that the ascription of the work itself to the Apostles does not.

As regards the present edition and translation, both are entitled to the highest praise. Mrs. Gibson's Syriac text represents a recently discovered Mesopotamian MS., and both supplementary passages and variants taken from other MSS. are added, so that now we have a thoroughly reliable critical text. We have read only a portion of L'Abbé Nau's French translation of the *Didascalia*, but, excellent though it is, it does not surpass Mrs. Gibson's English one; and the value of her work is

¹ *Die Apostolischen Constitutionen*, pp. 57, 58.

enhanced by a classified list of the very numerous quotations from the Old and the New Testaments.

R. W.

APOSTOLIC ORDER AND UNITY. Bruce. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

It is satisfactory to observe the growing interest on the part of some, unhappily outside the Church, in the history of the Apostolic Age. Time was when sincere and well-meaning Protestants knew little and cared less for information about Catholic beliefs and practices in early centuries, about the Epistles of a Pope like St. Clement, or of a Bishop like St. Ignatius of Antioch. The indifference has in certain minds disappeared, but a want of perception of what the Apostolic Fathers held unfortunately continues. This, however, is not to be wondered at, for no conscientious man could understand it and remain a Protestant. The writer of the little work now before us has read the New Testament and the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, but many things contained therein have escaped his notice. He passes over the mention in the Epistle to the Hebrews of Our Lord's being a priest according to the order of Melchisedech and of the Christian altar, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians of the Sacrifice which shall be offered in commemoration of Christ's death until He shall come, in the synoptic Gospels of Our Lord's command to do it in memory of Him, and then he calmly adds: 'Nothing can be more evident than that there were no priests, altars, or sacrifices, in the Christian synagogues before the fall of Jerusalem.' When will the 'mystery of Faith' be known throughout Great Britain, as it was up to the mis-named Reformation? Would that those outside the Church would read Father Dalgairn's *Blessed Sacraments*, or Gibr's *Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*!

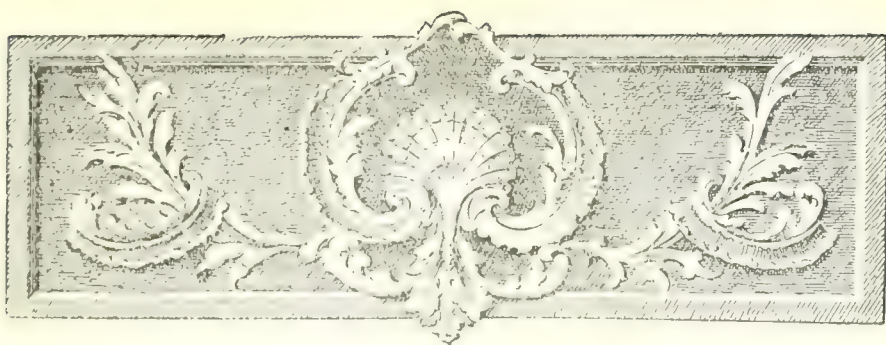
R. W.

BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Sumptibus et Typis Friderici Pustet. 1902. 28s.

WE have great pleasure in introducing this edition of the Breviary to the notice of our clerical readers. It realises all the conditions which the most fastidious taste could desire. Each quarter may be conveniently carried in the pocket.

The letterpress is clear and the binding neat and serviceable. The Rubrics in the beginning of the winter quarter are up to date, while, of course, the possessor of this Breviary will enjoy the advantage and satisfaction of having immediate access to all the new offices. What more is wanted except, indeed, that an Irish priest might fairly ask, Why not give us an Irish edition of the Breviary? We should add that there are different sizes of the Pustet Breviary, and probably an elderly priest with weak sight would prefer a size larger than that of the copy which the editor of the I. E. RECORD has been kind enough to send us for review. The work may be ordered through any of our city booksellers.

T. P. G.



DR. STARKIE AND CATHOLIC CLERICAL NATIONAL SCHOOL MANAGERS

ON the 11th September, 1902, an event of considerable importance to the Catholic Church in Ireland occurred in the city of Belfast. The annual Meeting of the British Association was being held there, and William J. M. Starkie, Esq., M.A., Resident Commissioner of the Board of National Education—the virtual head and controller of the system—read a ‘paper’ for the assembled ‘savants,’ on a subject closely associated with his position, and therefore one on which he was supposed to descant with reliable information and unquestionable authority. He was in fighting form in the assembly; and, seemingly enraged by the remembrance of what he regarded as wrongs done him by members of the Catholic ecclesiastical body of Ireland. In Belfast, and before an audience of non-Catholics, he saw his opportunity for retaliation; and, accordingly, he availed of it unmercifully and unsparingly, till the Catholic clerical managers in Ireland were held up to public reproach and a desire propagated to deprive them of their positions and trusts. Loud applause greeted his action. Admiration of it was as unbounded as a sympathetic world-read Press could make it; and the character and reputation of a previously much respected and appreciated section of the community, were

very much injured indeed. An event of such importance to the Catholic priests and people of Ireland calls for treatment in the pages of the I. E. RECORD. Circumstances of a personal and unimportant nature have made me familiar with it; and believing that I can make manifest the undeservedness and unfairness of the attack made upon the assailed body to which, for a long time, I have the honour to belong, I make an endeavour to do so in the following pages.

In the beginning, I wish to establish beyond controversy, notwithstanding denial, that Dr. Starkie attacked the Catholic clerical managers in Belfast, and that his remarks were pointed at us alone. His charges may be applicable to other managers, but against priests alone were they directed. He got the Chief Secretary for Ireland to say in his name in Parliament, on the 5th November, that they were made against all clerical managers in Ireland, and he repeats that mitigation of his charges in the Appendix to his pamphlet published in December.¹ It is hard to write in a spirit of incredulity but it is more difficult to ignore palpable facts, and the universal interpretation put upon the words of the learned Doctor by all, save himself. The entire trend of his 'paper' proves him to be an anti-clerical in educational matters, but nowhere in it does he point his opposition to any religious except Catholic clergymen. To them, in all branches of education, he raised his objections. He is 'concerned with the question how to discover or to create the independent and educated *Catholic*' laymen.² He does not find them in intermediate schools—'They have not been able to live in competition with the vast multitude of celibate priests, who are "passing rich on £40 a year."' He sneeringly adds,

They cannot be the head-masters of Catholic schools, because it is thought undesirable that these should be laymen; but they may be employed as assistants, at journeymen's wages, where there is no priest competent to do the work. The future would seem to be equally without hope. Even in the proposed new Catholic University, in which lay influences are to predominate, it seems probable that the one post which really matters and which, in Trinity College, Dublin, and in Oxford and Cambridge

¹ *Recent Reforms in Irish Education*, p. 41.

² Pamphlet, p. 39

Colleges, is the legitimate ambition of every brilliant Fellow, may be confined to ecclesiastics, in order to command the confidence of Catholic parents.³

He has a fling even at our training colleges, and he laments the teachers are not trained in universities away from clerical control, for the development of broad and liberal ideas:—

In Wales and Scotland the elementary teachers have experience of all grades of education—elementary, secondary, and university—and have opportunities of acquiring a liberal culture, and, what is still more important, a wide knowledge of human nature and of life, which are not open to Irish teachers, who, from the earliest years, are cribbed, cabined, and confined within the narrow curricula of a primary school, and of a training-college. And still the primary school is the bedrock upon which the whole structure is based, and, if there is such a thing as continuity in mental development, should be leavened with the broad and liberal ideas which have their source in the university.

He speaks more plainly, however, when he says:—

The mainspring of any educational system is what the *Times* calls the 'driving force of public opinion.' . . . And yet the present system of school management in Ireland is such as no other country can parallel, and only historical reasons can justify or palliate. The local managers have absolute power of appointment and of dismissal of teachers, although they are not responsible for any portion of the salaries, and are merely the channels through which the State grants pass. Under the revised programme their initiative has been largely increased; and still, according to Dr. O'Dwyer, the managers have not received an education such as would fit them to control the course of instruction in the schools, and, as a matter of fact, they rarely interfere in matters of education. No one is better aware than I am how deeply rooted in the affections of the people are the priests, but for whom there would have been no education at all in the evil days, when—

'Still crouching 'neath the shelt'ring hedge, or stretched on
mountain fern,
The teacher and his pupils met feloniously to learn.'

Later on in his 'paper' the learned Doctor again indicates the drift of his thoughts when he sighs, at first, for the

³ Pamphlet, pp. 39, 40.

independent educated laymen—afterwards for the ‘independent and educated *Catholic* layman.’ Lest his meaning should be left in doubt, here are his words:—

It is generally admitted that, without the local co-operation of independent and educated lay opinion, the best constructed and best co-ordinated system in the world is an engine without any driving power; and so, to a large extent, the *whole* question, of which I have rashly attempted the solution, resolves itself into this: How are we to discover the independent educated layman, or to create him if he does not yet exist? In the North we have independence without education; in the South, neither independence nor education. I think we may, with confidence, allow the North to learn, at their leisure, the desirability of softening the asperities of their sturdy national character with a little of the graces of cultivation; but, as a Southerner and a Catholic, I am more concerned with the question how to discover or to create the independent and educated Catholic layman. The question is a difficult one, and gins and pitfalls beset the feet of those who attempt to solve it.⁴

It is difficult for anyone knowing the circumstances of the country and the force of plain English language, to apply these passages to other clerics than priests. The same may be said of the following passage found earlier in the Pamphlet⁵:—

Our inspectors report that there is no hope for better things in Ireland until the schools are made more comfortable, and are properly heated, and unless—there is great virtue in an unless—the people take an interest in education. It is an important question for this section to discuss, what is the most efficacious method to induce managers, who can find money for everything except education, to keep their schools, built largely at the expense of the State, in such a habitable condition that it is not a cruelty to send children there, or how to revive a love for the things of the mind in a people which, outside of politics and religion, has not yet been roused from the intellectual atrophy in which it has been sunk for centuries.

I leave the reader to deal with the assertion that, with these passages in his address, and with no passage in it referring to any other clerical managers than Catholic ones,

⁴ Pamphlet, pp. 38, 39.

⁵ Page 24.

the Resident Commissioner embraced all clerical managers in his attack. So universal was the contrary belief that remonstrance came from almost all quarters from priests and from no other clergymen than priests did it come, and though there are more other clergymen managers than priests. So clearly were priests alone attacked that Dr. Starkie felt it necessary, or desirable, to tell, as he did, through the Chief Secretary in Parliament, the whole world, that it had wrongly understood him. That his attack was against priests alone is obvious. That he included priests in his charges is, however, beyond all doubt; and, the undeservedness of the accusation against us will be evident from the very documents availed of unscrupulously and unfairly, four months before the persons incriminated could examine them, by the Resident Commissioner. He had recourse to them only in his official capacity, and he violated all official etiquette, I think, as well as every principle of fair play, in thus publicly using them for his sinister purposes before they were presented to the King or to Parliament.

It may be well here to insert, in the Doctor's own words, the charges he has made against us, and which he has sent adrift all over the world many months before they could be repelled, and by organs of circulation that never will circulate the refutation.

It would be disingenuous to conceal the fact that our inspectors report that the majority of managers are quite indifferent to education, and that in many cases the schools are left well-nigh derelict, the only supervision given to them being that of the Board's inspector. This neglect is demoralising to the teacher, but its ruinous effects are most discernible in the material condition of the schools. Many of them are mere hovels; even buildings recently erected, largely at the expense of the State, are described as resembling 'half-ruined tenement houses,' and the out-offices as 'dangerous sources of disease and death.' The means of heating are often 'inversely proportional to its necessity'; the most elementary claims of health and comfort are neglected. . . . It is useless to appeal for help to the managers or to local subscriptions, for the inspectors report that of local interest in education there is practically nothing, and that, in return for the absolute power over school and teacher with which the managers insist on being

invested, they contribute nothing in very many cases where help is most needed, but saddle the unfortunate teachers with the entire cost of maintenance. It is intolerable that such a charge should fall upon the scanty salaries of the teachers, but, unless the schools are to be allowed to tumble down over their heads, they are compelled to keep them in repair.⁶

In proof of these infamous charges Dr. Starkie refers to the reports of the school inspectors published in 1901 and 1902. I regret to say, for the honour of literary and official character, he has quoted garbled extracts from these, many months before the latter of them, the principal ones, were presented to Parliament or to the public; he has given them full of '*corrigenda*' all wrongly erring to the detriment of the managers; and he has so mutilated them that they are made have a meaning entirely different from that their writers intended. These are damning assertions, but by no means as severe as the facts of the case warrant. According even to himself, he has slightly abbreviated 'the language' of the Reports 'without injury to the sense,' and 'quoted only so much of them as was germane' to his argument. He admits he has 'occasionally omitted passages laudatory of the satisfactory general supervision which, perhaps, the majority of managers exercise over their schools.' And thus he grudgingly feels forced to acknowledge that we, 'perhaps,' discharge fairly well what, strictly speaking, are our chief duties. The unfairness of such a mutilation is apparent, even on the surface; but when, by omissions, he made inspectors say what they never meant to say, when by his garbling and conglomeration of the extracts, he diverts them from their meaning, and when, by his determination to make them prove something terrible against the managers, he fancies and parades as the duties of managers, though set up as such only by his own highly-enlightened will, what are not their duties at all—when, by mixing extracts together not merely from different reports but from reports of different years—and doing so without giving the ordinary help to a reader to trace any reference, but giving instead erroneous guidance for finding

⁶ Pamphlet pp. 37, 38.

it out—when he uses them thus to prove general dereliction of ‘duty’ as above described, and then accuses public men in their public capacity before an audience hostile to them, of indifference, incompetence, and negligence, and exhibits occasional blemishes as being general characteristics—when he, the Resident Commissioner, who should protect them from libel and slander, thus assails them, and by the aid of documents that cannot be tested till the slanders and libels have done their work of defamation;—when the Resident Commissioner who is such, because he is a Catholic, thus assails the priests of his Church, with the object of driving them from the control of the education of their flocks, his conduct is so unfair that language must fail to properly describe it.

In proof of the statements I am making, I must exhibit, in contrast, the extracts from the reports the Doctor relies upon, and the reports themselves. The ‘occasional’ omissions of passages laudatory of the managers is the almost universal fact in all the extracts given, though there is hardly one of the reports quoted from, in which something in our praise is not to be found. All in the reports that could be gathered to show that we do not presume to exercise expert proficiency in the matter of ‘controlling the course of education’ is recorded against us. We are to be got rid of. School Committees are not up to the Resident Commissioner’s requirements, but the ‘independent educated Catholic layman’ of the O’Donnell or McCarthy or Starkie type is to be discovered or created—and we must go!

Be it noted that though his Appendix extends over only eight pages, half a dozen corrections have had to be made without exhausting the ‘*corrigenda*.’ All these ‘corrections’ are in favour of the managers—some of them seriously so, and not one of them will ever be attended to by the general reader. Be it further noted that though in the note at the head of his Appendix he tells us in English unworthy of a pupil in the fifth standard of a National School that ‘my quotations are from the annual reports of inspectors for a single year (1902), except in 3’ (*sic*) ‘where I quote from the reports of 1901,’ such is not the fact. Not finding enough of

condemnatory clauses in the reports for 1902, he goes back for more than half a dozen extracts to the reports of 1901. Be it also known that to no extract does he attach any reference by name, volume, page, or otherwise, except in two or three instances, in one of which he erroneously attributes the extract to Mr. E. Downing, though it is the report of Mr. Purser and is the composition of Mr. Sullivan, and though, in my opinion, it has been grossly misinterpreted against us. Moreover, rarely were the *suppressio veri*, and the *suggestio falsi* more unblushingly had recourse to than in the selection the Doctor has given, as will be evident from the following:—

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With a few conspicuous exceptions managers take no active part in the inner working of the schools, and, viewed as a whole, the interest which they manifest can scarcely be said to be practical. (Appendix, page 41.)

Practical supervision of the schools is not habitual amongst the managers. (Appendix, page 42.)

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The managers as a body show considerable concern in the welfare of the schools. They are naturally anxious, of course, to promote the educational progress of the pupils, and, as a rule, they give cordial support to the suggestions and recommendations which it becomes my duty to make. With a few conspicuous exceptions, however, they take no active part in the inner working of the schools, and, viewed as a whole, the interest which they manifest can scarcely be said to be practical. (Reports for 1902, page 67.)

The managers' attitude in this district in reference to the present system has been very satisfactory. A friendly disposition and an inclination to give every opportunity of success, even in branches to which some of them felt personally hostile or indifferent, seemed to pervade their ranks. In the beginning when in certain quarters opposition was made to its introduction, some

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The managers assume little control of the actual working of the schools. They consider that the teachers ought to know best how to organise and work the schools. (Appendix, page 42.)

Beyond seeing that matters are progressing fairly as a whole, managers in general do not enter into details of the working of the schools. (Appendix, page 42.)

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of them used their personal influence strongly in its favour. Practical supervision of the schools is not habitual amongst the managers. Such a practice would involve in very heavy labour those who have a large number of schools to manage. They visit their schools periodically, sign returns, and show every attention to the points submitted for their consideration on the occasion of incidental visits or annual examinations. (Reports for 1902, pages 68, 69.)

So far as my experience enables me to judge the managers assume little control of the actual working of the schools. They take an interest in them, and they would not condone any idleness or breach of duty on the part of the teacher, but they consider that the teacher ought to know best how to organise and work the school. (Reports for 1902, page 42.)

Beyond seeing that matters are progressing fairly on the whole the managers in general do not, as far as I am aware, enter into the details of the working of the schools. I must say, however, that I have found them ready to co-operate when I have found it necessary to call their special attention to teachers who have not been conducting their schools in a satisfactory manner. (Reports for 1902, page 69.)

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The general policy (of the managers) may be described as *laissez faire*. (Appendix, page 43).

Hardly any of the managers seem to me to think it necessary to exercise what I consider practical supervision over schools, which they evidently regard as the inspectors' duty. (Appendix, page 42.)

I am not aware of any instance in which a manager has acted upon the Commissioners' recommendation with respect to the holding of periodic examinations, the provision of school libraries and school museums, and the establishment of a system of school prizes. (Appendix, page 42.)

Beyond personal grievances or sectarian wranglings, even educated people seem to see nothing worth discussing in the question of education. The want of public interest is due in part to the system of management, clerical managers, etc. (Appendix, page 48.)

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Here (one circuit) the general policy may be described as one of *laissez faire*. (Reports for 1902, page 70.)

The managers as a body evince much interest in their schools, but hardly any of them seem to me to think it necessary to exercise what I would consider a practical supervision over them. This they evidently regard as the inspectors' duty. Their attitude towards the new scheme of education is decidedly sympathetic. (Reports for 1902, page 67.)

As a rule the managers visit their schools frequently and use their influence actively in encouraging the attendance of the pupils. In many cases the constant and intelligently directed supervision of the manager has a most beneficial effect on the general work of the school.

I am not aware of any instance in which a manager has acted upon the Commissioners' recommendation with respect to the holding of periodic examinations, the provision of school libraries and school museums, and the establishment of school prizes. (Reports for 1902, page 107.)

Roman Catholic clergymen make the most effective managers. They are best acquainted with the details of the history of the children and the school; they make considerable efforts to maintain the houses in proper repair, and they appoint fairly good teachers.

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Beyond personal grievances and sectarian wranglings, even educated people seem to see nothing worth discussing in the question of education. . . The want of public interest is probably due in part to the system of management. . . .

In the case of committees, which are common in the North . . . these committee men are not particularly enlightened or quick-witted ; they are well-meaning and wish the pupils to be well taught, but they are slow, and do not change. They do not care much for new houses, or new teachers, or new programmes. (Reports for 1902, pages 108, 109.)

About 30 per cent. of the managers display active interest in the work going on in their schools. . . . In too many instances there was absolutely nothing to show that the gentlemen undertaking this charge had realised its importance. The apathy of managers materially hinders the progress of education. (Appendix, page 44.)

About 30 per cent. of the managers displayed active interest in the work going on in their schools. There were, perhaps, in addition to these, at least as many more whose activity as managers was less conspicuous, but who were nevertheless helping forward the work of education. In too many instances, however, there was absolutely nothing to show that the gentlemen undertaking this charge had realised its importance. The apathy of managers of the last-mentioned class materially hinders the progress of education. (Reports for 1902, page 115).

(Some managers') visits are few, and their interest is generally of a rather fleeting and unsubstantial character. (Appendix, page 45.)

Most managers take an active and intelligent interest in their schools. They visit them frequently, and advise and encourage wherever re-

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There is abundant evidence to show that in the case of many schools very little, if any, management exists. The nominal managers, no doubt, consider learning to be a good thing, and approve of children attending school regularly, but are content to leave all matters of school routine entirely in the hands of the teachers. They rarely visit the schools to check the accounts or the attendance, and seem satisfied that so long as they afford shelter to the children their duty is discharged. They take no trouble whatever to make their schools attractive to the pupils. It is most desirable that managers should give more attention to the furnishing, heating, adornment, and sanitary arrangements of their schools, and generally exercise greater supervision over them. (Appendix, page 44.)

A writer in the *Leader* of February 28th, gives the following instance of the conglomeration I have alluded to, which he thinks is 'sharp practice':—

One of Dr. Starkie's extracts is:—'The managers, of course, do not and cannot take much part in arranging and supervising the teaching curriculum,' since 'very few of them are educational experts.' One would think that those two short extracts are taken from the same Inspector, who gives the latter as a reason for the former. But the truth is that he went

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quired. Some, however, are not so zealous. Their visits are but few, and their interest generally of a rather fleeting and unsubstantial character. (Report for 1902, page 69.)

My relations with managers, without exception, continue most friendly and cordial. School managers, like other people, no doubt, hold different views regarding their duties and responsibilities. Several of them are to be congratulated on the success of their schools, and on their readiness to carry out suggested repairs, additions, or alterations to the buildings, as well as to the supervision which they exercise over matters of detail in connection with organisation, etc. But there is abundant, etc. (Report of 1902, pages 70, 71.)

to page 66 for the former, which he took from the Report of Dr. Skeffington (Waterford Circuit), and went to page 109 for the latter, which he took from the Report of Mr. Wyse (Ballymena Circuit); *thus* he hooks the two together by a conjunction and makes Dr. Skeffington appear to say what he does not say.

Another comparison of extract and report I shall make is that referred to in the Appendix, page 47, and in the Pamphlet, page 38. Mr. Downing, Chief Inspector, gets the credit of making the report, though I cannot find it in his report, but I can in Mr. Purser's, where I discover it is the composition of Mr. Sullivan. It is to be found in Reports for 1901, page 23, and is introduced by Mr. Starkie to prove that the 'upkeep of the schools, vested in trustees, in many cases falls on the teacher,' and to establish managerial apathy.⁷

In his address in Belfast Dr. Starkie multiplied the 'many' cases into '*very* many' ones,⁸ though the words of Mr. O'Sullivan are in 'several instances'! He also has extended the inspector's 'fear' into a certainty, and 'partially or wholly' into 'entire cost of maintenance.'⁹

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It is very undesirable that the local expenses should fall on the teacher, but I fear that in several instances they do fall on him either partially or wholly. (Appendix, page 47.)

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In general, the schoolhouses afford fair accommodation. There are, however, several exceptions, but year by year new houses are replacing those which are unsuitable. In many cases the arrangements for having good fires in the winter mornings are not so complete as I would wish to see them, and consequently the children have to commence the day's work in rooms which are too cold. I am of opinion that the want of a good fire during winter mornings has a good deal to do with the late attendance of pupils, of which one hears so frequently. The question how best to provide fuel for a school is only part of

⁷ Pamphlet, p. 47

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

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the larger question : How best to provide funds for the wants other than salaries of each school. These wants are fuel, cleaning, repairs, apparatus, etc., etc. The new programme will increase the local expenses. It is very desirable that the local expenses of a school should not fall on the teacher, but I fear that in several instances they do fall on him either partially or wholly. (Reports for 1901, page 23.)

In further substantiation of my charge of unfair mutilation of the inspectors' reports, I add the following, and shall supplement the extracts I have given in favour of the managers by a few other ones. The capitals are my own :—

SOME managers visit their schools daily. The truly admirable results of such management are described by Mr. Dickie in the case of the Dublin district :—' SOME of the managers I have met in Dublin City are the moving spirits of their schools, intimately acquainted with every detail of the school work, men to whom the teachers turn for advice and direction in a difficulty.' Of such managers—and there are many of them—I am glad to say with an inspector that ' they deserve well of their country.' But it is to be regretted that this compliment is not of wider application. (Dr. Starkie, in Appendix 43.)

This compliment is found in the report of the Chief Inspector, Mr. Downing (1902, page 65). I cannot find it anywhere else. By Mr. Downing it is extended as follows to managers in general ; by Dr. Starkie it is limited to SOME managers ; and he regrets IT IS NOT OF WIDER APPLICATION.

MOST managers visit their schools frequently, and so keep in touch with them that no serious dereliction of duty can long continue unnoticed. Invaluable assistance has been given by the clerical managers in encouraging the regular attendance of children at school.

When all the circumstances are well considered, and all the

difficulties well weighed, I think it should be conceded that the managers of National Schools IN GENERAL deserve well of their country.

I think it can be seen from the contrast exhibited between the inspectors' reports and the extracts Dr. Starkie has given from them in the Appendix to his Pamphlet, how unfairly the Catholic clerical school managers have been treated by the learned gentleman. A cursory reading can give, however, only a superficial impression, and it is difficult to take the pointer in the columns of a periodical, as one would in a demonstration class, and indicate more convincingly general unfair mutilation. But, without the pointer, I may ask—Is the issuing of garbled extracts, without any reference to a context by which they could be interpreted, fair? Is the issuing of them, conglomerated as shown, fair? Is the issuing of them, beheaded and truncated of words and clauses that limit the faults they are to prove, to individual managers, fair to their general body, even though corrections can be found on a 'pasted-in' page? Is an omission that leaves 70 per cent. of us under an imputation intended only for, at most, 40 per cent., fair? Is a quotation that managers are the cause of a fault, substituted for the statement that managers are *probably* its cause, fair? Is it fair when an inspector reports that he fears the teachers, in 'several instances,' have to bear the cost of fuel, and expenses which they are bound by the Commissioners to bear, partially or wholly, that the Resident Commissioner should so mutilate the report as to make the inspector appear as saying (and as if charging to the apathy of the managers) that even the cost of the 'up-keep' of the schools vested in trustees¹⁰ falls wholly in very many cases on the teachers? And these are some of the mutilations visible in the foregoing, when attention is drawn specifically to them.

The reports from which I have quoted are those selected by our enemy for our destruction and must be those best

¹⁰ 'Vested in trustees' are words introduced into this connection by the Doctor himself, evidently to indicate that the 'up-keep' he means is up-keep the trustees are supposed to pay for—i.e., the cost of maintaining and repairing the buildings.

adapted for that purpose. Even from them it is pretty clear that, for the most part, we have been discharging our duties faithfully and well, according to every common-sense view of them. Of the few faults found amongst school managers in general, we should not be charged with even a numerical proportion, and we are only 40 per cent. of the managers of Ireland. Yet, all the faults have been heaped upon us!

That the National Schools of Ireland are unexceptionally good, I do not contend. That in some parts of the country some of the good ones could be more commodious, better furnished, more comfortable, better attended, better taught, and better managed, even by priests, I do not deny. We get feeble and old, like other members of Adam's family. We have no 'sixty-five rule' retiring us on a pension that secures us *otium cum dignitate* in our declining years. But even when we are old or infirm, our schools do not suffer by our maladies, as our zealous and efficient assistants make up for short-comings in our managerial duties. With their help, and by the generosity of our flocks, we have kept the lamp of education lighted for our people, and over the whole extensive area embraced by the National education system we have studded the land with National Schools. 'The accommodation now provided in our schools, taken as a whole, is more than sufficient for the school-going population of the country.' So states the last Report of the Commissioners of National Education. The cost of procuring sites for them and erecting them must have been very great. Almost all of it has been provided by the priests. No word of grateful recognition had Dr. Starkie at Belfast for such signal services to the country. He had words of censure instead. Many of the schools were 'mere hovels,' unsanitary, dangerous to public health, cold, and uncomfortable. 'Even buildings recently erected, largely at the expense of the State,' are described 'as resembling half-ruined tenement houses—language applied by an inspector to *one* such house that had come to grief, from a malicious injury: and without proof, but in face of very many proofs to the contrary, and in opposition to facts, he states—'It is useless to appeal for help to the managers or to local subscriptions'; 'that managers contribute nothing in very

many cases where help is most needed, but saddle the unfortunate teachers with the entire cost of maintenance.'

Not one word has Dr. Starkie adduced in proof that teachers have been saddled with undue expenses; and if, in isolated cases, repairs have had to be borne by the teachers, he has not proved that the managers are priests.

As to the heating of schools, we assist the teachers to provide fuel from the people, and we sanction their collecting for it. We sometimes give money for it out of our own resources. By the 'Rules' of the Board, the teachers are 'to see that the schoolroom is properly heated in *winter*.' The inspectors' reports do not complain much about the want of fuel (the gentleman who has missed the fires in October does!) but they seem more anxious about a new way and a more systematic way of providing it. On this point, the Catholic clerical managers, before Dr. Starkie ever brought the matter before his English audience, repeatedly¹¹ requested the Board of Education to provide the needful. And we even indicated how it could judiciously do so without more money than is annually actually at its disposal.

It is not so much the schoolhouses and premises [reports Chief Inspector Curser in another of the unfairly mutilated reports quoted in Dr. Starkie's Appendix, only the last sentence of which he gives (Reports 1901, page 25)], that I have sometimes to complain of—it is the manner in which they are kept by THE TEACHER¹². On a cold winter day I enter a school and find a clean floor, everything tidy and orderly, a good fire, and an air of comfort. I leave that school and go to another. I find an unclean floor, with dirty, torn papers lying about, the book-press and the teacher's desk in disorder, dust everywhere, and no fire in the grate.

And yet, for the teachers the Resident Commissioner had nothing but praise: for the priests, censure and condemnation!

On the question of unsuitable schools, I shall leave the Commissioners and a Chief Inspector to speak:—

The schoolhouses generally are suitable for their purposes,

¹¹ Resolutions of Catholic Clerical Managers, 1901-2.

¹² The capitals are my own.

but there are still over 5 per cent.¹³ which would require to be reconstructed. (Report, 1902, page 6.)

Speaking generally [says Mr. Purser, Reports, 1902, page 89] for all the Northern division of Ireland the school accommodation is more than adequate, and in quality is constantly improving. Though one cannot speak favourably of the taste shown in the style of houses, even of those built by the Board of Works, or of the repair in which they are kept, it cannot be denied that quite unsuitable houses and defective premises are disappearing.

Regarding dilapidations, I will give a quotation which Dr. Starkie has ignored, probably because it proves that his own Board, with the British Treasury to pay its outlay, comes in for some of the censure he has exclusively poured on priests.

The plans of the Board of Works need a total revision, in view of the requirements of the revised programme. The vested schoolhouses, even those vested in the Commissioners, built in the early years of the National Board, are now very antiquated and unsatisfactory. Those more recently built will, I fear, prove soon out of date, if they are not so already. An immediate revision of the plans is therefore necessary, so that future buildings may be more in accordance with modern notions. If seating accommodation for all pupils is to be provided, a very general enlargement of the school buildings will be necessary.¹⁴

The Doctor has also ignored the following in his anxiety to saddle the overtaxed ratepayers of Ireland with new burdens—doubtless that he may eventually carry out his ill-concealed fad.

The premises vested in local trustees deteriorate very fast, as a rule, for want of proper attention. Some means of providing funds for their timely repair should be devised. It is bad economy to spend public funds on buildings without providing effectively for their preservation.¹⁵

As to our outlay on schools, we, who 'can find money for everything' except education, according to last year's report spent our portion, which is more than two-thirds, of upwards of £70,000 upon it. And similarly in previous years.

¹³ A very small number, one would think.

¹⁴ Mr. E. Downing, Chief Inspector. Reports, 1901, p. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Dr. Starkie severely censures us for our attitude to the new programme, as we shall see later on, and yet the following is what the last General Report supervised, if not composed, by himself states on the subject:—

We are pleased to find that during the past year great efforts have been made by managers and teachers to co-operate with us in introducing into the National Schools the new system of instruction approved by us in 1900-1, and the new subjects which form special features of that system. These efforts have been largely successful.

As to the attendances at the schools, the Report of the Commissioners for 1902 tells of satisfactory improvement, notwithstanding the decrease in population.

The number in average attendance, which in 1900 was 478,224, was, in 1901, 482,031, an increase of 3,807.

We expect a further increase in the average attendance of pupils in view of the efforts made by school managers to provide increased and better school accommodation, while from the general desire on the part of managers and teachers to understand the principles and to attain the objects of the new programme, we feel assured that the interest of the pupils in their school work is increasing, and that school life is becoming brighter and more attractive.

Again, we read in the same publication:—

We are pleased to find that during the past year great efforts have been made by managers and teachers to co-operate with us in introducing into the National Schools the new system of instruction approved by us in 1900-1, and the new subjects which form special features of that system. These efforts have been largely successful. In issuing our Revised Programme we said that it was promulgated tentatively, and we gave considerable freedom with regard to its adoption. We were prepared for severe criticism of the Programme as a whole and of its details; but we find that the representations that have been made to us on the subject have been chiefly in the way of suggestions for improvement or amendment of details.

One further report, taken from the reports on which Dr. Starkie relies for his 'proofs,' must not be omitted. It is

that of Mr. Downing, reporting for the Southern half of Ireland. Its application is to the whole country:—

The office of manager is an honorary one, involving a considerable amount of care, trouble, and expense. On the manager, as a rule, devolves the maintenance of the school buildings and premises, the funds for which he must give or provide. Sometimes he has to undertake, with or without State aid, to build a new schoolhouse. In such a case he must procure the site—a work very often of much difficulty—and he must also provide, in case he obtains State aid, one-third of the total cost of building. A considerable amount of correspondence devolves on a manager, and he is expected to visit his schools frequently, and to exercise an effective supervision over the teachers, so far, at least, as to ensure a regular discharge of duty. Occasionally managers have been subjected to legal troubles of a serious nature, but this, fortunately, occurs very rarely. It has always appeared to me that but scant public recognition has been granted of these important services rendered under peculiar difficulties. All the funds required for the purposes specified above must come from voluntary subscriptions. The manager has no authority to levy a rate, and there are, as a rule, no special funds from which to draw. Hence the difficulties of managers, as may well be imagined, are very pressing in many parts of this poor country.

Most managers visit their schools frequently, and keep so in touch with them that no serious dereliction of duty can long continue unnoticed. Invaluable assistance has been given by the clerical managers in encouraging the regular attendance of children at school.

When all the circumstances are well considered, and, all the difficulties duly weighed, I think it should be conceded that the managers of National Schools in general deserve well of their country. (Report, 1902, page 65.)

I add a few extracts from reports regarding Catholic clerical managers exclusively, or expressly including them, as we are the managers attacked by Dr. Starkie. These are in Mr. Purser's report (1902) for the Northern half of Ireland, and were written by various inspectors:—

In regard to the supervision exercised by managers over schools, I have found that, generally, the Roman Catholic parish priests take a most praiseworthy interest in their schools. A good many others do so likewise, but not so uniformly, or constantly, as the class I have named. Clerical managers appear generally to have more opportunity and aptitude for ex-

exercising supervision and influence in their schools than lay managers have. (Page 111.)

I can only speak of the managers in this circuit in terms of the highest commendation. To them is due the first establishment of the schools, their subsequent maintenance, supervision of the teachers, and watchfulness over the attendance. The great majority of the managers being clergymen, the schools, naturally, fall under their supervision, and the duty is well discharged. (Page 100.)

The managers, with four exceptions, are all in Holy Orders. The clerical managers take a deep and intelligent interest in their schools; visit them frequently, and assist in the religious instruction of the pupils. The lay managers are not quite so regular in their visits, but they do visit. Both lay and clerical managers are zealous in their co-operation and are always ready to carry into effect any suggestions which are made with a view to the improvement of their schools. (Page 113.)

The clerical managers visit their schools frequently, and take great interest in the school work, but the lay managers seldom visit the schools under their care during school hours. That is not, however, due to any want of interest in them, but to the fact that their other engagements keep them fully occupied during the time the schools are in operation. (Page 114.)

Nearly all the managers here are clergymen, who devote much time and attention to the interests of primary education. They frequently visit the schools under their charge, and by actual observation are enabled to form correct judgments on the efficiency of the schools generally. (Page 119.)

Managers visit their schools more frequently than their entries in the books would infer. Clerical managers are constantly in and out of the schools, but lay managers often live at a distance, and their duties are merely nominal. (Page 121.)

These are all the reports I can find for the Northern half of Ireland where mention is made explicitly of clerical managers. Similar testimony exists for the Southern half.

Mr. Stronge says:—

The managers visit their schools regularly.

Dr. Alexander says:—

Effective supervision is maintained over the schools by the managers, who regularly visit them, and also require their curates to do so. I always find managers well informed as to the state of their schools.

Mr. Headen says:—

With scarcely an exception the managers of the district take great personal and practical interest in the welfare of their schools. They visit them frequently, and in general they are ready to effect any repairs or improvements they consider reasonably needed.

Mr. M'Clintock says:—

The clerical managers visit frequently, and take a deep interest in the progress of the pupils. As a rule, they use their best efforts to keep up the attendance, and their influence tends to impart a healthy tone to the schools. The lay managers are not so assiduous, as a body, in the performance of their duties --their visits are fewer and their interest in primary education less keen.

Mr. C. Smith says:—

So far as supervision is concerned, I am satisfied that managers exercise a very necessary and beneficial control over their schools, and to their presence and local influence are largely due that close attention to duty and efficiency of work that are everywhere in evidence.

Nowhere that I can find is censure of Catholic clerical managers to be found --and they are the reports of 1902, on which chiefly Dr. Starkie based his astounding statements in Belfast in September last -- many months before any of the assailed body could defend themselves from them. 'Our inspectors report,' said he there, 'that the MAJORITY of managers are quite indifferent to education, and that in many cases the schools are well-nigh derelict, the only supervision given them being that of the Board's Inspector.'¹⁶

Out of his own documents, I think, I have unearthed his complete refutation. If ever there was foul play, it was when he made his charges with the knowledge that, not until they had made the circuit of the universe, could they be refuted, and never very extensively.

It is superfluous to write the conclusion to which any impartial, attentive reader of these reports will come. He

will undoubtedly conclude that Dr. Starkie's charges against the Catholic clerical managers are not merely unproved, but that they are disproved, and by the very documents upon which he relied for his proofs. He will see that they are unwarrantable, unjust, and untrue; that they have been recklessly and foully made, and he will wonder that any sensible man, with such reports before him, could unbosom himself so audaciously as the Resident Commissioner did at Belfast. He will further wonder that the man who made them so recklessly and so foully continues to preside over the system of education that owes its vitality and prospects to the co-operation and good will of the very men so unjustly and foully assailed.

After his address in Belfast, it would seem that, finding the indignation he had aroused in Ireland very general and very great, and looking more carefully into the illogical position he had taken up, he felt it untenable and dangerous. Be the cause what it may, we find him soon changing his position and making an effort to make it defensible. In November, he got it told by the Chief Secretary in Parliament that all other clerical managers were attacked as well as priests—the reports containing nothing against us specially—and in December, his pamphlet with his Belfast address appears changing stealthily the issue and concentrating all our 'crimes' into the only great sentimental dereliction of 'duty,' attested by nearly all the inspectors, undeniable by ourselves, and manifestly a safe charge on which to effect a retreat. Some people would prefer a withdrawal and an apology: not so, however, the Gold Medallist of Cambridge and Trinity.

How has Dr. Starkie effected this change of front? He delivered his address in Belfast in September. In December he issued his pamphlet containing it, with Notes and Appendix. By these Notes he endeavours to change the obvious and literal meaning of his own words so as to make it appear his charges were different from what the whole world understood them to be. Thus, he has a footnote to the quotation I again give containing them, namely:—

Our Inspectors report² that the majority of managers are

quite indifferent to education, and that in many cases the schools are left well-nigh derelict, the only supervision given them being that of the Board's Inspector. This neglect is demoralising to the teacher, but its ruinous effects are most discernible in the material condition of the schools. (Pamphlet, page 37.)

²Managers take no 'practical' interest in the education given in the schools. They neither control the course of instruction nor adapt the programme to the needs of the localities, nor conduct examinations, nor give prizes, nor establish school museums or libraries, as suggested in the new programme; in fact, according to our Chief Inspector, they are practically but passive lookers-on at the evolution of the new scheme of education! (Pamphlet, page 37, Foot-note.)

Twisted as it may be, the footnote is inadequate to prove any part of the conclusion; but, will it be believed the extract given by the Chief Inspector was never intended for such a purpose at all? Here it is in its context at the end of the report last quoted from Mr. Downing. How he must wonder when he finds his words so twisted:—

Managers relieved from the bonds of the results system were expected to devise or adopt programmes and syllabuses suitable to their respective localities, and to direct and encourage and assist financially the introduction of new subjects and new methods. The managers, as a rule, have not undertaken this new work. Under the old *régime* they did not interfere much with school organisation or methods, preferring to leave these technical matters to the teachers and inspectors. They do not appear to have changed their attitude. They are practically but passive lookers-on at the evolution of the new scheme of education.

That we did not do the things mentioned in the foot-note the reports prove, and hence its introduction and the new meaning given by Dr. Starkie to his own words to meet the situation! Hence, too, the introduction of the 'desire' of the Commissioners that managers should initiate a new programme suited to their localities; and because they did not do so but left it to the educational experts—the teachers and the inspectors—and looked on with anxious sympathy and encouragement, they are maligned all over the world as follows:—'The inspectors' reports are almost unanimous as to

the indifference of the managers to the educational aspects of their office.¹⁷

The duties of our office are defined for us in the 'Rules.' None of these so defined are we accused of having failed in discharging. 'In the notes to the Revised Programme,' however, says Dr. Starkie,¹⁸ 'the COMMISSIONERS EXPRESS A DESIRE that managers should arrange the programmes of their schools so as to suit the needs of the localities.' I have the 'Notes' to the Programme issued in 1900, and those issued in 1902. I have the Rules and Regulations of the Board issued in 1902, and the 'New Rules' earlier on, and the inspectors' reports for 1901, containing the sentiments of the Board on the matter: and in none of them is there any expression of DESIRE or any RECOMMENDATION that managers should do any such thing; but there is simply permission to them to do so, if they please, and in conjunction with the teacher, and subject to the approval of the inspector and of the Commissioners.

The Commissioners leave managers and teachers FREE to select, with the concurrence of the Inspector, any of the courses that may seem most suited to the special circumstances of the schools. Managers MAY also submit for the approval of the Commissioners other courses than those provided, if they consider none of the programme courses suitable.¹⁹

This permission, about which the Commissioners seem so indifferent, and the availing of which on the part of the manager obliges him to win over the teachers, the inspector, and the Commissioners, and which was to be the optional substitution of a programme for one already laid down by experts, is made 'the central feature of the New Code' by Dr. Starkie. 'The large initiative thus given to the managers is the central feature of the New Code.' (Appendix 41). It is OPTIONAL for managers to avail of it, and I have publicly challenged, without reply, Dr. Starkie to prove that the Commissioners, in any published official document, have DESIRED them to do so. Up to the present the recommendations of the Commissioners' on this point and on that of prizes and museums

¹⁷ Pamphlet, p. 41, 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹⁹ *Notes, Hints, etc.*, 1902.

'have remained a dead letter. The inspectors' reports are almost unanimous as to the indifference of the managers to the educational aspects of their office.' (Appendix 41). And thus the statement made in Belfast, interpreted by the Doctor's footnote, is established—viz., the 'majority of managers are quite indifferent to education'!

Here, then, are the items of the Catholic clerical managers' dereliction of 'duty.' To be sure we have schoolhouses that are not up to date, but the National Board will not advance us money fast enough to go even halves with us in building new ones; and the Resident Commissioner flings the charge of our schools being 'mere hovels' at us in presence of an audience of strangers in Belfast! He knows that the fault is not ours, that it is not so long since we had the hedge-schools, and that when the National system had become, under prudent Catholic Resident Commissioners, sufficiently in touch with the religious requirements of the country, the priests of Ireland zealously set about supplying as good National schools as the National Board would assist them to build, and that, for years past, it has not kept pace with the calls for grants for new schools made upon it. We have also some schoolhouses, 'built largely at the expense of the State,' kept in an uncomfortable and unhealthy condition, and going to dilapidation; but the Education Board, that claims to own two-thirds of them, will not give one penny for their preservation! 'Some means of providing funds for their timely repair,' reports a chief inspector, 'should be devised. It is bad economy to spend public funds on buildings without providing effectively for their preservation.' Let the County Councils get up an Education rate, says Dr. Starkie, and save the British Treasury that is robbing Ireland annually of three millions of unjust taxation! We have schools badly heated and not kept clean for want of proper funds for fuel and sundries. Why do not the managers provide them? 'They can find money for everything else, but none for education,' exclaims Dr. Starkie. 'Cease your extravagance on the Model Schools,' say the Armagh Managers to the Board of Education. 'Equalise your school expenditure on all classes, and apply the surplus money spent on the Model Schools to

the comfort and care of National Schools all round.' 'Initiate the New Programme, you managers,' says Dr. Starkie, though he thinks we have not education enough to control the course of education. 'Hold examinations, give prizes, establish museums and libraries, and send confidential reports about your teachers to us,' say the Commissioners. 'We decline your last request,' say the managers. 'And as to the other parts of it, give us some £20,000 a year, and we shall do so.' As you will not carry out our wishes in these matters, says Dr. Starkie, as 'all the inspectors report, you "are indifferent to the educational aspects of your office."'

Is the selection and appointment of talented, well-conducted, highly-trained, zealous teachers an educational aspect of our office? Is zeal on our part in crowding the children to our schools an educational aspect of our office? Is vigilance over their morals and religious training an educational aspect of our office? Are watchfulness over the habits of our teachers and constant supervision over their attendance in school, by our visits without number, an educational aspect of our office? Are endeavours usually successful, though sometimes humiliating and tedious, in procuring sites for schools, teachers' residences, and arranging for their erection an educational aspect of our office? Are efforts on our part, testified to constantly by the inspectors, to replace at great expense the existing schools that are 'mere hovels,' 'and dangerous to health and life,' an educational aspect of our office? Is fidelity to the routine correspondence with the Board, which is constant and troublesome, an educational aspect of our office? Is attentive, though unostentatious, observance of the teaching and progress of our children an educational aspect of our office? Is thus labouring for no other earthly reward than the welfare and happiness of our people an educational aspect of our office?

On such points as these the volumes of reports from which Dr. Starkie has garbled his extracts bear ungrudging testimony in favour of Catholic clerical school managers. Were they silent, the people amidst whom we and our curates live would cry out for us—and will, if needed.

No one ought to know the truth of these things better than

the Resident Commissioner—and yet, because we have not taken steps to form an initial programme of our own, etc., we care nothing about education and are ‘indifferent to the educational aspects of our office.’ Educated, independent laymen are to be ‘discovered’ or ‘created’ to take our place; and WE MUST GO! Not yet, Dr. Starkie, greater men than you attempted the change and—failed.

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE¹

IV

CONSTANTIUS was at Cæsaræa in Cappadocia, preparing to attack the Persians, when tidings were brought to him of the revolution in Paris. His position was indeed a difficult one. If he marched to the Euphrates, he would leave the whole of the west at the mercy of Julian; if he turned back, the Persian king would overrun Asia Minor. The prudent course seemed to be to come to terms with one of his adversaries and devote the whole of his forces to the destruction of the other. But Constantius resolved to continue his campaign against Sapor, while temporising with Julian, and afterwards to return with his victorious army to deal with the usurper. Julian's letter announcing his election and suggesting a joint participation in the supreme power, had at first filled him with rage, but now he dissembled his anger and sent an answer by the hand of his confidential agent, the quæstor Leonas. This answer, it is true, was of a peremptory character: the election was declared to be null and void, and various adherents of Constantius were appointed to important posts in Gaul. Still it was not open war.

Julian, however, had now gone too far to turn back. He

Julien l'Apostat, Par Paul Allard; tomes ii.-iii. Lecoffre: Paris, 1903.
See I, E. RECORD, August, 1902.

summoned the troops to the Champ de Mars, and there, in the presence of Leonas, he caused the letter to be read. The opening sentences were heard without excitement; but when the reader came to the part where Constantius ordered Julian to resume his inferior rank of Cæsar, the soldiers cried out, 'We will have Julian as Augustus.' Leonas saw at once that his master's orders could not be enforced. Thus matters stood during the rest of the year 360. Julian would not resign: Constantius refused to acknowledge him; yet neither declared war against the other. Constantius laid siege to the Persian stronghold of Bezabde, whilst Julian once more crossed the Rhine and chastised the Germans. No doubt the latter would have described the situation in the words of his favourite Homer:—

Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοί, Τρῶες κλητοί τ' ἐπικουροί,
Κτείνειν, ὃν κε Θεὸς γε πόρῃ καὶ ποσσὶ κίχιδω.
Πολλοὶ δ' αὖ σοι Λαῖοί, ἐναιρέμεν ὃν κε δύνηαι.²

Julian took up his winter quarters at Vienne instead of Paris, so as to be able to watch the Alpine passes. About this time he lost his wife Helena, the sister of Constantius. The marriage had been merely one of convenience, and Julian considered that he was well rid of her when he sent her body to Rome to be buried among her relations.³ A far greater loss to him was the death of the Empress Eusebia, who had so often befriended him in his early days. Had she survived she might have preserved the peace between her husband and his cousin; but that both the rivals should within a few months have lost the ties which in some sort united them, was full of ill-omen for the future. Julian never married again: Constantius began the year 301 at Antioch by taking a third wife.

In the ensuing campaign against the Persians, the emperor, though victorious, refrained from a vigorous pursuit. He knew well that his troops would soon be needed against a more dangerous foe. An imperial law, dated June,

² *Iliad*, VI., 227-229.

³ Her magnificent porphyry sarcophagus adorned with reliefs representing vintage scenes, is a familiar object in the museum at the Vatican.

18, 361, bears the names of Constantius Augustus and Julian Cæsar. The next law, dated August, 29, bears the name of Constantius only. Between these two dates Julian had thrown off the mask and had set out from Bâle on his march to the East. He had divided his army, consisting of 23,000 men, into three separate bodies. One, of 10,000 men, commanded by Jovius and Jovinus, was to cross the Alpine passes and advance by way of northern Italy. Another, also of 10,000 men, and commanded by Nevitta, was to proceed through Rhætia and Noricum. Julian himself, at the head of a *corps d'élite* of only 3,000 men, resolved to penetrate into the Black Forest, and sail down the Danube. Careful instructions were given to the separated forces so as to ensure the concentration of the whole army at Sirmium for the purpose of a united march on Constantinople. The plan, in its skill and daring, was worthy of the highest military genius. Indeed, we are reminded of the famous march, many centuries later, from Boulogne to Ulm. And it must not be forgotten that the Roman general was at the time five years younger than Napoleon Bonaparte. After overcoming the greatest obstacles, Julian was the first to arrive at the rendezvous in the middle of October.⁴

To attempt the capture of the great city of Sirmium with his small force seemed the height of audacity. But, as Ammianus finely observes, it was just in times of danger that Julian was boldest and most confident.⁵ As he drew nigh to the city the whole garrison and populace came out to meet him, and conducted him in triumph to the imperial palace. Soon the two other divisions of his army arrived, and with them he pushed on and gained possession of the important Succi pass, half way between Sirmium and Constantinople. His daring plan had been crowned with success: his whole

⁴ Here Gibbon has the following characteristic note:—'A modern divine might apply to the progress of Julian the lines which were originally designed for another apostate:

"So eagerly the Fiend,
O'er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies."

—*Paradise Lost*, II., 947, *sqq.*

⁵ 'In rebus trepidis audax et confidentior' (xxi. 10).

forces were concentrated, a great fortress was in his hands, and the road to the capital lay before him.

But these brilliant military achievements were looked upon by Julian as mere *πίεργα*. At night in his camp he was ever busy with his pen, more anxious to conquer by argument than by arms, and to excel in composition rather than in action. It was at this time that he wrote the epistle to the senate and people of Athens, submitting 'his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the same humble deference, as if he had been pleading in the days of Aristides before the tribunal of the Areopagus' (Gibbon). He wrote also to the Roman senate with similar deference and in terms suited to the sensitiveness of that decaying body. Even the Corinthians and Spartans were not forgotten.

When Constantius heard of Julian's march, he affected to treat the intelligence with contempt. He promised his generals a merry hunting party in pursuit of the usurper. But after a time it was announced that his despised rival was master of the Balkans, and was making ready to attack Constantinople. Happily for Constantius, the retreat of Sapor now left him free to turn his attention to the West. He at once sent a strong force to recapture the Succi pass, or at least to stop the further advance of the enemy. The scattered garrisons of Thrace were united into a compact army and directed towards the mountain barrier. Constantius himself prepared to follow at the head of his forces, flushed with his recent success over the Persians. It was now Julian's turn to be anxious, especially as some of his own troops—the garrison of Sirmium—were in revolt. But fortune once again favoured him, for the startling news arrived that Constantius was no more (November 3, 361).

Julian set out at once for Constantinople. No resistance, but rather welcome, met him on his way. He entered the splendid capital, the place of his birth, amidst the acclamations of the soldiers, the people, and the senate (December 11). Three days later the body of Constantius was brought into the harbour. Julian, on foot and clothed in purple, but without the imperial diadem, followed the funeral procession,

weeping as he walked along. The solemn offices were chanted in the church of the Holy Apostles, and then the lifeless remains were deposited in the mausoleum constructed by Constantius himself to be the last resting-place of his father, the great Constantine.

V

Julian's reign lasted less than twenty months (November 361-June 363). Into that short space are crowded events of the highest political, military, and religious importance. It will not be possible to deal with all of them here. Those of special interest to us are the pagan reaction, and the disastrous expedition in which he lost his life. Before, however, we pass on to these, we must note the savage vengeance which he took on all who had been opposed to him during the reign of Constantius. Eight were condemned to death—of whom one was burnt alive—and six others were driven into exile. And we should note also that the swarms of officials who had idled about the court of the late Emperor were all dismissed.⁶ This reform, though it caused much suffering to a number of individuals, was nevertheless for the public good.

Constantine the Great's wise policy of allowing paganism to die a natural death had not been followed by his sons Constantine II., Constans, and Constantius. A law promulgated in 341 ordered the cessation of 'superstition,' and punished all who should dare to offer sacrifices. In 356 the penalty of death was enacted against the adorers of idols. Severe measures were also taken with regard to the art of divination. These laws, however, except the last named, were practically a dead letter in the West; and even in the more Christian East they were not strictly enforced. No single case can be cited of any pagan suffering death on account of his religion. Many temples were destroyed and

⁶ It is related that when Julian arrived at Constantinople he wished to have his hair cut. A splendidly dressed functionary presented himself. 'You mistake,' said the new emperor, in surprise; 'I asked for a barber, not for a senator.'

the spoils used for the construction of churches. Such measures, as might be expected, only served to exasperate the pagans, and to prepare the way for the inevitable reaction. Moreover, the intestine divisions among the Christians brought discredit upon their religion. In the same year (350) in which Constantius enacted one of his severe laws against idolatry, his officers broke up an assembly of Christians faithful to the decrees of Nicæa, and profaned their church. This same Arian persecutor compelled the great Athanasius to flee from Alexandria, just as formerly the pagan persecutors Decius and Maximin had driven out St. Dionysius and St. Peter. It is not to be wondered that the persecuted pagans now began to take heart, and to hope for the day when the old religion might be restored. Now, at last, those hopes were realised: the fanatical Christian Constantius was dead, and the devout pagan Julian was reigning in his stead.

The edict of Constantinople, the first act of the new emperor, repealed all the anti-pagan legislation of Constantius, and commanded the re-opening of the temples, the offering of sacrifices, and the practice of divination. Paganism became once again the established religion: sacrifices were offered by the magistrates in the name of the State; pagan emblems were substituted for the Christian labarum; the soldiers, when receiving the emperor's donatives, were compelled to burn incense before the idols, and the higher civil and military officials who were Christians were dismissed from their posts. It was the clergy, however, who were the especial objects of Julian's hatred. The exemptions granted by Constantine were withdrawn, and all the subsidies which they had received from time to time were ordered to be paid back into the imperial treasury. The churches, too, were deprived of the materials which had been seized from the temples. As Constantinople had never been a pagan city, it contained no temples: but Julian did not hesitate to offer sacrifice to the false gods in the principal basilica of the city. At Antioch he took part in a procession in which the most obscene characters, male and female, had a prominent place.

The pagan emperor, however, was not content with re-establishing the old religion. He was above all things a

reformer. The official cult of the gods, with its pontiffs and flamens and augurs, had long ceased to have any influence. The real rival of Christianity was the worship of Mithras. In its original form the idea of the god is not without purity and grandeur. The sacred books of India and Persia make him the personification of intelligent light—illuminating, and at the same time seeing, all things—the type of truth and justice, the mediator between man and the Supreme Being. He is not the Uncreated Word, consubstantial with the Father; but more like the Arian notion of the Son. When we remember that according to St. Jerome the world woke up and found itself Arian, we can understand how nearly it was on the point of being devoted to Mithras. This false worship resembled in many respects the Christian mysteries. It would not be fair, however, to argue that similarity is always the result of imitation. St. Justin Martyr and Tertullian look upon it as a snare of the evil one to entrap the simple-minded.⁷

Julian, however, was a manifest imitator. In the first place he established a hierarchy of which he himself was the *Pontifex Maximus*. The office was by no means an honorary one. He was, like all lay popes, extremely fond of exercising his authority in minute matters. He appointed and suspended his 'clergy,' and wrote 'pastoral letters' to them regarding their different duties. Under him were the provincial high priests, corresponding with the Christian Metropolitans, and below these again, the high priests of the various towns, who were similar to our bishops. His regulations for public worship were exactly copied from what he had so often witnessed in the days when he was a lector in the Christian Church. Matins and Vespers were to be chanted by the 'clergy' in choir. A sort of Psalter was drawn up, and a collection of hymns 'ancient and modern' (παλαιοῖς καὶ νέοις). Sermons, too, were to be delivered—an innovation quite unknown to old-fashioned paganism; and the 'faithful' were to be urged to use all the means in their power for the propagation of 'piety' among the 'atheists.'

⁷ Justin, *Apol.* I., 66; Tertull., *De Præscr.*, 40. St. Augustine tells of a pagan priest who said: 'Mithra Christianus est.'

In his 'encyclical letter' he lays down the duties of the priests. Those who were selected for the ministry should be the best behaved, the most religious, and the most humane—without any regard to their position in life. They were not to be priests simply while exercising their priestly functions: they were to continue to be such in their private lives—in their conversation, in their dress, in their behaviour—in a word they were to live as men devoted to a sacred calling (*ἱερατικῶς*). And in return the people should pay them the same honour as was due to state officials, and even still greater honour.

But there was one Christian virtue which excited Julian's especial admiration, and which he endeavoured to instil into his brethren. St. Paul had long ago observed that the pagans were 'without natural affection, unmerciful' (*ἀσφόδρους ἀνελεήμονες*—Rom. i. 31). The deep-seated moral corruption, the absolute power of master over slave, the continual sight of bloodshed in the amphitheatres, had destroyed in them all sense of compassion. Julian laments this again and again in his encyclical letter.

We call upon Jupiter, the god of hospitality [he writes], and we are more inhospitable than the Scythians. . . . How can we go into the temple of this god to offer him sacrifice! How can we repeat the verses of the poet:

πῶς γὰρ εἴς τιν' ἀφαιρῶμεν
 ἔτι καὶ πτωχόν τι, καὶ ἀγῆν τε φίλην τε.
 (*Odyss.*, vi. 207.)

How can any worshipper of Jupiter, the god of friendship, believe that he has well served the god, while he sees his neighbour in want and refuses him even a drachma? And the priests are as unmerciful as any of the people. Why do they not imitate the charity of the 'atheist' clergy?

So Julian set about the establishment of a system of benevolence, in imitation of what existed in the earliest days of Christianity, and he did this more in his capacity of pontiff than as emperor.

Hellenism [he said] does not make the progress which we expected. And this is the fault of those who profess it. The

gods bestow upon us magnificent favours, surpassing our desires and our hopes. Who could have dared to promise himself so marvellous a change in so short a time? But do not think that this is enough. Do we not see that the chief reason of the spread of 'atheism' is kindness towards strangers, care of the dead, and seeming holiness of life?

It was easy for him to re-open the temples and to restore the splendour of sacrifice; but to infuse the spirit of Christian charity into the hard-hearted worldly pagan was beyond his power. Twenty years later St. Ambrose could ask with scorn: 'How many captives have been ransomed by the temples? How many meals have been given to the hungry? How much assistance has been given to the sick?'⁹

VI

While Julian thus openly favoured paganism, he ostentatiously declared that he was determined to grant full toleration to the Christians. In the early months of his reign he issued an edict recalling all the bishops who had been exiled by Constantius, and restoring to them their goods which had been confiscated. Among these were the Catholic defenders of the Nicæan decrees, such as Athanasius, Meletinus of Antioch, Eusebius of Vercelli, and Lucifer of Cagliari; semi-Arians like Eleusius of Cyzicus and Silvanus of Tarsus; and downright heresiarchs like Aëtius and Photinus. This apparent act of grace was in reality a subtle attack on Christianity. Julian reckoned that the 'atheists' would disgust so many by their dissensions and violence that the sublime religion of Hellenism would appeal with greater force to the peaceful and intelligent portion of the people. That this was his object has been recognised by Christian and pagan historians alike, and can be proved by his treatment of St. Athanasius. That great champion of orthodoxy had for the past six years been wandering from monastery to monastery in Upper Egypt to escape the persecution of Constantius. Twelve days after the news of the decree of recall, he entered Alexandria in triumph. George of Cappadocia, the intruded

bishop, had already been murdered by the pagans in their mad rejoicings over the accession of Julian. The way was thus opened for the peaceful exercise of lawful authority in the see. But this was exactly what Julian had not intended. Accordingly, he excluded Athanasius from the decree of amnesty on the ground that he had been expelled not once but many times, and also because permission to return had not included restoration to episcopal functions; the bishop was to quit the city on the very day of the receipt of the imperial order, under pain of the severest punishment. Athanasius, secure of the protection of his devoted flock, disregarded the order, and remained at his post. He even held a Council at Alexandria re-affirming the Catholic doctrine and enacting wise measures for the reconciliation of those who had fallen into Arianism. Nay, more, he received into the Church numbers of distinguished pagans. This was more than Julian could bear. He sent a fresh order exiling Athanasius, 'the enemy of the gods,' adding with his own hand the words:—

There is nothing that I should see, nothing that I should hear, with greater pleasure than the expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt—the wretch who has dared, while I am on the throne, to baptize Grecian ladies of rank.

So formal an order could no longer be opposed. Athanasius once more retired into the desert, but as he departed he told his faithful people to be of good cheer, for the cloud would soon be dispersed.

This is the sort of toleration which Julian promised the Galileans. Every inducement was held out to them to abandon their religion. 'Blanda persecutio fuit,' says St. Jerome, 'illiciens magis quam impellens ad sacrificandum.'¹⁰ Furthermore, the Christians were excluded from public offices, and especially from all military posts. This was going far beyond the practice of Constantine and his sons, who had never treated their pagan subjects in this fashion. Julian, indeed, openly declared that he intended to prefer men who respected the gods 'for the madness of the Galileans had ruined everything, while the loving kindness of the gods had pre-

¹⁰ *Chron.*, ad Olymp. 286.

served us all.¹¹ But his greatest measure for the re-conversion of the empire to paganism was the closing of the Christian schools. Before this time, whether under pagan or Christian emperors, there had been complete freedom of teaching. None of the edicts during the persecutions had forbidden the opening of Christian schools. As a matter of fact, however, most of the great teachers had clung to the old religion, and conversion among them was rare. Julian set about his design with his usual craftiness. His first edict merely required that all teachers should be certificated¹² and their names submitted to him for approval. We can understand which candidates would receive special favour. This law did not, however, affect those already in possession of chairs. Hence, a further step was taken. Julian laid down the general principle that as the great historians, orators, and poets were pagans, none but pagans could enter into their spirit and teach them with success. All Christian teachers must, therefore, either become pagans or resign their posts. Here, again, Julian boasts of his tolerance. He might have compelled the Christians to send their children to the pagan schools—but he refrains: ‘Perhaps it would be just to cure them in spite of themselves, as is done in the case of mad people, but we grant them permission to remain in their malady.’

This was, indeed, a terrible blow—much more dangerous than the edicts of Decius and Diocletian. It meant the loss either of religion or of intellectual life. After a generation or two, a certain number of Christians would have become pagans, while others, true to their faith, would have become unable to defend it with skill or to take any part in the higher affairs of State. The great Fathers of the fourth century, who owed so much to their study of the ancient classics, would have had no successors. Christianity would have fallen, as Julian hoped, into ridicule and contempt. To

¹¹ Julian, *Ep.* vii.

¹² ‘Magistros studiorum doctoresque oportet excellere moribus primum, deinde facundia. . . . Jubeo quisquis docere vult, non repente nec temere prosiliat ad hoc munus, sed judicii orlinis probatus de nemine curidium mereatur, optimorum conspirante consensu. Hoc enim decretum ad me tractandum referetur, ut altiore quodam honore nostro judicio studiis civitatum accedant.’ (*Cod. Theod.*, XIII., iii., 5.)

the credit of the Christian teachers it must be said that most of them resigned their posts rather than be false to their conscience. St. John Chrysostom, who was a youth at this time, speaks of doctors as well as sophists and orators who made this sacrifice. Strangely enough, some Christians looked upon Julian's action as conferring a great benefit on Christianity! These were the men who had always been opposed to the study of the heathen authors, and had maintained that the Sacred Writings were alone suitable for Christian youth. Others tried to make up for the loss by putting the Psalms into Pindaric verse, and the Book of Moses into hexameters, and by composing sacred dramas after the manner of Euripides and Menander. None of these writings has come down to us. Sozomen speaks of them in terms of high praise; but the more judicious Socrates says that after Julian's death they speedily and deservedly perished.¹³ St. Gregory Nazianzen, always devoted to the classical culture which he had imbibed at Athens, the fountain-head, truly says that Julian's decree was the greatest of all his crimes. And in this he is joined by the pagan Ammianus, who styles it 'a barbarous act, ever to be overwhelmed with silence.'¹⁴

It was not to be expected that the pagans and Christians under such circumstances would continue to observe peace and order. Fifty years had gone by since the great Constantine's edict of toleration. The Christians had multiplied exceedingly, and had been accustomed to hold many places of honour and profit, especially in the East. On the other hand, the pagans knew that any acts of violence committed by them against the 'atheists' would be easily condoned by Julian. Hence in many parts of the empire a veritable reign of terror prevailed, and the blood of many martyrs was shed. The burning of the temple of Daphne, just outside Antioch, was unjustly attributed by Julian to the malice of the Christians.

¹³ Sozom. v., 18; Socrates iii., 16.

¹⁴ 'Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum æterno silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus christiani cultores' (xxii., 10). 'A just and severe censure,' says Gibbon, 'has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric' (Chap. xxiii.)

In revenge he closed the principal church of the city after it had been desecrated by the foulest orgies ; and he ordered the shrines at Miletus to be burned. Magistrates who attempted to restore order were severely reprimanded, removed from their posts, and sent into exile. 'Is it a crime,' scornfully asked Julian 'for one Greek to kill ten Galileans?'

But the emperor was not satisfied with aiding and abetting the persecution. He spent the long evenings of the winter 362-3 in writing his work 'Against the Christians.' The book itself has perished ; only fragments of it survive in the refutation written by St. Cyril of Alexandria and in the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. Jerome. Neither St. Basil nor St. Gregory Nazianzen takes any notice of it. As far as we can form an opinion about its contents, it would seem to have more in common with the sarcasms of Celsus than with the philosophy of Porphyry. St. Cyril refuses to quote the insulting passages against Christ our Lord, which, doubtless, were in part derived from the earlier pagan writer. Celsus, indeed, in spite of his bitterness, concludes with conciliatory words, whereas Julian will come to no terms with the Christians—'Ecrasez l'infâme' is his motto.

The Jews had always found favour with Julian, who saw in them a valuable ally in his war against the Christians. In his last-named work he had singled them out for special praise, and he had also encouraged them in their deeds of violence against the churches. He now invited them to renew the sacrifices, of which their sacred books contained such minute regulations. They astutely replied that they could do so only at Jerusalem and in the temple. Thus it was that Julian conceived the idea of bringing back the Jews to the land of their fathers, and of rebuilding the temple which had so long been cast down. In doing this, he was acting in direct opposition to his pagan predecessors ; but the hatred of the name of Christ joined together these strange allies, and launched them on an enterprise destined to bring confusion on themselves and glory to the God whom they defied. Alypius, who had lately held a high post in far-off Britain, was entrusted with the superintendence of the work. Enormous sums of money were placed at his disposal, and the

Jews themselves contributed profusely. Vast numbers of them, men and women, set to work with the greatest enthusiasm. They openly reviled the Christian dwellers in the sacred city, and boasted that the prophecies of Christ would speedily be falsified. As soon as the remains of Herod's temple had been removed, the further progress of the work was interfered with in a mysterious way. Frequent shocks of earthquake filled up the trenches which had been dug for the new walls. A portico hard by, under which many workmen had taken refuge, fell down, and buried them in its ruins. But a still more terrible disaster followed. Christian writers, who lived at the time, such as St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Ambrose, and St. John Chrysostom, have described it. The strongest evidence, however, is the testimony of the pagan historian Ammianus, who says:—

Whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, was vigorously pushing on the works, terrible balls of fire, breaking out near the foundations with repeated attacks, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen, and at times burnt them; and thus, the element opposing them obstinately, the attempt was abandoned.¹⁵

Now it was the turn of the Christians to triumph. They recalled our Lord's denunciations, and urged against the panic-stricken Jews the words of their own Prophet Jeremias:

The Lord hath accomplished His wrath, He hath poured out His fierce anger, He hath kindled a fire in Sion, and it hath devoured the foundation thereof.¹⁶

—So great [says St. Gregory Nazianzen] was the consternation at the spectacle that nearly all, as by one signal and with one voice, invoked the God of the Christians, and propitiated Him with many praises and supplications; whilst many, without further delay, ran up to our priests, and besought them earnestly that they might be made members of the Church.¹⁷

¹⁵ 'Cum itaque rei fortiter in taret Alypius, juvenetque provincie rector, metuendi globi flammaram prope fundamenta crebris adsultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliis protius operantibus inaccessum.' hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit inceptum' exalii, i. e. Greg. Naz., *Orat.*, v. 4; Chrysost., *Contra Jud. et Gent.*, 16; *Adv. Jud.*, vii.; Ambros., *Ep.* xl.; Theodoret, iii. 15; Socrates, iii. 20; Sozomen, v. 22).

See also Newman, *Essays on Miracles*, p. 334, *sqq.*

¹⁶ Lament. iv. 11; cf. Deut. xxxii. 12; Jerem. xxi. 14.

¹⁷ *Orat.* v. 7.

Julian himself gave up the enterprise and reproached the Jews with the failure of their hopes.

VII

The retreat of the Persians, which had enabled Constantius to direct his forces against Julian, was only of a temporary character. They still retained the line of the Euphrates and threatened the kingdom of Armenia. But Sapor knew that he had now to deal with an adversary very different from the cautious Constantius. He, therefore, sent to sue for peace. Julian would listen to no terms; he tore up the Persian king's letter and haughtily bade the envoys tell their master that there was no need to send messages, for that he himself would soon be with him in person.

Many youthful commanders before and since his time have had visions of a victorious campaign in the far East. So it was with Julian. He had persuaded himself that the spirit of Alexander had passed into his body, and that he too was destined to cross the Indus and penetrate into Hindostan. The fate of Valerian did not deter him now, any more than the lost legions of Varus had not deterred him in his wars against the Germans. The oracles which he piously consulted were contradictory. Those which belonged to the Greek world—so cherished by him—gave favourable answers, promising him victory; whereas the Roman soothsayers, and especially the Sibylline books, warned 'the emperor not to go outside Roman territory.' These different utterances were doubtless the expression of the opinions of the two great divisions of the empire. Julian, taking no heed of the adverse answers, rapidly pushed on his preparations. In the opening months of the year 363 his forces and fleet were assembled at Hierapolis, not far from the banks of the Euphrates.

On March 6th he himself set out from Antioch, and seven days later transported his whole army, consisting of 65,000 men, across the river into the province of Osrhoene. He had now the choice of two courses: he could either descend the Euphrates, or march on to Nisibis and follow the line of

the Tigris. This latter route had the advantage of keeping him in touch with his Armenian allies, but would involve the abandonment of his fleet. The Euphrates plan was, therefore, decided upon, with some modification: a portion of the army was detached under Procopius and Sebastian to descend the Tigris and rejoin the main body at the confluence of the two great rivers. On March 27th Julian reached Callinicum and celebrated the feast of the mother of the gods. Ten days later he passed the tomb of the emperor Gordian who had died in the year 244. And now the soothsayers began to warn him against any further advance. Julian assembled his soldiers and delivered a stirring harangue, recalling to their memories the glories of former wars in those very regions by the armies of Rome. It is remarkable, as displaying a knowledge of Roman history not often referred to in Julian's writings. The enthusiasm with which this address was received was redoubled when each soldier was given a present of 130 denarii.

The forward march was resumed in admirable spirit and order, the emperor himself being always with the advanced guard, sharing the dangers and hardships of his men. No resistance was encountered until the fortified city of Pirisabora was reached. Here a serious check made it necessary to bring into action the powerful siege train which Julian had taken care to provide himself with. The terrified garrison submitted, and their lives were spared. The victors, however, were discouraged. A fresh harangue from Julian and a fresh distribution of money restored their spirits. The next great city, Mogaualcha, made an obstinate resistance, and shared the same fate. So far the Romans had met with no army in the field; but now the Persian forces advanced from Ctesiphon, on the Tigris, as though to dispute their advance. These, however, speedily retired, though continuing to hover round the invaders. When Julian reached the spot where the two rivers approach each other, he repaired the famous royal canal, and by its means transferred his fleet of eleven hundred vessels to the bed of the Tigris. Ctesiphon, the splendid and strongly fortified capital of the Persians now lay before him. Under its walls the first pitched battle of

the expedition was fought. The enemy were driven into the city which narrowly escaped being taken by assault. Julian reviewed his victorious soldiers, and summoning by name those who had especially distinguished themselves, distributed to them the much-coveted military and naval crowns. Then he prepared to offer a great sacrifice to Mars the Avenger. Ten magnificent oxen were brought to the altar, but nine of them suddenly fell dead. The tenth broke away and was with difficulty re-captured. When it had been slaughtered its entrails showed adverse signs. Julian in a fury called Jupiter to witness that never again would he sacrifice to Mars. 'He kept his word,' says Ammianus, sorrowfully, 'for not long afterwards he was dead.'¹⁸

The Persian king once more sued for peace, but Julian was still under the delusion of rivalling the exploits of Alexander. Nevertheless, he was unable to make himself master of Ctesiphon, and he dared not advance further to the eastward with that uncaptured stronghold in his rear. Should he return by the same route by which he had advanced? But the country had been laid waste, and, besides, the very notion of retreat was hateful to Julian. Should he ascend the Tigris in the hope of rejoining the detached portion of his army? This was his decision, though it was strongly opposed by the ablest of his generals. Then, suddenly, a new order was given: the army was to abandon both rivers and march by a shorter route. The huge flotilla which had rendered such valuable service was consigned to the flames, together with the vast stores which were on board. The soldiers protested loudly against this destruction, and Julian himself saw his error when it was too late. The route lay through a well-cultivated territory, but the Persians destroyed all before them. The enemy's cavalry, too, harassed them at every point. Under such trying conditions even Roman discipline and organisation began to break down. Every day the soldiers looked, but in vain, for the arrival of

¹⁸ Theodoret relates that a Christian pedagogue at Antioch met Julian's friend, Libanius, the celebrated sophist. 'What is the Carpenter's Son doing now?' scornfully asked Libanius. 'The Lord of the Universe,' was the reply, 'whom you deride as the Carpenter's Son, is now making a coffin.'

the Armenian allies and the legions of Procopius and Sebastian. At last they demanded to be led back by the Euphrates route. Julian pointed out the difficulties of that course, now that the fleet no longer existed. But he was overruled; and on June 16th the retreat began.

The Roman army proceeded on its way, suffering from the burning heat and from want of food, and attacked on all sides by their relentless foes. In the plain of Maranga they encountered the main Persian army and after a fierce conflict put them to flight. But a Persian retreat was only the preparation for a fresh attack. On the night of June 25-26, Julian lay anxiously awake in his tent, thinking over that glorious night three years before, when the Genius of the empire had appeared to him. All at once, he thought he saw the same Genus again, but this time with a veiled head, and moving sadly out of the tent. He rose and followed it. And now he seemed to see a bright torch which flashed across the sky and then disappeared. In his terror he summoned his soothsayers. They warned him against engaging in any military operation on that day. But soon Julian had recovered his courage and refused to obey. Probably, too, the want of provisions compelled him to move his camp. The enemy hovered around, watching for a favourable opportunity to attack, especially as the broken nature of the ground caused great gaps between the different divisions of the Roman host. Julian, who had laid aside his cuirass on account of the mid-summer heat, hurried from the rear-guard to the front, and thence again to the left wing, as each was attacked. His own guard had momentarily wavered, but he speedily rallied them, and beat off the foe. Suddenly a javelin grazed his arm and pierced him through the side. He tried to draw out the weapon, but fell fainting from his charger. He was carried to his tent, and his wound was dressed by his surgeon. As soon as he recovered consciousness, he called for his arm and his horse; but his excitement re-opened the wound and caused fresh loss of blood. Meantime, the battle raged all day long and ended only with the night. Both sides had fought with heroic courage, and both had suffered severely. When all was quiet, the Roman

generals assembled round their dying emperor. He spoke to them calmly about the events of his reign and his approaching dissolution, and thanked the gods for granting him a glorious exit from this world. He refused to nominate a successor, for fear that his choice might not be approved of. When his faithful philosophers began to lament his fate, he gently rebuked them for grudging him his entrance into isles of the blessed. Then, amidst the silence of the rest, he discoursed with Maximus and Priscus on the sublimity of the soul. As they were talking together, his wound re-opened once more. Feeling himself stifling he called for water. He swallowed a little, and fell back dead.¹⁹

The days are gone when Julian's reputation was a subject of contention between Christians and unbelievers. No unbeliever now agrees with Voltaire, 'that Julian had all the qualities of Trajan, without his defects; all the virtues of Cato, without his ill-humour; all that one admires in Julius Cæsar, without his vices; he had the continency of Scipio, and was in all ways equal to Marcus Aurelius, the first of men.'²⁰ No Christian would now repeat the invectives of Gregory Nazianzen, and hold up Julian as a monster of infamy. To us, moderns, he is simply the leader and personification of the pagan re-action. We can admire his asceticism, and his abilities as a scholar, a soldier, and an administrator, while we condemn his hypocrisy, his fanaticism, his hatred of the Christian name. Fifty years of power, after three centuries of persecution, had brought dissension and corruption into the Church. The sharp lesson of a return of pagan rule was needed to correct these defects. This is the function which history assigns to the life and reign of Julian.

T. B. SCANNELL.

¹⁹ According to Theodoret (Hist. iii., 25, *cf.* also Sozomen, vi. 2), Julian, as soon as he was wounded, took some of the blood in his hand and threw it towards heaven, saying: 'Galilean! thou has conquered' (Νενίκηκας, Γαλιλαίε). Like so many other celebrated *mots*, these words exactly suit the situation, but were never uttered.

²⁰ Cotter Morison, *Gibbon*, p. 118.

THE NEBULAR THEORY AND DIVINE REVELATION

‘Above all let writers bear in mind that the first law of history is never to say that which is not true, and the second, never to fear to say that which is true.’—CICERO.

I

‘FATHER! Does the Church permit us to believe in the Nebular Theory?’

This question, amongst so many others, which may at any moment be addressed to a priest in these days of advanced science and higher criticism, will, of itself, reveal the *motive* which inspires the writer to present to clerical readers the following paper. Questions which, in the days of our boyhood, would stagger the questioner in putting them as much as the respondent in having to answer them, may be sprung upon us in our days without any seeming note of temerity.

If the present reader, whose eyes are now upon this paper, feels fully competent to answer the presumed query, let him pass on for some dozen pages of this month’s I. E. RECORD. If, on the other hand, his acquaintance with the subject is somewhat precarious, he may find interest in reading on.

How, then, should we answer the query: ‘*Father; does the Church permit us to believe in the Nebular Theory?*’

I may say at the outset, that some of the greatest modern Christian astronomers affect what may be called the ‘*Nebular Theory of Sidereal and Planetary evolution.*’ It is all important for the priest, in this age of advanced science, to examine how far this theory is consonant with or adverse to Divine Revelation. This shall be the purport of the present paper.¹

Our first object should be to understand what is meant by this *Nebular Theory or Hypothesis*; and then consider how far

¹ The reader may profitably consult my former article, entitled ‘Is Our Earth Alone Inhabited?’ (I. E. RECORD for November, 1902); for though the two articles are not necessarily connected, the one acts as a preliminary to the other.—E. A. S.

it is in keeping with the Genesiactal History of the Creation. But, as in all sciences it is essential to grasp the exact meaning of the terms employed, we shall first clear the speculative field and prepare our minds for the better consideration of the subject, by a few elementary explanations. This may be best effected by the suggestion of the following questions :—

1°. What is a Star ?

2°. What is a Planet ?

3°. What is a Nebula ?

The writer not only thinks this process the more effectual for the end he has in view, but nothing has struck him more in his copious reading of astronomical authors than the frequent absence of scientific definitions, even of the very fundamenta of all astronomy. It is true that modern astronomers advert to the *positive* and *negative* characteristics of the celestial bodies, but they too often seem to shrink from giving philosophical definitions. The only patent explanation of this scientific short-coming may be that, although astronomy is as old as the hills, and though no other human science has made more extraordinary strides than astronomy, astro-physics, and geology during the last century, yet the intimate knowledge of celestial phenomena is still in its infancy.

WHAT IS A STAR ?

In the widest, most general, and popular sense, stars may be said to be those bright shining bodies which bespangle the firmament on any clear night. In such a generic definition it will be readily seen that there is no distinction implied between stars, properly so-called, and planets or any other luminous bodies in the heavens, even including nebulae, comets, and meteors. Passing to a stricter and more particular definition, a dictionary will tell us that a star is ' a luminous celestial body so distant as to appear like a luminous point, limited in astronomy to the *fixed* stars, and hence, sometimes applied by analogy to the sun.'² Here we see the planets and comets are thrown out, and the term is restricted to 'fixed'³ stars, in

² See *Standard Dictionary*, by J. K. Funk, D.D., under 'Star.'

³ Somewhat a misnomer, as we shall see later on.

contradistinction to planets, which *wander* about or more sensibly move.

But, suggesting a more scientific definition, we may define a star to be:—

‘An apparently fixed (*a*) celestial scintillating (*b*) body or globe of self-luminous, (*c*) densely incandescent (*d*) gaseous, metallic or fluid *e*) matter.’

1° (*a*) The words ‘*apparently fixed*,’ mark stars or suns⁴ off from all other more sensibly moving celestial bodies. As really there does not exist such a thing as a *fixed* star, the qualitative ‘*apparently*’ is exacted by science. There is not a single atom in the whole heavens in absolute repose. Hence stars are properly distinguished from planets and comets, which *wander* or sensibly move.

2° (*b*) *Scintillating* body; in contradistinction to planets and their satellites, which do not twinkle.

3° (*c*) *Self-luminous* is also important to distinguish a star from a planet or satellite, which only shines by borrowed or reflected light. Hence the light of stars is inherent or *intrinsic*.

4° (*d*) *Densely incandescent*, that is, white hot, to again distinguish a star or sun from the cold or cooler bodies, such as planets and satellites, meteors, etc., when the latter are outside atmospheric friction.

We advisedly use the adjective ‘*densely*’; because the gases and metallic vapours in the stars are not of that attenuated form they are in comets and certain nebulae.

5° (*e*) *Gaseous, metallic or fluid matter*. Here we come to the essence or constituent components of stars.⁵ Gases, pre-eminently *hydrogen*, largely enter into sidereal matter. Spectrum analysis reveals the presence in the stars of magnesium, iron, titanium, calcium, manganese, nickel, cobalt, chromium, sodium, barium, copper, and potassium; often, in a highly vaporised state, as they are found in the *chromosphere* of our sun.

The inner nucleus of a star (as the body of our Sun seen

⁴ All stars are suns. (See article, ‘Is Our Earth Alone Inhabited?’—I. E. RECORD, Nov., 1902, page 429.)

⁵ They are incandescent, solid, liquid, or densely gaseous matter (Lockyer’s *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, No. 10.)

through 'spots') is still a *terra incognita*, so to speak. The latest observations (*Encyc. Brit.*, new ed.) shew that the Sun and stars are masses of gas, and neither *solid* nor *liquid*.⁶ If they were even the latter, they would cool with such rapidity that they would cease to shine in a few centuries. The superficial portion would first cool and eventually become solid, like what happened in the evolution of our Earth, and what is no doubt going on with the giant planets (Jupiter and Saturn). The volume of a star is so great that its interior, though gaseous, is not transparent. It radiates heat from its exterior. In case the reader should be surprised that I seem, in my definition and in its evolution, to confound stars with a sun, let me say, once for all, that all the 'fixed stars' are *suns*. Our Sun is only a star; nor is it of the magnitude of countless numbers of other stars, which bespangle the heavens.

Having considered the definition and nature of stars, let us now ask ourselves:—

WHAT IS A PLANET?

A dictionary will tell us that it comes from the Greek word, *πλανήτης*, meaning a *wanderer*, and signifies 'a celestial body which revolves about the Sun or other centre, or a body revolving about another planet, as a centre.' (See *Imperial Dictionary*.) One of our learned modern astronomers more succinctly calls it 'a cool body revolving round a central incandescent one.' The reader will readily remark a disagreement between the lexicographer and the astronomer. In my humble opinion the former scores here; for our Moon is a planet and yet she does not revolve primarily round an *incandescent* body. I shall venture on a more complete and scientific definition.

'A planet is a cool opaque (dark) spheroidal or spherical body, either in a solid or semi-solid state, revolving round another body, as a centre of centripetal motion.' *Explanation*: 1. While the generic term 'body' makes the definition applicable to stars, meteors or fire-balls, asteroids or planetoids, the term '*spheroidal*' particularly marks off the planet which generally,

⁶ The terms liquids, gases, solids, lose all intelligible distinction when applied to material under such pressure as exists in a star's centre

at least, has a flattening at its polar axis, caused by its rapid rotation before it arrived at its subsequent solid state. It is true that astronomers have not verified this *oblateness* in the case of Mercury, on account of the difficulty of closely observing a comparatively small body so much immersed in the sun's blinding light; but analogy here steps in and induces us to believe that, just as we find all the other planets rotate and consequently to be *oblate spheroids*, so we may include not only Mercury, but perchance all the other undiscovered planets of the sidereal sphere. The qualitative '*spherical*' is simply introduced into the definition as a scientific safeguard.

2. 'Cool' is preferable to 'cold,' as some of the planets, like Jupiter and Saturn, are still intrinsically possessed of considerable heat, though, perchance, not to an incandescent degree. The adjective '*opaque*' is used to distinguish planetary from solar or sidereal bodies, which shine with their own *intrinsic* light. A planet merely *reflects* the light cast upon it by its primary or sun; hence we often use the word *dark* applied to planets. Consequently, if our Sun were removed from the heavens, none of our planets would be visible to the naked eye.⁷ The evidence of darkness in our satellite—the Moon—is familiar even to the man in the street, when he gazes upon it in quadrature, or whenever her relative position with the Sun and the Earth is such that sunlight illumines only a portion of her disc.

3. '*Either in a solid or semi-solid state.*'

This distinguishes a planet from a star, sun, or comet (in general). Some of the planets, like our Earth and Moon, are viewed practically as solid bodies; at least, as far as a very deep crust is concerned; while there are others, like Jupiter, which have not yet cooled sufficiently to possess a solid crust.

4. '*Revolving round another body.*'

All planets and satellites revolve round some primary. In the case of planets, properly so-called, they revolve about a sun as a central body; while the satellites revolve round

⁷ We say *naked eye*, because there is some doubt whether Jupiter is not still so hot that he may emit some light of his own in addition to his borrowed light from the Sun.

planets. Hence the satellites or moons of Mars (*two*), of Jupiter (*five*), of Saturn (*nine*), of Uranus (*four*), of Neptune (*one*) and, of course, of our Earth (the Moon), revolve round their planets, as primaries, though together with them, they also revolve round the Sun. Some of the comets revolve about the Sun in elongated ellipses for orbits, and, at times, approach him from long distances and make a dash around him, only to recede again into distant space.⁸ Others travel in open orbits or in parabola.

5. '*As a centre of centripetal motion.*'

This implies that wondrous law of universal gravitation which pervades the whole universe and by its attractive force prevents the encircling globe from flying off at a tangent, or rather detracts it from pursuing the straight line of its first initial motion through space. It is this marvellous law which balances all the celestial bodies and keeps them whirling so uniformly in their several orbits. It is common to all kinds of matter, however dense, however light, and may be stated thus :—'The force by which two material particles (or atoms) attract each other in direct proportion to the product of their masses, and in inverse proportion to the square of the distances between their centres.'⁹ '*Centripetal*' is almost a redundant term; but it distinguishes the force more exactly from its contrary—centrifugal motion.

In this definition, it should be well noted, that the planets so defined are not confined to the planets of our own solar system but by analogy to all the innumerable planets which may be revolving around their primaries in the vast vaults of the immeasurable universe. *Positis ponendis*, the definition also embraces the asteroids (planetoids) or smaller planets, which we know to exist in our solar system, especially in that wonderful shoal-ring between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter.

The reader will now more easily be able to distinguish a planet from a star, when viewing a star-lit sky. The stars *scintillate*, or twinkle, while the planets shine with a more calm steady light. However, as the condition of our atmosphere

⁸ We only know about a dozen whose periodicity has been confirmed.

⁹ See *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, by Lockyer, No. 6.

sometimes causes even planets to blink a little,¹⁰ and also, as the eye-sight is not always keen enough to detect a well-defined disc (which a star never presents), the most effectual way to discriminate the planet is to fix its apparent position by some terrestrial object, such as a chimney or a church spire, and then, in half an hour or so, look if it has at all shifted its position, relative to the terrestrial object *and* neighbouring stars. If it has, it is a planet. If not, it is presumedly one of the fixed stars.

WHAT IS A NEBULA?

A dictionary may suffice to reply that a nebula is 'a supposed gaseous body of inorganised stellar substance.'¹¹

Astronomers content themselves by saying that nebulae are 'a mass of glowing or incandescent gas'¹²; or, 'Nebulae are celestial objects which present a cloudy appearance.'¹³

Nebulae appear in the heavens, whether to the naked eye or through small telescopes, like indistinct patches or light-some cloudlets. When powerful glasses are brought to bear upon them, they generally resolve themselves into clusters of small stars: though several and great astronomers claim from spectrum analysis that there exists a species of nebulae formed of hydrogen and nitrogen (?) gases, *independent of star clusters*.¹⁴

Nebulae may, therefore, be divided into two kinds; firstly, those perhaps by far the more numerous, which, by powerful telescopes, can be resolved into stars or star clusters;¹⁵ and, secondly, those which are not thus resolvable, but exist as an agglomeration of attenuated incandescent gases, the preponderating gas being hydrogen.

The important *role* which the latter form of nebula plays and has played in the Stellar Universe will become apparent as we now come to explain what is called the Nebular Theory or Hypothesis.

¹⁰ This is markedly the case in Mercury, even if from other causes.

¹¹ See *Standard Dictionary* under 'Nebula.'

¹² Lockyer's *Elementary Astronomy*, No. 96.

¹³ *Popular Astronomy*, by Flammarion, p. 820.

¹⁴ See *Popular Astronomy*, by Flammarion, page 73. We seem to have an example in the great Nebula of Orion.

¹⁵ Such as the Nebulae in Hercules and more likely in Andromeda.

THE NEBULAR THEORY.

This theory is succinctly given in the *Imperial Dictionary*, by Draper (see Nebula), where the hypothesis is explained as 'all the ponderable material now constituting the various bodies of the solar system once extended in a rarefied or nebulous and rotating condition, beyond the confines of the most distant planet.' This hardly goes far enough; because it seems to confine the theory to *our solar system*. Let the reader, therefore, understand that all we are about to say upon the Nebular Theory is equally applicable to, and postulates, the same for all the stars or suns which people the whole sidereal universe.

Now, departing from the general procedure of astronomers, who, in explaining the theory, follow the *synthetical* method, evolving the ultimate effects from primary causes, I intend to follow the very reverse method, and, by *qualitative analysis*, rather trace back from the effects to the primal conditions. I think this method will appeal best to non-astronomers. Confining ourselves, then, to our solar system,¹⁶ what have we to account for? What are the celestial objects belonging to our own solar system, which directly or indirectly form part of God's sidereal and cosmical creation?

In other words: At day-time, we look up and see and feel the light and heat of a great globe of fire which we call the Sun. At night, we behold the fair and soft-glowing Moon, sailing in our sky; and at times we discern other planets, similar to the one we ourselves inhabit, 'wandering,' or almost imperceptibly gliding, along the ecliptic of our hemisphere. We call these our sun, moon, and planets, our solar and planetary system. Naturally, we ask ourselves, were these always as we see them; always and from the beginning of creation in the same condition? Was the Sun always the same great ball of fire, with a diameter of 866,000 miles, and the centre of our system? Was our Earth always an opaque, cold, oblate spheroid, with a diameter of 7,918 miles, having no external heat and diffusing only borrowed light? Was our Moon also

¹⁶ By analogy the same may be extended to all sidereal bodies, directly or indirectly.

always the satellite or 'companion' of our Earth, without atmosphere, without water, without heat, and intrinsic light? And were Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune, as we see them and know them to be to-day?

The advocates of the Nebular Hypothesis step in and say: '*Certainly not!*' Just as the geologist proves to demonstration that our Earth itself passed through several evolutionary periods—the paleozoic, secondary and tertiary stages, each consuming thousands, aye, millions of years to mature and evolve the Creator's designs—so the sun, stars, moon, and planets passed and pass through evolutionary stages. Let us apply analysis and work backwards.

First of all, all these celestial bodies have their constituents. It seems all important to get at these. Then, if we find a homogeneity in all of them, and, above all, in the analysis of *nebulous matter* itself, we have gained a great point, and considerably paved the way for building up the whole hypothetical edifice. Now, here spectrum analysis comes in, and reveals to us, first, the constituents of the Sun. What are they? Iron, titanium, calcium, manganese, nickel, cobalt, chromium, sodium, barium, magnesium, copper, potassium, gases especially hydrogen, and other chemical and metallic substances in vaporous condition. But these elementary constituents are not only *all* in our Earth (which goes without saying,¹⁷ but also are revealed by the same analysis in many of the other stars of the heavens, with even the addition of bismuth, tellurium, antimony, and mercury.

Hence we have homogeneity and similarity of essence in all the celestial bodies; a fact which induced the great astronomer, Camille Flammarion, to write:—'The stars, suns, are themselves sisters of our Sun. Unity of origin, unity of force, *unity of substance*, unity of light, unity of life in the immense Universe, through an infinite variety of aspects and generations.'¹⁸

¹⁷ The Moon, Venus, and Jupiter shew identical spectra; hence in Sun, stars, and planets we may conclude by analogy a similarity of constituents. 'The difference between the planets is not material: they are specially differences of degree.' (*Popular Astronomy*, by Flammarion, p. 472.)

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

In this important consideration, it is well to keep our Earth in view. For although it is now practically in its ultimate condition, it was not always so; and in this sense it powerfully suggests analogy. Geologists tell us, and there seems no gainsaying their evidence, that our Earth passed through various states, and that for 'millions of years changes have been going on and are going on still.'¹⁹ Even the crust of our Earth is composed of various rocks of different kinds, each kind denoting long periods of particular conditions. Thus we have the *stratified* or *sedimentary* rocks; igneous rocks, proclaiming a once *molten* state; which in turn predicate a period when the whole sphere (our Earth's) was both hot and luminous (*incandescent*); ay, as hot and luminous as the surface of the Sun and stars is even at the present day.²⁰ Hence, in the course of time, long periods, if you will, a cooling and condensation went on, just as any red hot substance (a poker, *e.g.*) will gradually cool and radiate its heat, then grow cool enough to cease to emit any light; though the centre (in the case of a body like our Earth) may remain hot, and even molten for many centuries or long epochs. We know how hot the interior of our Earth must be, for as we probe it, we find the temperature increases at the rate of 1° Fahrenheit for every 66 feet; so that at 2 miles down water boils, at 7½ miles iron would be red hot, at 18 miles glass would melt, and at 28 miles deep everything we know of would be in a state of fusion.²¹

Thus go on tracing back and we come to times of moltenness, fusion, molecular fluidity, and incandescent gases.

Permit me to quote here one of our most distinguished Irish astronomers. Sir R. Ball, in his delightful *Story of the Heavens*, page 501, writes:—

It has been thought that if we could look back far enough we should see the earth too hot for life; look farther still, we should find it and all the planets *red hot*; back farther still, to an exceedingly remote epoch, when the planets would be heated just as much as our sun is now. In a still earlier stage *the whole solar system* is thought to have been one vast mass of

¹⁹ *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, by Lockyer, No. 182.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Nos. 184 to 191.

²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 193.

glowing gas, from which the present *forms* of the sun with the planets and their satellites, *have been gradually evolved*.

Quite similarly to this writes the great French astronomer, Camille Flammarion, and other distinguished astronomers.

Thus by an analytical process we come to a primal state, which seems best described as a state of nebulous matter. Are we not now better fitted to follow the usual synthetical method and fully explain

THE NEBULAR THEORY,

as applied to the whole celestial universe? For simplicity's sake I shall confine my explanation to our own solar system. I will, therefore, ask the reader to suppose that countless ages ago, '*in the beginning*,' there was *diffused* over the whole space occupied by our solar and planetary system, that is, extending from the solar centre and spreading out almost to the extreme confines of Neptune's orbit, namely, a radius of nearly 3,000 millions of miles (hence enclosing a circular space, whose circumference is about 18,000 millions of miles),²² *a rotating highly incandescent nebulous mass*, composed principally of hydrogen gas, but having within it the potentiality of the numerous constituents I have already enumerated, the '*posse*' of all the '*esse*,' which by direct or indirect evolution would eventually constitute stars, suns, planets, satellites, and every form of celestial object. This immense mass of nebulous matter condenses, shrinks, rotates. In this condensation and shrinkage portions of the nebulous matter become detached, perhaps, in the form of rings, which themselves further contract, condense, and shrink, and, as attraction is a force inherent in every atom of matter, the new denser portion will attract towards it the other parts, producing, by the fall of the more distant molecules a general motion towards the new nucleus, involving the whole mass in a rotatory motion and thus constituting a separate revolving globe.²³ In other words, *Neptune is born*.

²² The great Nebula in Orion may encompass a million circles as big as that described by our Earth's orbit. See *Story of the Heavens*, ch. xxiii.

²³ It is a principle of dynamics for matter under such circumstances always to assume a globular form, like the globules of dew.

The rotatory motion of the new sphere is still preserved and always will be preserved, and its revolving motion round a centre (namely, the parent nebulous mass) is controlled by the universal law of gravitation, so that this new globe will both revolve in an orbit and at the same time rotate on an axis.

Meanwhile the process of condensation and shrinking are proceeding in the *mother* mass, until some more rings or other portions of the nebulous matter are detached, following the same principles and laws, as in the former case, and hence at a distance of millions of miles another spheroid begins its separate existence. *Uranus is born*. Thus on go the contraction and shrinkage and *parturition*, until the planetary family embraces a Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Earth, Venus, and Mercury—children of different ages, different sizes, different stages of evolution.

But there is yet a mighty mass left—a mass so great that its centre has still a space of some two hundred millions of miles circumference to sport in—a mass, which, although comparatively speaking, has almost completed its more active shrinking and condensation—now rotates as one large burning incandescent globe—the parent and centre of them all, which we call Old Sol—our Sun.²⁴ But this is not all. The very planets themselves became fecund. As they, while in their highly incandescent whirling state, also contracted and further condensed, smaller rings or particles were thrown off (or rather receded from), and the *child* becomes a *father*, and Old Sol blossoms into a planetary *grandfather*; the satallites or *moons are born*.²⁵

Such in homely and unscientific language I opine is the Nebular Theory or Hypothesis. How far I have faithfully interpreted the views of the three great originators of this theory—Kant (*the philosopher*), Laplace (*the mathematician*),

²⁴ Whether he has become 'impos' altogether, or whether, though his term of fecundity is long passed, he is still condensing and shrinking, may become the subject matter of a future paper.

²⁵ This lunar process of parturition is open to some scientific objections, but the general trend will remain much the same. Sir Robert Ball writes:—'The moon was originally a part of the earth; for, in very early times, when the earth was still in a plastic state, a separation would seem to have taken place, by which a small piece broke off to form the moon, which has been gradually revolving in an enlarging orbit until it has attained the position it now occupies.'

and Sir William Herschel (*the astronomer*), all of whom independently of each other, and by different methods, arrived at the same conclusions, the following extracts may help the reader to decide. How far this theory is reasonable and solves the mysteries encompassing the *beginnings* of our Earth, the origin of the great and glorious orb which furnishes it with light, heat, and life—ay, of the origin of all the stars²⁶ and planets and indicates how the revolving satellites have been associated with the planets; why, again, all the planets and satellites revolve round the Sun in the same direction from West to East; why all the satellites revolve around their primaries (the planets), (with the solitary exceptions in the Uranian and Nepturian systems), from West to East; why the Sun himself and all the other suns—the stars—participate in a similar diurnal motion; ay, why, as far as we know, all celestial bodies rotate in the same direction: the Nebular Theory stands forth and says ‘Eureka!’

Following the stages synthetically from the primal nebula to its ultimate ratio, we should have (1) the nebulous gaseous vapour; (2) a viscid fluid (semi-liquid and sticky); (3) fully liquid; (4) moltenness; (5) plastic semi-solid; (6) hot solid; (7) the earth's globe with a cold solid crust and caloric interior.

Sir Robert Ball writes²⁷ :—

Suppose that countless ages ago a mighty nebula (extending almost to the confines of Neptune's orbit) was slowly rotating and slowly contracting. In the process of contraction, portions of the condensed matter would be left behind. These portions would still *revolve* around the central mass, and each portion would also *rotate* on its axis in the same direction. As the process of contraction proceeded, it would follow from dynamical principles that the velocity of rotation would increase, and thus at length these portions would consolidate into planets, while the central mass would gradually contract to form the sun. By a similar process, on a smaller scale, the systems of satellites would be evolved from their contracting primary. These satellites would also revolve in the same direction, and thus the characteristic features of the solar system could be accounted for.

²⁶ Even of many *new* stars, such as Nova Persei, which so recently appeared.

²⁷ *Story of the Heavens*, p. 501—old ed., p. 506.

In substance the same learned author says, in his *Earth and its Beginning*, chap. xii., page 247, that this contraction would be greatest at the central portion, while, in a less degree, it would also take place at other points. Then each of these centres would increase, and, in consequence of the general law, by the process of contraction, isolated regions in the nebula would become subordinate centres of condensation. Thus in the process of immense epochs the condensation would result in a great increase of the density of the substance of the nebula, both in the central regions as well as in the subordinate parts, till at last the material ceased to retain mere *gaseous* forms.

Now, let us hear the *astronomical* father of the hypothesis—Sir William Herschel.²⁸ He supposed that the starry matter was once in a state of indefinite diffusion. That ‘during an eternity of past duration,’ it has been ‘breaking up’ by condensation towards centres more or less remote. That where condensation has gone on more energetically, we have nebulae with a gradually increasing brightness towards the centres; if still more energetic a nucleus (or it may be a *planetary* nebula), next a nebulous *star*, which he supposes our Sun to be; finally, the completely formed stars may be assumed to be newly consolidated nebulae. This condensation, he believes, must be accompanied by rotation due to the originally irregular distribution of the gravitating particles.²⁹

And the learned son explaining his great father’s views writes that, as the local centres of condensation progressed, *solid* nuclei would then come, whose local gravitation still further condensing, and so absorbing the nebulous matter, each in its immediate neighbourhood, might ultimately become stars. His telescopic observations displayed every stage of this process.³⁰

The reader will note by the last words how the evolution extends to the *whole sidereal system*. Space will only permit me to quote another authority—one of the greatest of modern French astronomers.

²⁸ Laplace must ever be the true father of the theory.

²⁹ See *Encyc. Brit.*, vol. i., Diss. vi., ch. iii. (197).

³⁰ *Outlines of Astronomy*, by Sir John Herschel, No. 871.

Let us imagine an immense gaseous mass placed in space. Attraction is a force inherent in every atom of matter. The denser portion of this mass will insensibly attract towards it the other parts; and, in the slow fall of the more distant molecules towards this more attractive region, a general motion is produced, incompletely directed towards this centre and soon involving the whole masses in the same motion of rotation. The laws of mechanics show that, as this gaseous mass condenses and shrinks, the motion of rotation of the nebula is accelerated.³¹

And the very latest and most recent discoveries, says the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, give colour to the hypothesis of evolution implied in this view of the physical constitution of stars in general.³²

Here we part with astronomy and the cosmical evolution of celestial objects; and here it was my intention to consider whether such a theory is antagonistic to Revelation or whether an hypothesis so beautiful and simple in the concept of the astronomers can be squared with the account of the Creation as recorded in the Book of Genesis. But I find that, despite my efforts to be brief, my paper has extended to such lengths that I dare not trespass further on the pages of the I. E. RECORD or on the patience of its readers. We must leave to some future occasion a consideration of the religious aspect of the case.

Meanwhile, then, let us nurse the specious theory in our mind with feelings of complete submission to the great *Mater docens*, always remembering, as one of the greatest modern astronomers says of it: 'it can never be more than a *speculation*;³³ it cannot be established by *observation*; nor can it be proved by *calculation*. It is merely a conjecture, more or less possible.' Methinks that some of my readers will be inclined to think this judgment *weaker* than the case scientifically warrants.

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

[to be continued.]

³¹ *Popular Astronomy*, by C. Flammarion, p. 72.

³² *Encyc. Brit.*, new ed., under 'Astronomy.'

³³ Of course, he means scientifically.

AN OUT-OF-THE-WAY LAND

A STRAW shows how the wind blows, says the old proverb, but there seems to be, of late, a good many little straws lying by no means inert on the highways of the Balkan Peninsular, if we may judge by the notices in the public Press of insurrection among the down-trodden Bulgars inhabiting Macedonia, with ugly rumours of torture being applied by the emissaries of the Porte to recalcitrant subjects who do not happen to know when prohibited fire-arms were last smuggled into the province, or by whom they were sent. Despair, we are told, is rampant in Macedonia, and has already found a vent in more or less open revolt against the Turks. For these Bulgars, though Slavonic in race, are Greeks by religion, having no lack of sympathisers in the independent Slav Balkan States, or among the members of the Greek Church acknowledged by Russians to the North, and Hellenes to the South of the peninsular where still flies the Crescent on the Ottoman flag.

How long a period that flag may be seen in company with those of other European States remains to be seen. Its downfall has been repeatedly predicted, but ragged, and torn by many a gale, it still holds its own, though by the gyrations of the above-mentioned little straws, it is likely enough to be menaced by another storm which may, or may not rive it altogether from its much battered flagstaff.

Next to Macedonia is another Ottoman province, which, more fortunate than its neighbour, especially in its northern portion, has never really been overcome by the Turks. Therefore, leaving political questions to those who by position and diplomatic knowledge are better able to discuss the much-tangled problems of this particular phase of 'the Eastern Question,' we now propose to open for our readers a long closed window, through which they can have a glimpse of a little known country, and of a nation that has more or less always asserted its sturdy independence of the Turks, to whom it pays only nominal subjection.

Separated from Italy by the often grey and turbulent waters of the Adriatic Sea, is ancient Illyria, now known as Albania, a province of the Ottoman Empire. Yet it is hardly possible to conceive two countries more dissimilar than Italy and Albania at the present day; although under the rule of imperial Rome they were much on the same footing as regards the civilization of ancient times. In spite of the convulsions produced by the downfall of Roman power, by repeated invasions, and by the internecine disputes of the Middle Ages, Italy, by its industries, its literature and its incomparable art, steadily rose from the ruins of former culture into the unique position of a land whose civilization commanded the admiration and wonder of Europe: a position gained at a period when the foremost states of Europe were either in the darkness of barbarism, or emerging therefrom with many a struggle and many a failure.

Far different was the fate of Albania. With its vestiges of Roman remains and early Grecian ruins, it has continued to this day to be a wild and beautiful land, where Orientalism still keeps at bay the intrusion of modern western ideas, as is exemplified by the absence of railways and the trail of American and British tourists.

Allusions made in the newspapers concerning the lawless doings of any enterprising Albanian chief or Bey, who is rendering matters more lively than agreeable to the Sublime Porte, afford little if any interest to that respectable personage 'the general reader,' but to those who do care to look a little way beyond the evanescent and quickly forgotten daily news, a notice of this description will excite a certain amount of curiosity; they being aware that 'there are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy.'

A writer who undertakes to describe a country nowadays, knows that what he writes may become antiquated in less than a few years, so swift is the progress being made everywhere; but in a land such as Albania, he may write with more security, as the existence of its inhabitants has altered as little in general outline as the precipitous mountains from which it is said the Albanians derive their national appellation,

'Shkipetar,' though the exact meaning of this word is lost. Although the radical and far-reaching changes effected in the world during three thousand years have been innumerable, yet, in ancient Illyria, the cycle of time appears to have remained stationary, so closely does the social condition of the Albanians resemble that of their ancestors. With the exception of Turkish telegraph wires in several parts of the province, anyone travelling there, might be tempted to imagine he had suddenly been transported into the very earliest mediæval ages, whose peculiar ideas and mode of life have survived in this Ottoman province, regardless of the progression of years, or of the advanced civilization of modern times. Of this truth a striking corroboration can be given in the following instance of a state of things which is probably known to few outside Albania.

In the northern part of the province is the town of Giakova, where the population has been averting all fear of stagnation in that remote and mountainous district, by taking a very active and personal interest in the efforts of two rival Albanian Beys to obtain the government of Giakova. These Beys—Mohammedans like most of the Albanian aristocracy—are respectively at the head of two tribes, the Bitucci and the Krasnia, both belonging to the great Gheg division of this nation. Riza Bey was followed by the Bitucci, while the Krasnia were devoted to their chief, Zurri Bey. These high-spirited and turbulent nobles had unfortunately cast a covetous eye upon the district and town of Giakova, the government of which they considered as their lawful due, and many were the pretty fights that ensued, costing many lives. However, the inhabitants of Giakova, who probably looked upon both Beys as birds of prey, declined to accept either, as their 'Vali' or governor, and for three years they succeeded in managing their own affairs by a committee of the head men of each quarter of the town, and the 'Kaimakan,' an official who nominally represented the Sultan. Riza Bey having vehemently opposed this arrangement, was several times ejected from Giakova, although he always contrived that his enforced exile should be of short duration. Zurri Bey, his rival, on the other hand, thought he would eventually attain

the object of his ambition, by pretending friendship with the Kaimakan and the provisional committee, in the hopes of out-witting them both at the first favourable opportunity. It was a cold morning in the winter of 1898, when the dead bodies of two individuals were discovered on a path near Giakova. Though it was probable that a private blood feud was the cause of this fatal occurrence, the Giakova people suspected it had been effected with the concurrence of Riza Bey, who, recently turned out of the town, was known to be lurking at no great distance with his tribesmen, just watching his opportunity to fall unexpectedly upon Giakova, and to seize the government. A report having been made that Riza and his band were on the banks of the river flowing by Giakova, a number of the townsmen issued from the streets and commenced firing across the stream. Riza was not slow in returning the compliment, and four hours elapsed in this fusillade, although it only resulted in the wounding of four men. Whether the distance was too great between the opposing forces, or whether on both sides men did not care to increase their blood feuds, history does not relate. A few days later all the shops and stalls of Giakova were suddenly closed by order of the committee, fearing an outbreak of street fighting between the two factions who had many adherents in the town. It was, however, expected that a high Turkish official would be sent to make some terms with Riza Bey, but as he failed to appear, the Bitucci, under their chief, surrounded Giakova, and they even succeeded in garrisoning the six or seven houses, or rather towers, possessed by Riza in the very centre of the town, where the whole night of the 18th of November was spent in sorties and street fights. The committee and the Kaimakan several weeks previously determined to set Riza Bey's forts on fire, but this had been forbidden by their superior, the Pasha at Skodra. Enraged by the wounding of the Kaimakan's assistant, and hearing a rumour that Riza Bey had cut the telegraph wire, the committee at last determined to have its own way, and forcing the Kaimakan to disregard the Pasha's orders, they made him turn the cannon upon the obnoxious forts. Riza did not remain to dispute the question, for as soon as he beheld the shells coming from the

hill batteries outside Giakova, he ordered his clansmen to leave the town, hypocritically declaring that although he would fight Zurri Bey to the last, he had no intention of rebelling against the Kaimakan, the Sultan's representative. But the committee would not be trifled with any longer, and the batteries continued their work till nightfall, by which time every tower belonging to Riza Bey was levelled to the ground and his people dispersed in all directions. Nothing daunted, Riza collected sixty men, and was on the point of blockading all the passes to Giakova when he was disturbed in his operations by the sudden arrival of seven Turkish battalions to restore order. The Bey's friends seeing that his position was exceedingly unsafe, strongly advised him to go to Constantinople to plead his cause there in person. Having prudently secured a guarantee that no evil should befall him upon the shores of the Dardanelles, Riza Bey, escorted by fifty retainers, departed on his visit to the Sublime Porte, leaving much enduring Giakova at length in peace.

Reading such an account one might imagine that the hand of the clock had been reversed; so curiously has the history of San Gemignano or any other Italian mediæval hill town been re-echoed not so many years ago on the Turkish coast of the Adriatic. But we must remember that in Albania the hands of the clock have never really advanced beyond very early hours, and that this wild land and its natives are still very far away from the golden, restful afternoon of a civilized and settled government.

In this story we have just related, mention has been made of the vendettas or blood-feuds which, like a pestilence, have raged for centuries among the Albanians with even more ferocious persistence than those of Corsica. Nowhere in Europe is the total disregard of life greater than in Albania, where the blood-feuds, the cause of which may range from the commission of a murder to the most trivial pretext or accident, are handed down from generation to generation, until often the very origin of the dispute has been completely forgotten.

For instance, in a town of Southern Albania, many of the inhabitants had been unable to leave their houses for years,

so as to avoid being shot down at their thresholds, until the Turkish Government, which generally foments these dissensions, at last tried to remedy matters, by persuading the people to pay a ransom to their enemies, a thing very seldom done, as the Albanians, men and women alike, much prefer wiping out their grievances in bloodshed. When all the men had been gradually exterminated in two quarrelsome families, the widows of the two last who were killed, being sisters-in-law, agreed to bury the hatchet and to spend the remainder of their lives together in the same house. There is a tale related of another 'jak' or blood-feud, that arose in a most unforeseen manner. At a wedding in a village near the oriental looking town of Prizrend in North Albania, a young man, a friend of the contracting families, entered the court-yard where the wedding guests were seated in groups to partake of the great banquet given on such occasions. He greeted the company and handed his gun (without which no Albanian ever leaves his house), to one of his hosts, with the barrel reversed as is the custom. As luck would have it, the trigger being accidentally touched, off went the gun, the bullet striking a stone whose flying fragments wounded eight people, and on the rebound the ball killed a woman. Anywhere else such an accident would have been considered a lamentable catastrophe; but in accordance with the Albanian national custom, the poor guest, the owner of the unlucky weapon, at once found himself involved in a blood-feud, not only with the husband and family of the dead woman, but also with the wounded and all their relations. In compliance with their peculiar code of honour, the unfortunate man was granted a 'bessa' or truce for a fortnight, after which period he would be liable to be shot like a hare by his whilom friends, who would not hesitate to stalk him behind a wall or hedge for this amiable purpose. Once he was killed, it would become the duty of his family, down to the remotest cousin, to avenge his blood, and thus was beginning another of those interminable 'jaks' that are the scourge of Albania. It so happened that a Catholic Italian missionary arrived in the district just as the truce was expiring. With the utmost difficulty could he induce the men, all eager to begin the feud, to listen

to his energetic remonstrances on their senseless vindictiveness; the husband of the dead woman being particularly eloquent, bewailing his hard fate at being married only three weeks, and being very poor, possessing no more money to secure another wife. It may be observed here, that among these savage people it is the fashion to give a prospective father-in-law a certain sum for his daughter, just as a cow or sheep might be purchased. The people who had been wounded, however, seemed more inclined to make some capital out of their injuries by a good monetary compensation. Finally the missionary succeeded in making peace, on the agreement that the young man, whose weapon provoked this uproar, should pay the widower a sum of £8, which would enable him to procure another helpmate.

It is an invariable rule in Albania that when a man dies, his widow may not marry again without the consent of her late husband's family. Now, there was quite a young woman left a widow in the village of Vila, and her brother-in-law, who was the head of the family, said he would give his permission to anyone who would like to marry her. Accordingly, a young man of the locality proposed for the widow and was accepted; but shortly afterwards the dead man's family suddenly denied having granted any permission. As it would have been contrary to all ideas of Albanian honour to draw back, the young suitor persisted in his matrimonial intention, and a blood-feud was soon in progress, the widow's brother-in-law being particularly rancorous, knowing he was quite in the wrong. The widow, who seems to have been determined to marry again with or without leave, one fine day was seen to leave her father's house where she had been staying, and, accompanied by four of her own relations, she boldly entered the house of her betrothed husband. At once the relatives of the first spouse flew to arms, and in a few minutes a hail of bullets was falling on the roof; but as there are never any windows on the ground floor of an Albanian residence, and only very few small apertures high up on the second floor, no one inside could be killed or wounded. The fray continued for some hours, until some of the neighbours less interested in the matter, contrived to arrange a 'bessa' or

truce, which should last till the next day at noon. The offending couple profited of this interval by promptly departing before dawn in search of more peaceable quarters. As they ascended a steep mountain on their flight, they halted about mid-day to watch far below their house being burnt to the ground; happy in the reflection that they had escaped in time to save their lives.

Occasionally, when the blood-feuds are more than usually active, the Ottoman Government will proclaim a 'bessa'; but it must be admitted that unless it happens to suit these Albanians, very little attention is paid to the official proclamation. So great is their vindictiveness that the women will encourage their young sons, as soon as they know how to fire a gun, to continue any vendetta that may be on hand in the family with other folks; and there is a story told of a mother running to her son, who mortally wounded, had just killed his adversary, and exclaiming, as she kissed him, that she blessed God for allowing him to die 'with a fair face,' *i.e.*, honourably—and adding she would have been inconsolable, but for the knowledge that her dear boy had had time to avenge himself before his own death.

This desire of shedding blood is so deeply implanted among these wild Albanians that at their feasts the glass of a man who in their language 'has not taken blood,' is left unfilled when the spirits are being served to the guests. One youth on his death-bed loudly lamented that he was expiring without having gained any honour, and when a worthy Franciscan friar who was attending him, inquired what he meant, the patient replied that he was regretting having to die before he could have shot somebody.

In the stern mountain district of Mirdizia, where the people are Latin Catholics, two families for a long time kept up a blood-feud that had arisen on an accusation of a petty larceny. Not that the purloined copper dishes were of any special value; but simply because it was a blot on the honour of the parties concerned, to accuse, or to be accused; and that in a part of Albania where the laxest ideas are held as to the rights of property, and where thieving is regarded as being rather an expeditious way of bettering oneself in life. No

Albanians, not even the shepherds, will be seen without their rifles slung across their shoulders, and the boys and many of the women will carry pistols in their girdles. In this way two small urchins, aged five years, got hold of a loaded pistol, and while playing with the dangerous toy one of the children was shot dead, and at first it was thought he had killed himself. However, as the preparations for burial were being made, the other child innocently remarked that he was the one who fired the fatal shot. The result was that his family and that of the dead boy found themselves at feud, and they were just on the point of commencing the 'jak' when a Catholic missionary with much difficulty persuaded the enraged and bereaved mother to forego the vengeance for which she was clamouring, and to forgive the giddy little fellow who caused the accident. Having kissed the crucifix in the church before all the villagers, and pronounced the words of pardon, the woman was thus induced to check what would have proved to be a very dangerous feud.

The missionaries are sometimes able to pacify the vendettas, and they succeed much better than the Turkish officials who, as a rule, are much distrusted and hated on account of their oppressive extortion and misrule. During a Government truce homicides become more frequent, because murderers are then tempted to be less cautious in concealing themselves—a mistake which is promptly taken advantage of by their ever watchful foes. After the proclamation of one of these official 'bessas,' a youth was killed who was the only son of aged people; and the whole family took up the feud for this homicide, which had been peculiarly brutal, as the poor boy imagined himself to be in greater security from his opponent, to whom he had just paid half of a debt over which they had been quarrelling. During a mission given later in the village, the desolate parents overcame their natural resentment, and in the presence of a deeply affected congregation, they arose, and kissing the crucifix at the altar, they pardoned the man who had killed their only son. Their example was followed by all the relations, with the exception of a nephew, who refused to forego his revenge. At last it was decided to have recourse to a very ancient Albanian mode of reconciliation,

and ten of the chief men with the missionary went to the house of the still vindictive man. The missionary was desired to enter first, and in a short time his companions filed in, one behind the other, according to precedence of age. Standing in a circle round the fireplace, which is always in the middle of the room, they took off their caps, and turning them inside out, deposited them on the floor. The last man entering carried a cradle containing a baby which he placed with the head towards the hearth. Next came the murderer with his hands tied behind his back, and his head concealed beneath a black hood, who knelt down beside the cradle. This custom of introducing an infant on such an occasion, is practised, in order that the presence of the innocent creature may excite compassion towards the criminal, who, for the time, is under its protection. The missionary and then his associates all entreated the master of the house to pardon his enemy, but he remained silent, and it was easy to perceive the struggle it cost him to overcome his vindictive pride. At length he fell on his knees, and kissing the missionary's crucifix, he forgave his foe. Then rising, he turned the foot of the cradle towards the fire, and approaching the culprit he immediately untied the cord binding his hands. As soon as this was done, he raised the caps from the floor, kissed them, and restored them to their owners, after which he and his family embraced their former enemy, thereby extinguishing the feud. The pardoned man, still muffled in his hood, retired into a corner of the room, while the rest of the company drank some glasses of spirits, congratulating the family upon their act of forgiveness, and at the conclusion of this ceremony the assembly dispersed.

Though the Albanian women are the domestic drudges, and do all the hard field work, and are treated generally as being very inferior to their lords and masters, still it is a curious fact, that if a man involved in a blood-feud, can get a woman to escort him, he is considered to be under her protection, and he can with impunity traverse dangerous neighbourhoods, where if caught alone he would most certainly meet with a sudden end.

On account of these feuds the Albanians attach great

importance to large families, whose members are bound to stand by each other, and very often by their village, as it is by no means uncommon to find villages at war; and there is a significant Albanian proverb which says, 'He who has no friends is abandoned by God, for blood is thicker than water.' Houses, therefore, are all constructed with a view to defence in this part of Europe, and they are not unlike the towers erected by the Corsicans, and they are usually built on an eminence or some rising ground for more security, while over the entrance door is an aperture through which the inmates can reconnoitre a suspicious visitor, and thus be able to drop some missile upon him unexpectedly if it so pleases them.

In his work upon the Slav races, Monsieur Laboulaye remarks that the Albanian, ever surrounded by a thousand perils, held responsible for his actions, and the fate of his family, nearly always distrustful of his neighbours, has truly need of courage and prudence. He is ignorant, passionate, capable of a thousand crimes, yet also of great heroism and generosity. Brave and savage, he is not easily subdued, and, like the rest of his race, he is quite as turbulent as were the ancient Teutons mentioned by Tacitus, whom the Albanians strongly resemble in their ferocity, their love of fighting, and their contempt of death.

As an instance of this, it so happened that in the thirties of the nineteenth century, the Prenk or chief of the savage Mirdite clan died, leaving two sons of tender years. Their uncle, wishing to supplant them, killed a maternal relation of the children who was remonstrating on his dishonourable conduct. This so enraged the widow of the dead chief that she deliberately shot her brother-in-law. This man left an only son who, as it was contrary to Albanian usage to attack a woman, revenged himself by killing her eldest boy. The determined and relentless woman soon retaliated by murdering her nephew, so that there only remained her youngest son to represent the family and chieftainship in the male line. The heroine of this tragedy was summoned to appear before the Vali or Governor of Scutari, but she paid no attention to the order, as public opinion was quite on her side, and she

was even admired for her spirited display of vengeance in this dreadful blood-feud.

As a rule a woman is not much considered in Albania, and she is looked upon as a stranger in her father's house, where she is only an incumbrance to be sold as speedily as may be to some man, in whose family she assumes the part of the head servant. The Albanian marriage ceremonies, which are not unlike those of the neighbouring Serbs, strongly emphasize the humble and dependent position of the bride, who, indeed, has sometimes been betrothed in her cradle. On the wedding day she wears a costume presented by her future husband, who also gives her an embroidered fez on which are fastened a few gold coins which must be her dower in widowhood. Until the first child is born the young wife is scarcely regarded as a member of her new family, and all her life she must obey her mother in law and her sisters-in-law older than herself.

The wild Mirdite Christians observe quite another method in their matrimonial alliances. Having an objection to inter marriages, it is the fashion for the would-be bridegrooms to carry off Mahomedan girls of another clan, whom they baptise and marry at once; the Turkish fathers-in-law being usually quite satisfied with payment in cash. On the other hand, the Mirdite girls are invariable expected to marry Christians belonging to tribes unconnected with their own.

It is customary for the sons and their families to reside in their father's house, and at his death, his place as head of the family is taken by the eldest brother, whose authority is just as absolute, and who is charged, moreover, with the defence of his relatives in their numerous disputes and feuds. An Albanian house consists of two apartments, the *scipija*, which is a kind of barn for the family and their domestic animals, separated sometimes by a paling or trellis from the *zoba* or room reserved for visitors, who, in Turkish fashion, are kept aloof from the women of the house. Hospitality is held in great esteem in Albania, as owing to the absence of proper tribunals, men are constantly travelling from place to place, to have disputes and debts settled, and sometimes, though not often, to have their homicides compounded for fines,

through the mediation of mutual friends. Even if a man claims hospitality from a family with whom he is at feud, he is courteously received, and during his visit the strictest 'bessa' or truce is observed until he is fairly beyond the boundary of his host's fields, after which it behoves him, as the saying is, to proceed with the beard over the shoulder and rifle ready for action.

A great source of poverty in Albania is caused by the 'Drek' or mourning feasts after a funeral, at which gallons of raw spirits are consumed, along with eatables in the same proportion, so that until the next harvest there is great scarcity of food; and it is not unusual on such occasions for families to sell their lands. Another of the most peculiar Albanian customs is that of adopted brotherhood, which is mentioned by the celebrated geographer Elisée Reclus, and the ceremony takes place in the presence of the families of the two young men, who, vowing mutual fraternal fidelity, open a vein and taste of each other's blood. Reclus adds that 'the need of these family ties is so strongly felt, that young people brought up together frequently remain united during their lives, forming a regular community having its days of meeting, festivals, and weddings. But no political cohesion exists among the tribes. The physical condition of the country, and the passion for war having scattered their forces and rendered independence impossible, and the religious feuds between Catholic, Greek, and Moslem add fuel to the flame.'¹

There are three distinct castes among the Albanians, which are never known to mix nor to intermarry. The first and the highest caste is that of the soldiers, in which are the Albanian gentlemen, chiefs, and beys, nearly all Musulmans, owning large estates cultivated by the peasants of the third caste; while according to M. Laboulaye, the second class, that of the artisans, is much the most interesting of the three. As considerable parts of the mountains are very sterile, these men, grouped in bands under foremen, wander during winter in every direction over the plains of the Balkan Peninsular, as carpenters, lime burners, sawyers, bakers, pedlars, etc.

¹ *Géographie Universelle*, vol. i.

Being remarkably laborious, thrifty, and sober, they earn much money, with which, on their return to the Albanian highlands in summer, they purchase houses and land in their respective villages. It is calculated that these artisans gain annually a sum amounting to £600,000, as on an average each man earns about £12, and the number of these artisans is estimated at fifty thousand.

The labourers of the third caste seldom leave the farms on which they work for the landlords. When a man dies his son takes his place, and the system observed is fair enough; two-thirds of the crops belonging to the farmers, and one-third to the landlord; and both parties agree tolerably well in spite of abuses arising from the indulgence of violent passions, no settled laws, and a privileged religion like that of the Turks.

The Albanians are thought to be the descendants of the original inhabitants of the country, for there is no doubt that in language and race they stand out distinct and dominant among the numerous nationalities that people the Balkan Peninsular. In his *Albanesische Studien* the learned German writer, Von Hahn, says that by the ancient Illyrians and Epirots the Albanians were connected with the Pelasgians, who, amalgamating at a very early period with the Hellenes, disappeared almost at the first dawn of historical narrative. Although the language spoken by the Albanians includes a great number of Greek, Turkish, Slavonic, and Italian words, it is neither Greek nor Slavonic, possessing its own grammar and its own alphabet, though for that matter it is not much written, with the exception of pious books translated by Albanian priests during the 17th and 18th centuries, and at present in the pamphlets being issued by the League founded by Albanian colonies in Italy for the preservation of their mother tongue and the fostering of a national spirit in the mother country. It is, however, the only survivor of the original language spoken in distant periods of history; and its difficulty is not lessened by the fact that instead of using their own alphabet, the Ghegs or Northern Albanians will use the Roman characters, while the Tosks in Southern Albania prefer using the Greek letters. For it may be observed that

in Albania are two predominant tribes, the Ghegs and the Tosks, with numerous subdivisions too extensive for enumeration; and three religions. The Ghegs dwell in the north of the province, while separated by the river Skumbi and the old Roman Via Egnatia, the Tosks inhabit the southern portion. Though the language is the same, the dialects vary quite as much as they do in Italy or Spain; consequently the Ghegs and the Tosks do not understand each other, and a long-standing dislike and jealousy existing between the two great tribes has still further deepened the division, to say nothing of the difference of religion. The Tosks living on the Greek frontier, and mixing much with the Hellenes, generally profess the creed of the Greek Church; while the Ghegs, who are either Musulmans or Latin Catholics, have a hatred of both Greek and Tosk, which is even more accentuated as regards the latter. Aware of this peculiarity, the Porte profits by these racial prejudices in maintaining its often shaken supremacy in Albania, which is considered as producing the valuable asset of promising recruits for the Ottoman army. The Albanians being far better soldiers than Christians or Mahommedans, form some of the best regiments in the Turkish service, with the proviso that the military from the North should never be quartered near their brethren from the South of Albania; as with arms in their hands they would soon be fighting as gloriously as the famous Kilkenny cats—and with the same result. Though most of the Albanian soldiery are Mahommedans, still there are also Catholic tribes who are highly esteemed for their valour by the Ottomans. With the cross emblazoned on their regimental flags they march beside the Turks bearing the crescent, which is a strange sight when one reflects on the undying hatred of Christianity that has characterised the Turk since the days of his Prophet.²

² The Albanians were always noted mercenaries. As far back as the second century before Christ, the Illyrians formed part of the armies under the celebrated Epiriot king and general, Pyrrhus, who so often defeated the Romans. The Stradiot troops employed by the Venetian Republic were also Albanians, and these fierce soldiers spread all over Europe, being in the service of Austria, Naples and the Papal States, as well as in that of France in the reign of Henry IV. Charles V. and Philip II., monarchs of Spain,

M. Laboulaye is of opinion that the geographical aspect of Albania has had much to say with regard to this tribal division. He says that Albania is extremely mountainous, and may indeed be considered as consisting of two terraces, the first rising out of the Adriatic in precipitous cliffs, while the second, beginning a few miles inland, grows steeper and steeper until it merges into the Roumelian range, the Scardus of ancient history. Moreover, these terraces do not form a plateau, being intersected in every direction by a series of deep and narrow valleys, ravines, and high peaks, that serve to isolate the population of one district from another. The country becomes still more rugged as it borders the stream of the Black Drin up to its source in Lake Ochrida in Southern Albania, from which, though traversed by the Pindus chain, the land descends in broad and more undulating stages to the gulf of Arta, which is part of the boundary between Turkey and Greece. From this description it may be recognized how the Ghegs have been more or less confined to the northern part of Albania, while the Greeks have had no trouble in spreading throughout Southern Albania among the Tosks who have such a strong affinity to the Hellenes, that in a few more generations, observes Laboulaye, they will be as much confounded with their Greek neighbours, as were formerly their Pelasgian ancestors with the first Hellenes. It is also remarked that wherever Tosk and Greek have intermarried, their off-spring possess the best qualities of both races without their defects, and besides this, the Albanians who have settled in Greece form a fifth of its population. The same, however, cannot be said of the colonies found in the Balkan States, Austria, Sicily, or Calabria, in South Italy, where they migrated as early as 1460. In these settlements the Albanians, while leaving their savageness behind them in Illyria, have never mixed with the surrounding peoples, and they have also carefully preserved intact their own language and customs.

Though the charming *Journal of a Landscape Painter* by Edward Lear, gives many descriptions of the beautiful

had Albanian body-guards who existed down to the reign of Charles III. and were known as the Royal Macedonian Regiment.

scenery of Albania, varying from the stern mountains and dark forests of the North to the more open and cultivated South, studded by lakes of extreme loveliness; still like other English travellers who have given their impressions and experiences of this wild and primitive land, neither he nor they could ever penetrate into the private life of the natives. They could note the various and picturesque costumes, they could describe accurately the customs, superstitions, and history of the people. They could be witnesses of their savage disposition in the scowling looks and covert insolence, often degenerating into loud abuse and ruder hustling; they could feel the scorn and loathing of every Christian openly testified by the Mahommedan Albanians; but all this was only as it were, the outside shell. Lodging in the khans or inns, and generally surrounded by guides, kavasses, and Turkish guards detested by the people, it was not possible for them to understand and know the Albanians as well as the Catholic missionaries who every winter, as members of 'the flying mission,' come from Italy, and who, travelling from one remote valley to another in the severest wintry weather, live in the houses of the people, partake of the same food, are subjected to the same hardships, and who are trusted and revered by the Albanian Catholics, and very often by those professing the Greek or the Moslem creed. Indeed, notwithstanding their intense dislike of Christianity, the Turkish local kaimakans or officials, to save themselves trouble, will order the turbulent Latin subjects of the Crescent to leave off cursing, gambling, and drinking, these vices being strictly forbidden by the missionary whose arrival may be shortly expected; and more often than not, the people will obey this injunction.

Hence in this article we have given details from the reports of these devoted priests, which strikingly illustrate the condition and character of the Albanians, and which throw a light upon that inner life of a people which is rarely revealed to outsiders, especially if they are known to be Protestant foreigners.

Education is held of little account in Albania, though both Latin and Greek Christians have their schools. The people are very superstitious, and think nothing of applying to the

Hogias or Mohammedan ecclesiastics for charms and amulets, and to wise men and women for relief of their ailments, and these quacks sometimes do effect extraordinary cures, probably by their knowledge of magnetism, to which influence races like the Albanians are very susceptible. The Albanians, as is seen by their feuds, are of a cruel disposition, so much so, that the Porte has often been obliged to disavow the savage atrocities of their Albanian regiments in war time. Not very long ago a Mohammedan Albanian, who was vice-governor of some town, having a grudge against a Christian countryman seized him, and when he was stripped and well smeared over with honey, the wretched man was exposed beneath a burning summer sun to the attentions of wasps and other venomous insects. He would soon have expired under this fiendish treatment, had he not been rescued by another more humane Turk who obtained his release, by threatening to shoot down the brutal governor.

There is really no government worth the name on the part of the Turks. When and where they can, the Ottoman 'valis' or governors will endeavour to feather their own nests at the expense of the people, but in many parts of the province the tribes, particularly the Mirdites, are practically independent. We are told that they 'pay no taxes, are exempt from conscription, and are only expected to furnish a contingent in war time. The tribe is often composed of several clans, under a chief or standard-bearer, who is the military leader, and each clan has its elders, who form a council and hold their seats, like the standard-bearers, by inheritance. They preside over tribal meetings, which exercise supreme legislative power, and the clan is usually divided into smaller communities, administered by a local notable who superintends execution of the laws, collects fines, and administers capital punishment. These men are in communication with a representative of the tribe at Scutari, who is the sole link between the mountaineers and the Turkish Government, and this man communicates the orders of the Vali, which must be framed in accordance with Albanian customs and institutions.'³

There is a peculiar class of people known as 'Laramanes,' consisting of numerous families, who, while secretly maintaining their belief in Christianity, pretend to follow the Mahomedan persuasion. They attend the mosque, and discard their Christian names in favour of Turkish appellations, but they are exceedingly lax in Moslem observances, such as the eating of pork and drinking of wine. They do not in the least deceive their Turkish neighbours who contemptuously leave them alone, while bitterly persecuting *bona fide* Greek or Latin Christians. Apostacies are very frequent, whole villages turning Mohammedan, especially after the Moslem Ramadan or fast, during which time the followers of the Prophet take a delight in vexatious harrying of the Christians. Possessing what may be called an intense passion for their liberty, the majority of the Albanians, particularly the soldier caste, have long sacrificed their religion to their love of independence, saying cynically, 'He who has the sword has the religion;' and though most of them will not speak a word of the Turkish language, and detest the Ottomans, they are really fanatical Mahomedans. The villages of these Albanian Turks are easily distinguished by their tall minarets; while those of the Christians are conspicuous for their droves of pigs. Most of these porkers rarely survive the age of three months, when they are slaughtered to avoid a tax imposed on them at that early age by the Turks as being 'Christian animals.'

In ancient Illyria, besides the native Albanians are other nationalities, such as the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Roumanians, all members of the Greek Church, as well as the Wallachians, who speak a corrupt dialect of Latin. Akin to the Wallach people are the Zinzares, a mixed race, descendants of Wallach and Roumanian, chiefly inhabiting the Pindus mountain range. Elisée Reclus says that they are probably Latinized Dacians. They are an interesting race, and they are found in all parts of Albania and Turkey. While those who remain in the Pindus are either herdsmen or goldsmiths, others are industrious traders and carriers, keeping in their own hands much of the inland trade; the Greeks competing with them in maritime districts. The Zinzares of Metzovo in Southern

Albania long had a singular privilege in obliging every traveller, Turk or Christian, to unshoe his horses before leaving their territory, lest 'he might carry away a clod of the earth which did not belong to him.'⁴

The Wallachians of the Pindus possess mercantile establishments in all the oriental towns, and they even have a great bank at Vienna. As their children are educated at Athens, these people, outside Albania, are usually taken for Greeks, which is not the case although they would like to be incorporated with the Hellenes. In addition to all these widely differing nationalities, Jews and Gipsies abound in Albania.

The Tosk tribe of Albanians are much fairer than the Ghegs, and they resemble more the Greeks in manners and customs, though most of them are Mahommedans. They are called Arnaouts by the Turks, and are much employed as kavasses and servants.

The national dress in Albania has not been as yet discarded as in other European countries. Nothing can be more gorgeous than those worn by the Ghegs. Mr. Lear says that near Scutari the men wear 'a long surtout, purple, crimson or scarlet, trimmed with fur, or bordered with gold thread or braiding, while the jacket and waistcoat are usually black.' They also wear trews of white or crimson native cloth; the fez is never laid aside, and no Gheg will be seen without his rifle and his side arms, which manufactured in Albania, are often exquisitely ornamented. The Mirdites wear a long white woollen coat and trousers, red belts, and white fez, and their women have also the same garments, with the addition of an embroidered and much fringed apron. In place of the fez a blue handkerchief is twisted round their heads. Near Scutari the crimson cloaks worn by the women are very picturesque. At Prizrend, a town situated on a spur of the stately Scardus range, the costume is very striking. This town is remarkable for the numerous canal-like rivulets that, running through the streets, fall into a river issuing from a deep gorge and dividing the town in two halves. Here, as the people sit in groups smoking at their doors, one can

⁴ *Geographic Universelle*, E. Reclus.

admire their white kilt (*fustanella*), shirt, and fez, with a jacket covered with gold embroidery, and a broad crimson belt; but sometimes they will replace the kilt by very full purple trousers which are met at the knee by purple leggings. All the northern Ghegs are usually dark with keen and cruel faces, and even the Christian men have adopted the Turkish habit of shaving the head except at the back where the hair grows long. Near Alessio, further south, the women wear dresses all fringed and tasselled; and their sisters in central Albania have white veils and high head-dresses. Like the Greeks the Tosks wear the white linen *fustanella*, and on holidays they don a sleeveless waistcoat of velvet or cloth, either embroidered or laced, while the shirt sleeves hang loosely. It is a pretty dress when clean, which is seldom the case, the people being very uncleanly in their habits. At Tyana the women have blue dresses, white petticoats, and aprons striped in yellow, crimson, or brown, the dark vests are trimmed with pink or red, and the large white wrapper is worn abroad both by Christian and Mohammedan women. In other localities, says Mr. Lear, the Albanian women have 'black capotes, worked petticoats, gaiters, striped kerchiefs, and scarlet aprons, with long thick bunches of black silk, tied like tails to their hair.' The Greek priests, who work like the peasants in their fields, usually have a red fez, a cloth jacket, and a full blue trousers, gathered in at the knee like the Greek sailors, which is certainly a very unecclesiastic dress.

While, as a rule, field work and household drudgery are left to the women, the men spend much time in field sports, and those who are rich keep greyhounds. They are fond of cards, and will also sing long ballads on the deeds of Alexander the Great, and their national hero Scanderbeg (fifteenth century), for the Albanians have excellent voices, and possess an extremely good ear for music.

There are many remains of buildings in the province, some of which are Cyclopic, dating from a remote period, such as the walls of the Pelasgic city of Hellas situated, writes Reclus, in the neighbourhood of Lake Yanina, not far from a chasm down which plunges an affluent of the famous river Acheron, and which is powerful enough to turn a mill wheel.

On the shores of this lake in Southern Albania is the site of the most ancient oracle in Greece, that of Zeus at Dodona, where answers were supposed to issue from the leaves of an enormous oak, quivering in the breeze. Numerous vestiges also exist all over Illyria of Roman and Grecian remains.

Could Albania be brought within the pale of civilization, it would soon become one of the richest provinces in Europe, with its immense and valuable forests, its unexplored mines, of which gold was certainly extracted by the ancients in the valley of Drin flowing from its source in the intensely blue and transparent waters of Lake Ochrida. It is thought that iron, coal, and other minerals do exist in Albania, and in the Middle Ages, the Venetians, who possessed settlements in Northern Albania, knew that silver mines existed in the wild Mirdite district. At the present day, near the seaport of Avlona, mineral pitch is still taken from a deposit worked by the Romans. With the exception of the higher mountain ranges, the land is exceedingly fertile, and would amply repay more cultivation than is actually bestowed upon it. In the highlands thrive the flocks of sheep and goats, cattle are reared on the plains, and every lake and river teems with fish while on the coasts and low-lying lands the soil is favourable for vine and olive and other fruit trees. The beauty of the scenery in many parts is unrivalled in Europe, but it will remain closed to travellers until railways replace the narrow bridle paths serving as roads, that generally skirt the edges of deep precipices, when not threading the tortuous mazes of a forest, or wandering down the rough bed of a dried-up torrent in a cañon, or climbing in sharp staircase-like zig-zags to villages perched like eyries on the precipitous sides of ravines and mountains.

Having endeavoured to give an adequate description of ancient Illyria, lying far from the beaten tracks of commerce and latter-day globe-trotters, we lay aside the pen, hoping that these pages may be as interesting to the reader as their compilation has been to the writer—two qualifications which are apt to be dissociated, much to the disadvantage of the too sanguine scribe.

PAUL DILLON.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

OBLIGATION OF HEARING MASS ON SUNDAYS AND HOLYDAYS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following in your next issue:—

I said my first Mass on Christmas morning in my own house, and had for a congregation some of my immediate neighbours. Did those who were present on the occasion satisfy their obligation of hearing Mass on that day?

I quote for your observation one of our Diocesan statutes bearing on the point, namely, ‘*Diebus Dominicis et festis de praecepto, nulli sacerdoti licebit Missam celebrare in aedibus privatis, quacunque de causa; nisi in exsequiis defunctorum, praesente corpore, vel in festo Nativitatis Domini. Ab hac regula excipimus domum parochi, sub hac tamen obligatione, ut nullus extraneus tempore Missae admittatur.*’—Yours truly,
C.C.

The obligation to hear Mass on Sundays and holydays may be regarded as two-fold:—1° a *real* obligation, *i.e.*, an obligation to assist at Mass; and 2° a *local* obligation, *i.e.*, an obligation to assist at Mass in the proper place—*in loco debito*.¹ For, according to the common law of the Church, those of the faithful who have got no special privilege are bound to hear Mass in a church or in a public oratory. A Mass heard in a private house or a private oratory will not satisfy the local obligation. In Ireland this local obligation was, of course, suspended during the penal days and after, when it was impossible to comply, in this respect, with the requirements of the common law. And some are disposed to hold that, even at the present day, a person can fully satisfy his obligation on Sundays and holydays in Ireland by hearing Mass anywhere—unless, indeed, there be, in any parish or diocese, a special prohibition to the contrary. That opinion is sometimes advanced

¹ *Conf. Noldin, De Praeceptis*, n. 267.

in justification of the practice, which prevails in some dioceses in Ireland, of permitting a priest to duplicate on a Sunday or holyday, in order that he may celebrate in a 'corpse-house' and thereby give a number of persons an opportunity of hearing Mass who might otherwise find it inconvenient to hear Mass in the Church.

What, then, is to be said of those who heard Mass in the house of C.C. on Christmas morning? They certainly satisfied the real obligation, and, according to the opinion just quoted, they were not—apart from special legislation—bound in Ireland by any local obligation. It would seem, therefore, that these persons fully satisfied their obligation to hear Mass, unless there was a special local law affecting the matter. Needless to say, it is quite competent for a bishop in Ireland to oblige his people to hear Mass on Sundays and holydays in a church or in a public oratory. If anyone, regardless of such a law, contents himself with hearing Mass outside a church or public oratory, he fulfils the real obligation, but he violates the local obligation. Whether or not there exists such a statute in our correspondent's diocese, we have no means of knowing. The restrictive clause of the statute cited by our correspondent—'ut nullus extraneus tempore Missae admittatur'—seems to apply, as it stands, only to Mass celebrated in the parish priest's house, not to Masses permitted in private houses 'in exsequiis defunctorum, praesente corpore, vel in festo Nativitatis Domini.'

**VICAR-GENERAL ASSISTING AT A MARRIAGE WITHOUT
AUTHORISATION FROM THE PARISH PRIEST OF THE
PARTIES**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Please inform me if Vicars-General, of whom there are several in the diocese to which I am attached, can marry people indiscriminately—over the heads of their own legitimate pastors—and without any delegation whatever?—
Yours faithfully,

A PUZZLED PASTOR.

For the purposes of the Decree *Tametsi*, a Vicar-General does not require delegation or authorisation of any kind from

a parish priest of his diocese, in order to assist at the marriage of that parish priest's parishioners. A marriage, therefore, contracted before a Vicar-General by persons, either of whom has a domicile or quasi-domicile within the area of the Vicar's jurisdiction will be a valid marriage, and that without any reference to, or even in opposition to, the will of the parish priest of the parties.

Moreover, it may happen in exceptional cases, that a Vicar-General would be quite justified in assisting at a marriage 'over the heads of the legitimate pastors.' If, for example, a parish priest unreasonably places an obstacle to the celebration of a marriage, it would be the right and the duty of the Vicar-General or other ecclesiastical superior to assist at that marriage, or to delegate another priest to do so. In such a case, the Vicar General will have to see that the banns are proclaimed or dispensed, that the parties are free to contract marriage, and consequently, he will, almost of necessity, have to communicate with the parish priest of the parties.

This interference of the Vicar-General, however, is quite exceptional. In ordinary circumstances, he will have no justification for superseding the parish priest.

A CASE OF RESTITUTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly give in your next issue a solution of the following case:—A penitent confesses that he has injured a neighbour to a considerable amount by burning a quantity of hay. But the injury was inflicted by mistake. When setting fire to the hay he thought it belonged to a different person. It now turns out that the hay legally belonged to a man whom the penitent would be very sorry to injure. Is he bound to make restitution? I see that there are various opinions on the matter. I may add that the penitent is quite willing to make restitution if I ask him to do so.

CONFESSARIUS.

If the penitent destroyed the property in mere wantonness—not caring to whom it belonged—or if he adverted to the danger that he was destroying property that belonged, not to his enemy, but to some person unknown, no one would now

excuse him from the obligation of repairing the injury done to the owner of the hay. But if he had no suspicion that he was in error regarding the ownership of the hay, and if his sole intention was to injure that person against whom he entertained the grudge, then many theologians, including Lugo, Disp. 17, n. 77; Lacroix, l. 3, p. 2, n. 200; St. Alphonsus, l. 3, n. 629; Croll, III., n. 26; D'Annibale, II., n. 232; Genicot, I., n. 522, excuse him from the obligation of restitution, on the ground that his action, though materially unjust, *was not formally unjust*—as against the person whose property was destroyed. And in the face of such authority, no confessor will take it on himself to bind the penitent strictly to make restitution.

Looking at the matter speculatively, however, and on its intrinsic merits, it seems to us much more probable, not to say certain, that the penitent is bound to restitution. When he destroyed the property by an act of formal injustice, he took upon himself the onus of repairing the injury, no matter against whom it was committed. This is the opinion adopted by Lehmkuhl, I., n. 977; Noldin, n. 452; Ballerini, III. 441; Marres, l. 2, n. 69; Vesmeesch, n. 165. Without imposing a strict obligation, therefore, we would advise this penitent to repair the injury inflicted.

D. MANNIX.

CORRESPONDENCE

MISSION HONORARIUM

REV. DEAR SIR,—The letter of ‘Honestus’ in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, and the additional letter of ‘Honestus Secundus’ in your February Number, give the views of some *old Missionaries* on the subject of Missionary Stipends. With a great deal of what they say I agree. Their work is very valuable, the missionary life laborious, and one that requires a special training. The lives of the good Fathers are edifying. The simple faithful regard them, rightly, as saints, and this charitable impression is deepened when they are reminded that these are men who have left all things and bound themselves by several grave obligations, amongst others by a vow of poverty. Rectors and parish priests, who invite the assistance of religious, differ in their opinions as to the value and fruit of frequent Retreats and Missions, but the preponderating opinion is that whilst the good effects are not always lasting—it may be through their own fault—still the great ends for which the priesthood exists are promoted. All this strengthens the claim that a just, and even generous, stipend should be paid to the Fathers.

These points have been so well made by the very rev. Old Missionaries that it is almost superfluous to refer to them, except for the purpose of assent. The question, however, is not of their acknowledged virtues and merits, but of the filthy lucre with which their services are repaid. What is a just stipend? According to the opinion ventilated by your correspondent, it ought to be, in this country at least, £15 each per week of Mission or pseudo Mission. That is, suppose a Father is engaged in this work for 26 weeks, or half the year, he ought to be maintained and receive £390 for the work of the half-year. Many parish priests and a still larger number of curates, who have not taken any vow of poverty, labour for the whole year and maintain themselves on one-third of this sum. As a rule, they do not complain, but in their circumstances it is a surprise to them to find the more perfect members of the body suggest harsh treatment—that parish priests and rectors treat them with niggardliness and a disregard

of distributive justice. So long as we are men, we shall differ in our estimate of men and things, but we may take it as a universally accepted law that men do not undervalue their own work. Certainly 'An Old Missioner' has not astonished the ecclesiastical world by his under-estimate of what I should prefer to call the Mission Honorarium.

The *Synod of Maynooth*, 1875, page 70, note 19, contains a paragraph instructing Bishops and parish priests on the subject of Missions. It praises the Religious Orders and Congregations for their zeal and fruitful labours, and directs 'ne suspicio turpis lucri oriat'ur' that only the necessary expenses of the Mission be asked of the people. It would appear, then, that parish priests are not unrestricted in asking funds, or allowing them to be asked for, or in distributing the funds raised for a Mission. The earlier part of the Synodal Canon speaks of a particular object in giving a Mission, whilst later on it appears to give a general instruction.

From what I gather from many parish priests, a Mission is very often, financially, a loss to the parish and to themselves personally. They follow an established custom in giving £5 per week to each Father giving a Mission, and paid at a somewhat higher rate to one or two priests giving a Parochial Retreat. To raise larger sums would render these exercises of piety odious and irritating, and therefore, to a greater or less degree, unfruitful. It is an exceptional case where £10 remains after defraying the Mission expenses.

For the future we should divide parishes into those in which Missions are given for the purpose of raising money and those in which the object is to promote piety and eradicate vice. In the former an 'Old Missioner's' view ought to prevail; in the latter we might *peg along* in the old groove. The present writer has experience of many Religious Orders and Congregations, and found that, in their charity, they invariably deprecated all but the most moderate charges for admission to churches on these occasions. If there were any suspicion that friction would arise, a case that never occurred to me, it would be wise to adopt the suggestion that terms be arranged beforehand.

The case of 'extremely poor parishes' mentioned by your very rev. correspondent is apparently already provided for.

There is at least one Congregation which gives annually a number of *Free Missions*, and is not very exacting in the case of *paid Missions*. The expression, 'A Mission for the pure love of God,' is an unhappy one, because it might be taken to imply, what I am sure the writer did not intend, that some Missions are given from other motives than the pure love of God.—Yours sincerely,

HONESTUS TERTIUS.

[We have received several additional protests against the proposal of 'Honestus Secundus,' but as the language employed is rather *vehement* we prefer not to publish them.—Ed. I. E. RECORD.]

DOCUMENT

CHORAL DISCIPLINE IN ROME

DECRETUM SACRAE CONGREGATIONIS CONCILII, DE CHORALI DISCIPLINA IN URBE

Postremis hisce temporibus, quod valde dolendum est, in ecclesiis collegiatis Urbis, atque adeo in ipsis patriarchalibus basilicis, chorale servitium paullatim elanguit; ita ut, deficiente in divini officii recitatione et ritibus obeundis congruo capitularium numero, sacrae functiones non raro sine ea dignitate et splendore peragantur, quem divinus cultus, maxime in Urbe catholici nominis princepe, exposcit.

Id non una ex causa factum, sed potissime ex mutata conditione temporum: unde novae variaeque in dies pro Ecclesia et animarum bono necessitates extiterunt; hinc sacerdotes in multis rebus distracti, exemptiones choralis servitii multiplicatae, atque etiam quandoque, praepostera adhibita interpretatione, plus aequo extensae.

Huic occurrens malo SSmus. D. N. Leo PP. XIII, cum, pro ea quam gerit Romanae ecclesiae prae omnibus aliis paternam atque apostolicam sollicitudinem, velit divini cultus iura integre in Urbe servari, simulque publicis aliis privatisque necessitatibus quantum fas est satisfieri, inhaerendo vestigiis Decessorum suorum, ac praesertim Pii IV, Innocentii XII et Pii VII sequentia statuit ac decernit:

1. Die 24 proximi mensis Decembris, in pervigilio Natalis D. N. I. C., ad primas vespertas omnia et singula indulta choralia, sive in favorem personae, sive institutorum et piorum operum causa, sive quorundam munerum ratione, quomodolibet et quocumque titulo concessa privilegiis quibuslibet non obstantibus, cessabunt, nullius proinde valoris futura, et nemini amplius suffragatura.

2. Ad exemptiones a choro in posterum assequendas qui legitimam causam habebunt, preces ad S. Concilii Congregationem adhibeant; quam SSmus. D. N. ad has expediendas gratias unice et exclusive deputat, adeo ut indulta aliter, quolibet modo, etiam vivae vocis oraculo, impetrata, nullius valoris ceu obreptitia et subreptitia aestimari oporteat.

3. Quoties autem S. Concilii Congregatio pro concedendis

indultis capituli votum requiret, illud per secreta suffragia exprimendum exigat.

4. Cum ex Motu proprio '*Cum sicut accepimus*,' a Pio IV P. M. xii kal. Decemb. a. 1560 edito, omnes et singuli redditus ad capitula tam patriarchalium basilicarum, quam aliarum quarumcumque ecclesiarum Urbis spectantes, in quotidianas distributiones dividendi sint, canonicae sanctiones hac de re vigentes et a S. Concilii Congregatione saepius ac praesertim in *Valvensi* 24 Novembris 1838 confirmatae, integre et adamussim etiam in Urbe servantur. Idcirco, quaecumque contraria consuetudine, quae forte inoleverit, sublata et abolita, in posterum universi fructus ad memorata capitula spectantes in quotidianas distributiones pro diebus et horis erunt ex integro partiendi.

Quare absens sine legitima causa eos omnes fructus amittet, et si quos forte perceperit, ad restitutionem tenebitur, slavis tamen particularibus constitutionibus, ex quibus maior poena irrogetur.

Absens autem ex legitima causa, si ex infirmitate aliove iusto titulo, debito modo ac forma recognito, tamquam praesens in choro pro lucrandis distributionibus reputetur, quotidianas distributiones ex toto percipiet: si vero iuxta iuris censuram praesens in choro non habeatur, duas partes, quae locum praebendae obtinent, utique acquirat, tertiam tamen amittet.

5. Ad hanc ultimam classem absentium pertinent adiutores Sacrarum Congregationum, qui ut huic muneri vacent absentiae indultum assequuti sint. Ideoque hi duas partes quotidianarum distributionum lucrabuntur, pro diebus et horis dumtaxat, quibus suorum officiorum causa a choro aberunt; tertiam vero amittent, prout S. Concilii Congregatio expresse statuit in causa *Dubia indultorum* die 6 Maii 1820 ad *IIIum. dubium*, et confirmavit, re denuo discussa, die 25 Maii 1822. Quas resolutiones SSmus. D. N. ad plenam observantiam revocat, et quatenus opus sit, renovat et confirmat, singulorum, ad quos spectat, conscientia arcte hac de re onerata.

6. Distributiones extraordinarias, quae *inter praesentes* vulgo dici solent, nemo ex absentibus unquam percipiet, quolibet privilegio et indulto in contrarium cessante, prout cautum est sub *num. 1* praesentis decreti, salvo tamen diversis piorum fundatorum praescriptionibus.

7. Indulta quae aestivo tempore valetudinis curandae gratia concedi solent, unius mensis spatio continebuntur, salvo tamen antiquo Lateranensis basilicae privilegio.

8. Privilegium Lauretanae peregrinationis pro capitulis eo fruentibus ad dies octo reducitur ; peregrinationis autem Hierosolymitanae ad tres menses.

Denique in iis omnibus de quibus praesens decretum non cavet, Sanctitas Sua vult et mandat, ut sacrosancti Tridentini Concilii praescripta et S. Concilii Congregationis resolutiones ad choralem disciplinam regendam editae, ad unguem ab omnibus ex conscientia serventur.

Et haec omnia praesenti ipsius S. Congregationis decreto publicari, atque inviolate custodiri iussit, contrariis quibuslibet minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex S. C. Concilii die 17 Septembris 1902.

✠ VINCENTIUS Card. Episc. Praenestinus, *Praef.*

✠ BENIAMINUS Archiep. Nazianzenus, *Secr.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

EARTH TO HEAVEN. By Mgr. John S. Vaughan, Canon of Westminster. London: Sands and Co. 1903. Price, 3s. 6d.

IN the treatment of some of the weighty practical questions which form the subject of general discussion at the present day Mgr. Vaughan has been particularly successful. His *Faith and Folly* and *Thoughts for all Times* deal in an attractive and popular style with questions which had been dealt with in a style no less popular and attractive by hundreds of Protestant or unbelieving writers. To Catholics who are liable to be influenced by all sorts of articles in newspapers and reviews, and to Protestants who desire to find Catholic doctrine expounded in an easy and attractive form, these works have proved very useful. They are now reinforced by this new volume, *Earth to Heaven*, which deals with such weighty questions as 'Man's Origin,' 'His Nature,' 'His Destiny,' 'The Fear of God,' 'Trust in God,' 'Judgment,' 'Victory,' 'The Ascension,' 'The Risen Body,' 'The Joys of Heaven.'

The characteristics of this new work are the same as those which we have noted in its predecessors. There is a freshness, a present-day colour about these chapters that make them light and readable. They would be very suitable for certain classes of Catholics who suffer from an overdose of reading of the opposite kind. Even preachers would find many a good idea here and there, and, apart from the idea, many suggestive hints as to how the circumstances of time, place, and environment may be turned to account.

J. F. H.

THE ART OF DISAPPEARING. A novel. By John Talbot Smith. New York: William Young and Co., 63, Barclay-street. Price, A Dollar and a Half.

THIS is a very thrilling story, written with great power, and dealing with a section of New York Society that has remained as yet to a great extent unexplored by the novelist. The author has certainly the gift of fascinating his reader and of drawing

him along by the absorbing interest of the plot and the vivid representation of highly dramatic incidents. Of satire, humour, and pathos there is a good deal, and many of the characters are well drawn.

Into the ways and doings of certain classes of society, and particularly of the bosses and electioneering agents and all their hangers-on we get an insight which, we suppose, is not deceptive, seeing that the author lives a good deal in the midst of the world he describes. The representative of the Dillons, who made his way from the prize-ring to become a senator of the the United States, having begun life 'with nothing but his two fists,' to use the description of an enthusiastic admirer; the priest, who suggested the disappearing trick; and the hero of the story, Horace Endicott, stand out in strong relief amongst the '*dramatis personæ*,' and make their impression for good or evil with considerable force.

The defects of the achievement seem to us to be a want of restraint, too much of a headlong rush, an exuberance of imagination, and an exaggeration of sentiment that betray themselves in the imagery and the *scenes*. The writer seems to us to be working under high pressure, to be in a hurry to get through and hasten on to something else, conditions under which no work of lasting value can be produced, except, indeed, in the rarest cases.

Then we do not care very much to have the clergy made responsible for the 'disappearing trick.' There is sufficient prejudice already against the clergy amongst the class who regard them as far too clever to encourage their belief by fictions of this kind.

Then from the Irish point of view, although there are very eloquent passages in sympathy with Ireland, and the book seems to have as one of its aims to discountenance the Anglo-American Alliance, we do not see either the truth or the necessity of making a New England Puritan of Saxon blood the only possible leader and liberator of the Irish. If the Irish in America are depending on New England Puritans, and not on their own sinew and brain, we fear there is but little hope for them. This New-Englander, it would appear, is the only man in New York capable of striking an effective blow, and striking it at the right moment, for the outcast Irish. His cool brain and steady hand are needed to do a work which the Irish themselves, in their enthusiasm and meanness and slavery, are incapable of doing for themselves. They, like the niggers, are good for a

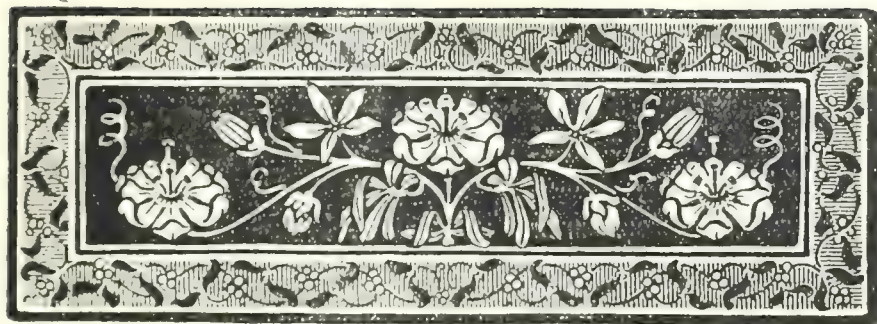
certain kind of petty service ; but when anything like effective and lasting work has to be done you must go to New England for the hand and the brain to do it. Rather hard on our countrymen in New York.

J. F. H.

THE LINEAR MEASURES OF BABYLONIA, ABOUT B.C. 2500.
By Rev. W. Shaw-Caldecott. Hastings.

OUR readers will recollect a notice of the learned author's essay on the Senkerch mathematical tablet. He has now completed his investigations, and the results are contained in the metrological essay at present under review. We may observe that it was read at the December meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, and that it will be printed in the April Number of that Society's journal. By the courtesy of the author in sending an advance copy, we are enabled to direct attention to it in the pages of the I. E. RECORD. It is a masterly exposition of the values of the cuneiform signs on the Senkerch mathematical tablet, and one of the most fascinating pieces of original work that has appeared in recent years. The systems of measurement employed in Babylonia are explained as they never have been before. The author's interpretation of certain symbols as representing fractions, and of the *ideographs* as representing the sossus, the palm, the cubit, etc., is, indeed a marvel of indefatigable perseverance, ingenuity, and scholarship. Every statement is proved, and the result is a revelation to Assyriologists and to students of Scripture as well. It should be observed that this essay is, after all, but the groundwork of a book which Rev. Mr. Caldecott has in preparation, viz., *Bible Archaeology*: A story of evolution in Architecture, being the material history of the Jewish Tabernacle and Temple, c. B.C. 1400 to A.D. 70. Volumes innumerable have been written on the subject, and theories more or less ingenious have been put forward in regular succession, but if, as the author hopes to show, and we expect that he will show, the Hebrew cubit had its origin in Babylonia, a problem of the highest interest hitherto deemed inexplicable will have been solved once and for all.

R. W.



DR. RICHARD O'CONNELL AND THE 'NEW RELIGION' IN KERRY

1603-1653

IN the manuscript work of Dr. John Lynch—*De Praesulibus Hiberniae*—described in an interesting paper by Father Boyle, in the I. E. RECORD of September, 1902, there is an account of the life and labours of Dr. Richard O'Connell, who ruled the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe during a very eventful period of our history. And this chapter of biography is valuable, not merely because it has preserved an interesting portion of diocesan history, but because it contains an accurate account of a bishop, who not only took a prominent part in the affairs of the 'Kingdom of Kerry,' but also in matters of decidedly national interest and importance. And the record of the labours of this almost forgotten Bishop of Ardfert would, perhaps, be also of interest to Irishmen even outside this county, when it is known he sprang from that same family which during several centuries gave many distinguished men to the service of this country, and which produced in modern times our greatest Irishman, Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator. From various documents, too, happily published by Cardinal Moran in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, it is clear Dr. Richard O'Connell must have been a very prominent figure in the Irish Church of his day, being very widely and favourably known to the leading ecclesiastics of that time—the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, etc. But more than

all is the history of this life useful, because it illustrates for us the methods adopted by the Irish bishops and priests in combating the advocates of the 'New Religion,' and thus serves to explain how, when other lands unhappily fell away from Catholic unity, Ireland remained steadfast and true to the ancient faith and Church.

Richard O'Connell, the future bishop, was born in the year 1575, at Ballycarberry Castle, pleasantly situated on the right bank of the Caherciveen river—about one mile west of that town. The family occupied this stronghold as hereditary constables of the MacCarthy More, and held then, and since, a very prominent position among the Catholic gentry of the county. Besides the bishop, the Church received from it many others, who, in times of stress and trouble, gave faithful service in the ranks of the secular and regular clergy. Archdeacon Lynch mentions particularly two brothers of the bishop, Dr. Denis O'Connell, an eloquent and effective preacher in his time, and Father Maurice O'Connell, Provincial of the Augustinian Order. Very many of its members too, devoted themselves to a military life, obtaining high rank in the army, and fighting at the Boyne, at Aughrim, and at Limerick, on the right side indeed, but unfortunately on the beaten side. The Bar, however, got the greatest scion of this ancient sept—certainly the one best known, and best loved by Irishmen, Daniel O'Connell, who won Catholic Emancipation, and thus did so much for the civil and religious amelioration of his country. And, indeed, if there is one thing more than another, for which throughout its history this family has been remarkable, it is its staunch and unswerving loyalty on every occasion to the ancient faith and Church during the long and troubled period of persecution.

The Bishop of Ardferf had the inestimable blessing of pious and religious parents, who, in those days when heresy was making insidious efforts to allure the Irish people from the faith, and when the younger members of distinguished families were made the special objects of attack, brought him up carefully in the practice of virtue and in the love of Catholic truth and principles. In his own home, too, he got—what in after years was specially valuable to him—a know-

ledge of the Irish and English languages—that bilingual training to which some attribute such important mental results. Nor had he to leave the barony of Iveragh to obtain a knowledge of Greek and Latin, which was imparted to him by one of those teachers of the ancient classics, who had been so numerous in Kerry then, and made the inhabitants of the 'Kingdom' famed, deservedly or not, throughout Ireland for their acquaintance with the tongues of Greece and Rome. Unfortunately, the classical teacher of the ancient type, owing to many causes, is almost as rare in Kerry to-day as the Megalosaurus or the Mastodon of prehistoric ages. And thus equipped mentally, able to speak fluently Irish and English, and knowing some Latin and Greek, young Richard O'Connell resolving to enter the sacred ministry, and having no opportunities in Ireland to pursue the studies suited to that sacred calling, set out for Spain which then and long after extended to our persecuted fellow-countrymen every facility and every assistance in its numerous colleges to prosecute their studies for the priesthood. Indeed, there seems to have been a special reason why Spain was selected by this young Kerryman, as the place of his studies. There was clearly constant and frequent intercourse for commercial purposes between his native district and that country. Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell, in her *Life of the Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade*, records a story of a woman in Iveragh, who went to her neighbour and borrowed a shawl, saying in an offhand way she wanted it for a short trip to Spain. Though the voyage might not have been thought such a trifling matter as this story would indicate, nevertheless there is no doubt our ancestors found it comparatively easy then to go to Spain, and young Richard O'Connell entered the ship at Valentia Harbour, which took him to that country, with little fears of such a journey.

The Archdeacon of Tuam does not state to what college in Spain Dr. O'Connell went. He merely informs us it was in that country he improved his knowledge of classical and polite literature, and got an excellent training in philosophy and theology. The learned Archbishop of Tuam, in an address delivered at Maynooth College on the occasion of its

centenary, paid eloquent tribute to the good work done by the university of Salamanca for the Irish students exiled from home in those dark days, and perhaps it was there the Bishop of Ardfert got his excellent training in the various branches of ecclesiastical knowledge. But we know for certain he obtained the degree of doctor in sacred theology at Seville, and the doctorate in civil and canon law either in Belgium or in Italy, in both of which countries he travelled much.

To those who live in the twentieth century, it may appear strange how easy Irishmen found it to travel then. But Professor G. T. Stokes in an interesting chapter in his *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, shows how our adventurous fellow-countrymen reached remote places in Palestine, Egypt, and even in Iceland, at a much earlier period—the eighth century—when too the difficulties of travel must have been very much greater. In those far-off times, men were not overburthened, nor encumbered with unnecessary or superfluous baggage, led simple lives, had simple tastes, and as a consequence showed greater mobility than the more fastidious travellers of modern times, who have all the assistance of Gaze and Cook. Moreover, the difficulties of travel for Irish students then were to a great extent removed owing to the widespread sympathy with them throughout Europe because of all our country was suffering in defence of the faith and loyalty to the ancient Church. And perhaps, too, the knowledge of the great benefits, conferred by the preaching and labours of the early Irish saints, Columbanus, Virgilius, Gall, and a host of others, prompted that ready and cheerful hospitality, which was in reality merely the paying off of a debt thus incurred in former times. In any case, it is quite evident Irish students then travelled much, and found it comparatively easy to do so, while from their subsequent careers on the Irish mission they seem to have been a striking exception to that rule, so often quoted—‘qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur.’ They returned after their Continental experiences, not only men of deep and varied knowledge, and refined manners, but men of saintly lives as well.

After such a career abroad, right well educated in the

various branches of ecclesiastical science, Dr. O'Connell returned to Kerry in 1603. The period of his absence had been a specially trying one to his native county. For nearly twenty years it had been the theatre of successive military expeditions, sent by Elizabeth against the Earl of Desmond, against the Spaniards, who had landed at Smerwick harbour, and against many of its chieftains, who had at various times been in revolt against the government of the queen. And as a consequence, the religious and moral condition of the diocese suffered severely. The passage or quartering of an army in any district, especially in times of political or religious excitement, could hardly have any other but evil effects. Moreover, it was a period when military discipline was not so strictly enforced as it is in more modern times, and the virulent bigotry not only of the leaders, but even of the common soldiers, seems to have been exercised without any restraint whatsoever. It is only natural, therefore, to expect that the Kerry with which Dr. O'Connell and the other priests who returned from the Continent with him had to deal supplied an ample field for the exercise of their zeal and energy. And this is exactly what Dr. Lynch states was the condition of things in Kerry at that particular time, and the difficulties which its bishops had to face are briefly stated by him in the following sentence. 'In hoc episcopatu magna laborandi seges enata est, in qua sentes haeresum et corruptio morum sic excreverunt ut ad eos excindendos et evellendos severioris disciplinae fax adhibenda fuerit.'¹

After his appointment as Vicar-General of Ardfert by Dr. Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, in 1611—for Kerry had no bishop for many years—Dr. O'Connell set to work diligently to check the evils referred to in this passage from the Archdeacon of Tuam—the growth of heresy and the decay of morals. And the historian goes into detail, and gives an interesting example of the difficulties which he had to meet, and which in due time he overcame. The parish priest of Tralee at that time spoke the Irish language only, and after he celebrated Mass as usual on Sunday mornings had a kind

¹ *De Praes. Hib.*

of Protestant service—*ritus Calvinianus*—conducted in his church in the afternoon, which the faithful were compelled to attend, and at which a sermon in English to propagate heresy was preached and English prayers were recited by a schoolmaster named Matthew Cooney. As a result, this people, hitherto untainted by false doctrine, began gradually to learn it. But what was the origin of this strange service, or who was its chief author Dr. Lynch does not state; still his words are very much against this dubious parish priest. It might have been possible that this too innocent or too accommodating ecclesiastic did not know the consequences which were sure to follow from this system, which at least he tolerated if he did not initiate. Other difficulties, too, of even a more formidable kind, arose or already existed, but the Vicar-General, we are told, very soon ended these and similar innovations by a judicious but firm use of that punitive power vested in him before heresy and the decay of morals had made much advance in the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoc.

With a view to secure the country for the future against the dangers which threatened it, Dr. O'Connell adopted all those means which he thought would be most effective to preserve religion in a satisfactory condition. And he was specially careful, first of all, with regard to the training and education of the priests who were to labour therein. Owing to persecution, the Irish Church had been then deprived for many years of colleges and seminaries in which a suitable and efficient body of clergymen could be trained, and as a consequence the Irish bishops had to be content with ministers sometimes unsuited to their work. At this time, however, the Continental colleges began to supply excellent priests and in sufficient numbers in spite of the greatest difficulties and dangers, and thus it was that Dr. O'Connell in a very short time was able to supply this remote district with a very efficient and well-instructed body of ecclesiastics. In a document published by Cardinal Moran in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*,² giving an account of the state of the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoc in 1633, when Dr. O'Connell was Vicar-Apostolic,

² Vol. i., p. 184.

it is stated Kerry had then one hundred priests, six of whom were doctors in sacred theology. Considering the population of the diocese at that time, ample provision seems to have been made for the spiritual wants of the faithful. Kerry now has not so many more priests engaged in missionary work, and certainly has fewer doctors of divinity. We have happily several bachelors and licentiates—all potential doctors—not yet however fully developed, having still to pass through some further stages in the process of evolution to the full doctorate. But time will remedy this drawback.

It was with similar purpose, too, that many years afterwards, when Dr. O'Connell was at length appointed bishop he established an ecclesiastical college in Tralee, which then as now was an important centre in the county. This might also have been an effort on the part of the bishop to carry out the decree of the Council of Trent with regard to the erection of seminaries in the various dioceses for the training of ecclesiastical students. And clearly the Irish bishops at this particular period were anxious about this matter, for among the demands made by the Commissioners sent by the Supreme Council of the Confederates in 1644 to treat with the king at Oxford regarding the terms of peace and the future treatment of the Catholic body, the right to establish seminaries and colleges obtained due prominence.³ In this college at Tralee the humanities, philosophy, and theology were taught, and Dr. Lynch has preserved for us the names of the professors appointed to teach therein—now for certain reasons specially interesting. They were Father Cornelius McCarthy, parish priest of Kileentierna, educated in the Irish College of Seville, who came to Kerry in 1642; Father Thaddeus Moriarty, a Dominican; Father Jeremiah O'Sullivan, of the Order of St. Francis; and Father James Mahoney, an Augustinian. The two first were subsequently martyred, and their names duly appear in the 'List of Irish Martyrs,' published in the January number of the *I. E. RECORD*. Evil times soon came upon this college at Tralee, and professors and students alike were compelled to fly. The Confederates were completely

³ Leland, vol. iii., p. 228.

beaten and broken, and Cromwell and Cromwellianism reigned supreme in Kerry. Driven from their occupation as teachers, those holy and learned men devoted themselves to missionary work, but even in that they did not long escape the rage of cruel persecutors. Father Cornelius McCarthy, when assisting the local parish priest in hearing confessions at a general station held in Keeloclohane Wood near Castlemaine, was taken prisoner, and was hanged at Fair Hill in the town of Killarney, on Trinity Sunday, 1652. Father Thaddeus Moriarty met a similar fate in the same place and in the same year. And it sad to think how many pass and re-pass this historic spot, unmindful of the awful scenes there enacted, not indeed so very long ago, regardless, too, of the brave and noble lives of Kerry Catholic priests and Kerry Catholic laymen, there laid down unflinchingly for the faith.

Besides founding a college at Tralee, Dr. O'Connell also, for the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, established even at that early period, annual synods, to which the clergy, even from the remotest districts, were bound to come, while he was most assiduous in preaching everywhere through his extensive diocese, especially during Advent and Lent, and on the more solemn feasts. And that he might carry out this scheme more effectively, he fixed his residence at Muckcross, from which, as a central position, he could more conveniently and more easily pass to the northern or the southern districts of the county as occasion required.

But though Dr. O'Connell was always zealous, he was not always young and vigorous. Besides, it must have been most difficult then to reach many districts in Kerry, if we are to judge from some of the old roads which still remain from that time, when county surveyors seem to have bestowed little thought indeed on either the comfort or safety of travellers. And even now, in this day of free wheels and motor cars, and when our roads are much better, parts of Kerry are not easily or quickly reached. Hence it was that Dr. O'Connell, no longer able to travel himself, had to rely on the zeal and energy of very able and very holy vicars, who helped him much in the work which those trying times imposed upon him.

Regarding two of these, Father Edward Rice, and Father

Geoffrey O'Daly, Dr. John Lynch has preserved for us very interesting details, which throw a valuable light on the ways and methods of missionary priests and missionary life in remote districts at that period, and which go far to explain how the 'New Religion,' notwithstanding all the forces of this world brought to its assistance, made little or no headway, and won so few converts to its side. Father Rice was a native of Dingle (*in celebri municipio Dinglic—Hussiae natus*), and belonged to a very respectable family, which continued to live in that town until very recent times. He had for many years traded there as a merchant, until at forty years of age he determined to change this mode of life, and desiring to become a priest he set out for Spain to study for that sacred calling. In due time he got ordained priest, and returned to his native town, labouring principally in converting many of its inhabitants who, owing to the threats or bribes of its Protestant governors, had fallen away from the faith. In this work, in which he was engaged in 1613, it is recorded he had been most successful, and we are told his converts had one very valuable characteristic—too often rare in them—they had the grace of perseverance, and never afterwards wavered in the faith. But neither the town and district of Dingle, nor even the diocese of Kerry, which extends from Rattoo to the Durseys, supplied a field large enough for the zeal and labours of this saintly vicar. He could never be induced to take upon himself the care of a parish, and so he travelled, Dr. Lynch tells us, through the whole of Ireland, but especially through Munster, instructing, reproofing, exhorting all those who needed his ministrations. He paid special attention to the teaching of the Catechism and the prayers to the people, and enlisted and organised the schoolmasters of his time in the same useful work. While he never allowed anyone, except one dangerously ill to approach the sacrament of Penance until first thoroughly instructed in Christian doctrine. The neglect of catechetical instruction by the clergy is generally assigned, justly or unjustly, as one of the principal causes of the rapid advance which the principles of the reformation made among the laity in other countries; but from the narrative of the Archdeacon of Tuam it is clear

that the Irish priests of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took special care and pains with regard to the due discharge of this important duty to the flocks under their care. And this holy man did not confine his energies to purely spiritual matters, but laboured also for the material improvement of his fellow-countrymen. He constructed many roads in Kerry, even in our own time the delight of the cyclist, and built there many bridges, which I fear are no longer in existence, except perhaps here and there a broken or tottering arch still allowed to remain to lend an additional charm to some of our lovely rivers. In this way it was that this Kerry Vicar of the seventeenth century lived and laboured, never accepting the care of a parish, but spending himself and whatever money he had amassed as a former Dingle merchant, in honest and constant endeavour to elevate his fellow-man, until at length after long and faithful service to his Church and country, full of years and good works, Father Edward Rice changed this life for a better in 1643.

The other Vicar mentioned with special praise in the *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, was Father Geoffrey O'Daly, a member of the same family which gave the celebrated Dominicus de Rosario of European fame to the Order of Friars Preachers and which has been long settled in Kerry along the valley of the Maine. In early life, like all the O'Dalys of his time—for now they seem to be the most prosaic of Kerry people—he devoted himself to the study of Irish poetry, but in course of time, realising the vanity of worldly renown, he bade farewell to such studies, burned his youthful poetic effusions, and resolved to become a priest. Having acquired a knowledge of Latin in Kerry, he too set out for Spain, studied philosophy at the famous university of Alcalá, and theology at Salamanca. After ordination, he returned to his native county, where in 1639 he was appointed parish priest of Tralee, and Dean of Ardfert. He was most remarkable as a preacher, and in that capacity delighted his audiences not only in the parish church at Tralee, but also in every part of the county. For the historian relates he made frequent journeys through Kerry for this purpose, and in this way it was, I would think, the bishops of that period supplied the work of our more

modern 'missions' and 'missioners.' And we are further told his efforts in this direction were attended with very excellent results on the lives of all those who had the pleasure of hearing him. And so great was his reputation for sanctity not only among his co-religionists, but even among those outside the fold, that it overcame the bigotry of the Protestant governor of Tralee, at the time, Sir Arthur Denny. So intolerant was this local magnate, that he threw into prison immediately any priests found exercising their sacred office in his district, but he was so much taken by the simplicity and holiness of life of Father Geoffrey O'Daly that he readily allowed him to perform publicly all the duties of his sacred calling. This Vicar, too, seems to have been a consulting theologian for the whole diocese, for his knowledge of Moral Theology was such that Dr. O'Connell ordered all to approach him whenever a specially difficult case of conscience arose. After a life of constant and very successful labour throughout the diocese, this great missionary, working to the end, died in his eighty-second year, somewhere in the barony of Muskerry, and was buried in the Abbey of Kilcrea, County Cork, in 1668.

With such efficient and zealous assistants, Dr. Richard O'Connell, during many years of stress and trial, carefully cultivated this remote corner of the Lord's vineyard, first as Vicar-General and afterwards as Vicar-Apostolic, having been appointed to this latter dignity in May, 1620.⁴ Still he was not made Bishop of Kerry for very many years after that date, the Roman authorities delaying for a particularly long time before making this appointment. And several most interesting documents relating to this matter, all equally laudatory of Dr. O'Connell, have been published by Cardinal Moran in his *Spicilegium Ossoriense*. We shall be content with quoting one, the letter of Dr. Malachy Queely, the martyred Archbishop of Tuam. It would appear he had been consulted by the Cardinal-Prefect of Propaganda with regard to the appointment of a bishop of Kerry, and especially with regard to the relative merits of Dr. Richard O'Connell, and Father

⁴ *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 128.

Daniel Daly, O.P., Dominicus de Rosario. The Archbishop's answer, written in the admirable Latin which the ecclesiastics of that time used, is very direct and clear, and leaves no doubt about his view of the excellent character of Dr. Richard O'Connell. This letter was written by the Archbishop on the 20th July, 1633:—

Quod vero in dubium verti videbatur de Rmo. D. Richardo Conaldo ac de Rndo. Patre fratre Donaldo Dalaeo Ord. Praedicatorum, viro quidem pio et docto, uter illorum ad dictam Sedem episcopalem prae alio vehi mereretur, citra controversiam existimo Dominum Richardum multis nominibus praeferendum, quippe qui pondus diei et aestus portavit, etiam nunc portat, quique eandem ecclesiam et gregem sibi commissum a 24 ad minus annis, non sine ingenti vitae periculo, cum maximo fructu animarum zelo, et utriusque hominis reformatione pie et fideliter gubernavit, omnibus se praebens exemplar honorum operum et integrâ conversatione vitam ducens irreprehensam et praelato dignam.⁵

In accordance with the recommendation of the Archbishop of Tuam, and in response to various other documents of a similar kind sent by the Archbishops of Cashel and Dublin, and by others in high position, Dr. O'Connell was at length appointed Bishop of Kerry, and consecrated at Waterford on the 10th of June, 1643, by Dr. Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, the assistant Bishops being William of Cork, and Dr. John Maloney of Killaloe.

It was about two years after this date that the Papal Nuncio, John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, arrived in Ireland, and Dr. O'Connell, who had been in the southern portion of the county administering the sacrament of Confirmation, went at once to meet him, overtaking him somewhere near Macroom. The historian relates that the Bishop of Ardfert was not content with the mere expression of his respect and good wishes, but gave proof of both by presenting a valuable horse to the Nuncio—probably a most acceptable and suitable gift to one who had to deal with the bad and uneven roads of that time. During the troubled period of the Nuncio's stay in Ireland, when, as sometimes since, honest and able men took opposite views with regard to the course best to follow, the Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe gave unwavering

⁵ *Spic. Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 186.

support to his policy, which would seem to have been the claim for the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion, as opposed to a bare and almost contemptuous toleration of it. Dr. O'Connell was present, and signed the decrees passed at the Synod of Waterford on the 12th August, 1646. He was also at Limerick with the Nuncio on that very remarkable occasion, when after a solemn procession through the city, the standards captured by O'Neill at Benburb, were deposited in St. Mary's Cathedral. But soon, however, owing to a severe attack of illness, and the infirmities of old age, the Bishop of Ardfert was no longer able to appear at subsequent meetings of the clergy, but always sent one of his Vicars-General, Dr. John Hussey, to represent him and support the policy of the Papal envoy. Dr. John Lynch, however, states that Dr. O'Connell did not publish in his diocese the censures passed on those who were in favour of the cessation with Inchiquin, believing that such a course would entail very evil consequences, as the peace party in Kerry was much more numerous than that which advocated the prosecution of the war. But the speedy and crushing victory of the Parliamentarians put an end to all disputes regarding the nature and quality of the peace terms, and Catholic bishops and Catholic laymen had soon other things to engage their attention and a difficulty of another kind to meet—the iron rule of Cromwell and his lieutenants.

And Kerry seemed to have been specially unfortunate in the governor set over it after the siege of Ross Castle, Captain John Nelson. He was one of the commissioners appointed by General Ludlow to draw up the Articles of Surrender of Lord Muskerry and the garrison in 1652. And there is one passage in this treaty which is specially interesting in the light of subsequent events. It reads: 'As to religion, we do declare it is not our intention, nor as we conceive, the intention of those whom we serve, to force any to their worship and service contrary to their conscience.' The garrison of Ross was particularly anxious about this point. Nelson, however, soon forgot, if not the letter, certainly the spirit of this article; for Dr. Lynch relates he either put to death or sent into exile every priest he was able to seize. Nor did the

aged Bishop long escape his active agents and spies. He was forced to fly from his house at Muckross, which was immediately burned down by Nelson's soldiers, and to seek refuge in some hiding-place not far away; for Dr. O'Connell determined, even at the risk of death, not to desert his flock. Soon, however, he was taken prisoner and robbed of any property he possessed. Even exceeding infirmity, or that respect which old age generally receives, did not save the good Bishop from the most cruel treatment at the hands of his Cromwellian persecutors. After robbing him, they put him on a horse without bridle or saddle and for the express purpose of exposing him to the ridicule of the people, took him in this way to the place of execution, Fair Hill, in the town of Killarney. This cruel act, however, so far from lowering the saintly Bishop in the estimation of his people, only excited in them greater sympathy for him in his sad position, and deep indignation against Nelson. On the payment of a fine of £300 he was allowed to remain at the house of a near relation and full namesake, Richard O'Connell of Killarney, afterwards 'transplanted' to Connaught. But notwithstanding the payment of this enormous sum, procured with great difficulty owing to the extreme poverty of Kerry Catholics then, Nelson continued to persecute the aged Bishop and the friends who took him in and gave him a home, until death brought him happy relief on the 13th July, 1653. He was buried in the old cathedral church at Aghadoe, at dead of night, as 'it was not lawful to have his funeral during the day.' And we can well imagine the feelings of those poor Catholics, as, at such an hour, and in such circumstances, they bore on their shoulders to his last resting place their faithful Bishop along the wretched and rugged road to Aghadoe, which still remains, though no longer used, and is yet called from its ancient use - *Bohereen na Marav*. They certainly were not the men likely to become converts to Protestantism, and it was the unflinching courage and unwavering fidelity of such men that made it possible to bury a bishop or other ecclesiastic as they were buried in after years with every public display of popular respect and reverence. If ever a monument had been erected to Dr. O'Connell there is no trace of it now in ancient Aghadoe.

It is one of those graveyards which impress upon the visitor very forcibly the truth—'etiam monumenta sua fata habent.' He has, however, that ideal grave which our poetic race loves so much—he lies 'on an Irish green hillside under green sods decked with daisies fair.' His epitaph, too, if ever written, must be sought elsewhere—let us hope it is in

. that book
By seraphs writ with beams of heavenly light,
On which the eyes of God not rarely look,
A chronicle of actions just and bright.

Like many other persecutors of God's Church, Nelson died a wretched death near Kildare, in 1665, duly described by Dr. John Lynch.⁶ His efforts to advance the 'New Religion' were attended with very little success so far as Kerry was concerned; for though there are some few Protestant families in the rural parishes, they are not numerous, and are the descendants of the various plantations from the German Palatinate and elsewhere, carried out by the Irish Parliament in the early part of the eighteenth century. The native population remained faithful to the old creed and Church, and the life of Dr. O'Connell, as recorded in the manuscript history of Dr. Lynch, shows that the watchful care of a holy bishop, aided by the zeal and energy of faithful and learned priests, constituted an important factor in bringing about this happy result.

DENIS O'CONNOR, C.C.

BEGINNINGS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, ROME

I HAD been reading Father Sydney Smith's interesting article 'on the Suppression of the Jesuits,' in the current issue (March) of the *Month*, where he states (page 272) that Pope Clement had resolved to visit the Jesuits with some afflictions which would set people talking, and suspecting that they must have been suspected of some misbehaviour in Rome itself, and were not unlikely, therefore, to have offended elsewhere. A course of policy which Clement neatly explained as a 'letting of the lightning precede the thunderbolt.'

In this way the Bishops in the Papal States were recommended to deprive the Fathers in their dioceses of faculties to preach and hear confessions: first, the Irish College, then the Roman Seminary, which for a long time had been administered by the Jesuits, were submitted to an Apostolic Visitation, over which Marefoschio and his two subalterns—Alfani and Caraffa—presided. The ordinary methods of procedure were disregarded: the Jesuits were given no opportunity of putting in any defence, and judgment was pronounced against them, accusing them of negligence, domineering, defalcations, and other crimes, and the institutions were taken out of their hands.

I had read so far when there came to my recollection an old volume, bearing on this passage, which I chanced upon some years ago in the Howard portion of the library of the venerable English College, Rome. It was an old volume bound in pergameno, and was printed at Rome, if my memory serves me, at the Vatican Press, in the year, 1772. It was a 'Sommario' or report of the relations existing between the students of the Irish College, Rome, and their Jesuit superiors, prior to the apostolic visit of Cardinal Marefoschio, to which Father Sydney Smith makes reference. Cardinal Marefoschio was appointed visitor to the College on 6th March, 1771; but his subaltern or co-visitor to the Irish College was not Alfani nor Caraffa, but Monsignor Sersale, who was appointed on March 20 of that year.

If not as throwing light on the persecution of the Jesuits

in those days, at least as a scanty record of an unpleasant chapter in the Irish College history, it may not be uninteresting to set down here some notes which curiosity led me to take from the book when chance threw it in my way.

The Irish College in Rome began in the days of Urban VIII., when Cardinal Ludovic Ludovisi, Archbishop of Bologna, and Protector of the Irish kingdom, conceived the idea and communicated it to Father Luke Wadding, an Irish Minor-Observant, who had just founded the monastery of St. Isidore.

As early as 1626 the Cardinal had interested himself in six young Irishmen who were living in Rome: four of them he placed in the English College, and the remaining two elsewhere, supplying all their necessary expenses. But Luke Wadding thought it wiser to have them by themselves under priests of their own race, who would know their character, and the events and circumstances of their country more intimately. Moreover, a trial of two years had taught Cardinal Ludovisi 'that the Irish students adapted themselves with difficulty to live with those of other nations.'

A house was rented near the convent of St. Isidore, and a sum of 150 scudi was placed in Father Luke Wadding's hands to furnish it withal. The six young men entered in residence; and the Cardinal gave an annual sum of 600 scudi for the maintenance of the six students, a rector, and one single servant; the whole being under the guiding care of Father Wadding. The new house was opened on 1st January, 1628, and the first rector was the Rev. Eugene Coleman, a secular, who died after six months, and was replaced by Rev. Martino Valesio (possibly a Latinised form of Walsh), who in turn made room for a religious from St. Isidore's.

The rules of the new College were drawn up by Father Luke Wadding, approved by Cardinal Ludovisi, and proclaimed or promulgated on January 28, 1628. Before long two more students were being supported on the modest revenue of 600 scudi a year, and in the various philosophical and theological 'disputations' held publicly in Rome these Irishmen showed remarkable ability. In fact they stood so high in favour with Pope and Curia that Propaganda allowed each student a viaticum of 15 scudi, and each religious from St.

Isidore's 10 scudi, when returning to Ireland; and Pope Urban further granted them the same privileges for ordination as had hitherto belonged to the Propaganda students.

In 1632 Cardinal Ludovisi died at Bologna, aged 37 years. His will, dated 1629, left the Irish College to the care of the Jesuit Fathers, and set apart the annual sum of 1000 scudi for its up-keep. He further ordered a house to be bought for the students, and he made over to them a 'podere,' and a vineyard at Castel Gandolfo, to serve, no doubt, as a source of income and as a 'villeggiatura.'

Prince Nicholas Ludovisi, the Cardinal's heir, bought for the College that same house in which the students lived, and which had hitherto been rented; he handed over the Gandolfo property, and began the payment of the 1000 scudi a year. My notes make no mention of the podere, but it is to be presumed all the terms of the will were obeyed.

Thus encouraged, Father Luke Wadding was anxious to make preparation for four more students, on which account, as we read in his life, he received the congratulations of the Irish Bishops.

The Jesuits now claimed the foundation, and were opposed by Prince Nicholas and Father Wadding, who, as the *Sommario* puts it, 'thought it better obey the spirit rather than the letter of the Cardinal's will.'

Urban VIII. appointed a commission of four Cardinals (Bentivoglia, Spada, Gaetano, and Ginetti), and three prelates (Maraldo, Paulucci, and il Datario), to decide the matter; but the Jesuits were successful in having the case brought before the Sagra Ruota, where they had some influence, no doubt, and the decision was in their favour.

The *alumni* protested, and petitioned the Pope not to allow the change, but on February 8th, 1635, the Jesuit Fathers took over possession, and found eight students within the College walls.

In the space of seven years the Fathers from St. Isidore's had sent twenty-one priests from the Irish College 'on 600 scudi a year,' and 'the Jesuits found the place free from all debt.'

Here begin the lamentations of the *Sommario*.

The Jesuits found the place free from all debt; but they

straightway brought three members of their own Order to live in it, and placed the College 300 scudi in debt to the Procurator-General of the Jesuits as costs incurred in the struggle against Father Wadding's party. Moreover, they soon found that for peace' sake they were too near St. Isidore's, and that they must look out for new quarters.

On May 9th, 1636, the house near St. Isidore's was sold for 2,250 scudi, and during the next three years the students are without fixed residence, living here and there, where lodgings could be obtained for them.

In 1639 a new house was bought from one Girolamo Rosolini, at a cost of 8,000 scudi. The sum, 2,250 scudi, realised by the sale of the old house was paid down as deposit money; and 400 scudi a year promised towards paying off the remainder, together with interest on the whole debt or deficit at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum. The Irish students began to dwindle in numbers, and their places were taken by those of other nations, till in 1675, an order from the Pope to all National Colleges forbade this. Prior to this, however, the students had complained of the treatment they received, and had pleaded before Innocent X. that the place should be handed over to Prince Ludovisi, and their petition was granted on 22nd May, 1647.

On September 25th, Father Caraffa, General of the Jesuits, and the Procurator della Vigna del Moro (outside Porta Pia), protested against this attack on the rights of the Society, and were so successful, as the *Sommario* relates, that 'the Pope's Brief had no effect save to keep the Jesuits in bounds as long as he lived, and to safeguard the rights of the Irish College.' Innocent X. died in 1655, and was succeeded by Alexander VII., of whom the Jesuits demanded a revocation of Innocent's Brief. It does not appear that this was granted.

In 1667, on the pretext that the College was burdened with a debt of 3,800 scudi, the residue of the money owing to Rosolini, plus 800 scudi interest—arrears, Father Oliva, General of the Jesuits, and the rector of the College, betthought them of selling the Vigna at Gandolfo to the Jesuit Novitiate of San Andrea sul Monte Cavallo. The apostolic consent was gained, and the plot was sold for 6,000 scudi on 21st January,

1667. Of this sum 3,800 scudi was paid off the debt to Rosolini; a small vineyard belonging to the Jesuits was sold to the College for 1,060 scudi; and the remaining 1,140 scudi was handed over to the College.

In 1671 Prince Ludovisi sold the Dukedom of Zagaruolo to Duke Rospigliosi, and the obligation of 1,000 scudi a year to the Irish College went with it. In spite of the efforts of Prince Ludovisi and the Irish students, the Jesuit Fathers were able to compound with the new owner for a lump sum of 28,750 scudi to be invested and bear as interest to the College 1,000 scudi a year.

The *Sommario* goes on to show how opportune for the Jesuits this large sum of ready money was. The Roman College was at that time heavily mortgaged at 4 per cent. On March 6th, 1671, the 28,750 scudi was invested in the Roman College at 3 per cent.; so that by clearing off part of their 4 per cent. mortgagors, and forcing others who would not be cleared off, to come down to 3 per cent., the Roman College gained 150 scudi a year on the transaction.

Prince Ludovisi went to law over the matter, and the Irish College paid the Jesuits' expenses 251½ scudi; and as the process lasted two months, no interest was paid for that time: 'another loss of 160 scudi,' which the *Sommario* laments. This was in 1671, but in 1691, May and December, the capital sum was refunded to the College—but meanwhile it appears to have been idle, if we are to believe a letter written in 1727 by one Father Della Rocca, an Irishman (possibly Roache). To help matters, in 1725 four young Jesuit postulants were living with the students at the expense of the College.

There had evidently been friction at the College in 1693, when Cardinal Barbadigo, Bishop of Montefioscone, made a visitation there, and a copy of his decrees was found by Cardinal Marefoschio in the *Secretariat of the Visita*. At that time the lowness of the revenue, which could barely support the three Jesuits in charge, and the four or five students, gave the Cardinal the idea of uniting the English, Scotch and Irish Colleges in one. But this idea was never carried out.

It would appear that the custom of those days, was for the Divine Office to be said in choir by the students on every feast day, and in the afternoon they would help the neighbouring parish priests to teach Christian doctrine. This is an interesting side-light on their life.

In 1719 circumstances had altered but little for the better, and the students appealed for another 'visitor.' This time Cardinal Renato Imperiali, Protector of Ireland, was commissioned to visit the College, and he retained this position until his death in 1737. In his time the number of students went up to eight or even to ten.

Clement XII., at the instance of King James III. of England, made gifts to the College, as did also Cardinal Corsini, and Benedict XIV.; and in 1734 King James gave a house in the Campo Marzio, Via Orsini (with an obligation of twenty Masses annually), to be sold for the benefit of the Irish College.

In spite of all this, peace was very far from the poor students; and in 1771 they once more demanded an apostolic visit to remedy their grievances. And on March 20th Cardinal Marefoschio and Monsignor Sersale found eight discontented and aggrieved students, three Jesuits, one secular cleric as prefect of students, and two secular servants. In all fourteen souls. And the students are reported as talented and obedient.

Here come to an end the notes I took down on the subject from the 'Sommario of the visit of Cardinal Marefoschio to the Irish College.' The name of the compiler is not given; but he was no partisan of the Jesuit cause.

We shall probably never know the whole story of the intrigues of those days. The *Sommario* is perhaps one of the many works of a like nature which saw the light in order to create that atmosphere which Father Sydney Smith laments, and in which Pope Clement played the part of Jupiter by sending forth his lightning before the thunderbolt.

The thunderbolt came all too surely -- and when it came the Irish College passed into other hands. At the present day the College has no property at Castel Gandolfo.

JAMES GIBBONS.

IRISH SAINTS IN ITALY

ST. FRIGIDIAN OF LUCCA

ONE of the oldest and most interesting churches in the city of Lucca is that which bears the title of San Frediano. It is a basilica of the earliest style like those of Monza and Pavia, impressive on account of its severity and absence of ornament. Amongst the works of art to be admired within its walls are the baptismal font of the sculptor Biduino, and a picture representing the 'Coronation of the Blessed Virgin,' by Francia. The lofty walls and arches of the nave are supported by eleven columns, which are said to have been taken from a pagan amphitheatre in the neighbourhood. That they should have supported such an enormous weight for upwards of eleven centuries is regarded as one of the wonders of Italian architecture.

The saint from whom this church takes its name was a native of Ireland. By many of his biographers he is said to be no other than St. Finnian of Moville. Colgan¹ seems to have adopted this opinion, which he found in several of the Latin lives that fell into his hands, and through him it seems to have been generally accepted, until the time of Lanigan,² who rejected it with his usual vehemence. It is needless to say that both parties are satisfied with the arguments in favour of their contention; but as there is absolutely no possibility of settling the dispute, it would be foolish to waste time in attempting such a task.

Frigidian must have reached the Continent about the middle of the sixth century; at that time the exodus of pilgrims from Ireland had already begun. Whether he started from Moville or from Witherne (Candida Casa), at both of which places he had studied, he soon directed his steps towards Italy. It would appear that he spent some time at Monte Pisano, in the Ligurian mountains, a favourite retreat

¹ *Acta SS. Hib.*, 18th March.

² *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 27.

of anchorites and hermits, an Italian Thebaid, from which the fame of his learning and sanctity soon reached the neighbouring city of Lucca. To him, as will now be seen, the people of Lucca turned in the hour of their misfortune and distress.

After the invasion of the Goths the country around Lucca became a vast wilderness, uncultivated and deserted. Famine, as so often happens in the course of history, followed close upon the tracks of war, and was just as speedily succeeded by pestilence. Procopius gives us a sketch of the horrors of this plague which vies in realistic power with the classic descriptions of similar visitations which we owe to Thucydides, to Boccaccio, to Defoe, and to Manzoni. Suffice it to say that the population of Lucca, clergy and laity, was swept away wholesale. The remnant that was left turned to Frigidian and implored him to become their pastor. The recluse was willing to give the people every assistance in his power, both spiritual and temporal, but could not be induced to accept the pastoral charge. It required nothing less than a formal command from Pope John II. to make him accept the episcopal dignity.

For seven years he ministered to the wants of the people in comparative peace and satisfaction; for the plague had already disappeared and the people of Lucca were engaged in the re-organisation of their government. Soon, however, another scourge, worse than any they had hitherto experienced, came to afflict them. It was the invasion of the Longobardi, a fierce race, who devastated the whole country, carrying all before them by fire and sword. They were led by the famous Alboin, one of the greatest monsters that ever walked the earth. They seized the whole of Cisalpine Gaul and a good part of Liguria and Tuscany. The people fled before them in terror. Bishops were driven into exile or condemned to prison. Honoratus, Archbishop of Milan, took refuge at Genoa where he died. Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, hid himself in an island of the Adriatic. But Frigidian did not abandon the post of danger. His Italian biographers Fanucchi and Franciotti, inform us that he set himself with courage and bravery to restrain the wild forces of anarchy that were let loose over his diocese, and to subdue the ferocity of the invaders.

Now his holy life, his ascetic habits, his confidence in prayer, stood him in good stead. Nature itself seemed to obey his commands. He restored sight to the blind and speech to the dumb; and as the Jordan was turned back, and the waters of the Red Sea were divided by the power of Heaven, so now the waters of the Serchio, which by its constant inundations ruined the crops in the vicinity of Lucca, were turned out of their course at the prayer of Frigidian, and brought into a channel whose banks they could not overflow. It required nothing less than miracles of this kind, power over life and death, to keep faith alive in those dark days, and to tame the fierce hearts of men long accustomed to give free rein to their passions. Frigidian, however, neglected none of the ordinary methods of evangelisation. He built no less than twenty-eight³ churches for the accommodation of his people. The Lombards, who had hitherto been either pagans or Arians, submitted to his rule and became the most ardent of his supporters. He baptized them with his own hands, instructed them, exhorted them to lead peaceable and virtuous lives. In return for the exertions he made in their behalf they loved him and stood by him in all his efforts to lift up the people.

From time to time Frigidian used to retire to some retreat in the mountains and refresh his soul in meditation and solitude. He always loved the peace of religious life, and in order to secure for his diocese the benefits of religion he established at Lucca a religious community of Lateran Canons of which he himself was the superior and guide. With these he lived, instructing them by his words and his example, training them in all the duties of the ministry, and sending them forth when mature to carry out the work of apostleship in all the country around.

At length worn out with fatigue after a long episcopate, Frigidian was compelled to relinquish his labours, his death was worthy of his life, and from the very day of his demise he seems to have been venerated as a saint.⁴ He was deeply

³ See *Six Months in the Appenines*, p. 44.

⁴ According to Ughelli, the death of Frigidian took place in the year 588. See *Italia Sacra, Episc. Lucc.*

mourned by his sorrowing children, who transmitted to subsequent generations their own devotion. Through all their history the people of Lucca have remained faithful to his memory. They erected churches on the spots that were most closely associated with his apostolate. They commemorated in poetry and painting the miracles that he performed. Churches in Lucca itself, in Lunata, in Lammari, at Brancoli, at Rupe Cavo, were dedicated to him.⁵ Soon after his death the church which he himself had erected in honour of the three holy deacons, Stephen, Vincent, and Laurence, was converted by his successors into a basilica and associated with his own name. There to this day his mortal remains are preserved.

The Basilica of San Frediano is one of the most interesting buildings not only in Lucca but in the whole north of Italy. It is intimately associated with all the great events of the history of Lucca, and contains the tomb of St. Zita, on whose account Lucca itself is sometimes called Santa Zita.⁶ This Saint was a poor servant who resisted all the advances and the threats of a wicked master, and was so loved by the people that innumerable legends have grown up around her name.

SILLAN AND MINGARDA

TOWARDS the close of the twelfth century some explorers in the antiquities of Lucca came upon a tomb which excited no small interest amongst the inhabitants of the city. The inscription⁷ carved upon it said that it contained the body of the Blessed Silaus who was a Bishop in Ireland, and whose memory was held in great veneration by the people amongst whom he died. Who was this Silaus? When did he live? What brought him to Lucca? These are questions which both Irish and Italian writers⁸ have answered with such a wealth of detail, such a display of the miraculous, such a happy

⁵ For a complete list of the surviving memorials of St. Frigidian, see *Six Months in the Apennines*, by M. Stokes, pp. 50-95.

⁶ See Dante, *Inferno*, Can. xxi. 38.

⁷ 'Divi Silai Corpus qui in Hibernia Episcopus fuit, summa veneratione hoc sepulchro conditum, ob præcipua miracula religiosissime custoditur.'

⁸ *Vita, Miracoli e Memorie di S. Silao, Vescovo Irlandese*, by F. M. Fiorentini. Nobile Lucchese. 1662.

combination of reality and fiction, that it is difficult to know where the reality ends and the fiction begins.

It would seem, at all events, that Sillan had come to Lucca long before Frigidian. Some say that he was a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick. However this may be, it appears certain that he was a Bishop in Ireland; and judging by the mass of legends that have grown up around his name, he must have been a personage of no small importance in the Irish Church. His sister, Mingarda (Mionghar), had gone on a pilgrimage to Rome, and on her return through Lucca, she, being of princely origin, was induced to marry a nobleman named Goffredo, who was a great local potentate. She remained for the rest of her life at Lucca and died there in the odour of sanctity. St. Sillan, like the Blessed Thaddaeus Machar, was also obliged, it is said, to journey to Rome to defend certain rights of his jurisdiction that were being invaded by his neighbours. On his return journey he was received at Lucca by his brother-in-law, Goffredo. He visited the tomb of his sister in one of the convents of the city, and earnestly prayed that they might be united, when it pleased the Almighty, in the bliss that knows no end. As he was preparing to set out from Lucca he was seized with illness, and like the Blessed Thaddaeus of Ivrea, died before he could resume his journey homewards. The news of his presence and of his holy death spread rapidly through Lucca and its neighbourhood, and crowds of pilgrims came from all the country around to visit his grave and witness the miracles that were wrought in its vicinity. At the present day there are several traces of St. Sillan at Lucca. The Saint's body is preserved in a chapel in the Via delle Trombe, which serves as an oratory for the Servite Sisters. Over it is a large painting representing the miraculous cure of St. Ita by a fragment of the host consecrated by Sillan at his Mass and carried by an angel to the bed of the invalid virgin.

ST. DONATUS OF FIESOLE

A LITTLE to the south of Florence, on the summit of one of the most picturesque hills in Europe, stands the historic town

of Fiesole, which had as its bishop the Irishman, Donatus, from the year 826 to about 870.⁹

Donatus was born in 774, and was educated, according to the general opinion, at the monastic school of Inniscaltra—the Holy Island of Lough Derg.¹⁰ After he had taught for some years in the school in which he had been brought up, he resolved to follow the example of many of the great monks who had gone before him, *i.e.*, to travel as a pilgrim to the holy places of the world, and ultimately to retire to some lonely retreat, where, far removed from worldly occupations, he could devote himself entirely to a life of contemplation and prayer. On this pilgrimage he took with him a favourite pupil, Andrew by name, who desired to accompany him wherever he went. The two pilgrims journeyed together with scrip and staff over a good part of the Continent, visiting the shrines in which the relics of the saints were honoured, and seeking out anchorites in their retreats to converse with them on the things of heaven.

In this way they visited the tombs of the Holy Apostles in Rome, and were returning through Tuscany when the event occurred which led to the elevation of Donatus to the vacant See of Fiesole. After the recent depredations of the Normans in Italy, the town was, at that time, without a pastor, and the people and the nobles were at variance as to the choice of a bishop. The pious inhabitants were praying with intense earnestness that they might be spared the horrors of internal discord. Whilst they were thus occupied Donatus and his pupil Andrew appeared at the door of the church in which they were assembled. Immediately, relates the biographer of Donatus, the bells of the town rang forth of their own accord, and the lamps were lighted without being touched by any human hand. This was a sign from heaven, which was well understood in a town that was famed for its auguries in ancient times. It was interpreted moreover, by a voice which said—'This is Donatus of Scotia who approaches; take him for

⁹ See Coleti's addition to Ughelli, vol. ii., col. 350; also Colgan's biography, p. 238, which says, 'B. Donatus quem nobis Hibernia Scotorum insula transmisit.'

¹⁰ In the country around Lough Derg Donat is a favourite Christian name with many families even to the present day.

your shepherd.¹¹ At once the multitude gathers round the unknown stranger. They are struck by the dignity of his bearing, and the sweetness of his countenance. They recognise in him the messenger of heaven. They crave his protection and ask him to remain as their bishop. They salute him as a heaven-sent father.

Eia Donâte
Pater a Deo date.¹²

They ask him to ascend the bishop's chair and assume the staff of the shepherd, that he might lead them into the pastures of heaven. Donatus almost in tears tells them how incapable he is of such a task, how unworthy of such an honour. He is but a stranger, mean and abject, half barbarous in his speech and manners, wholly unacquainted with the customs of these southern lands; they would soon begin to discover his sins and think him unworthy to teach and guide them. But the crowd would not listen to the pleadings of humility. With one voice they proclaim him elected as their pastor:—

Sicut visitavit nos oriens ex alto
Sic agamus in viro sancto,
Christus eum adduxit ex occiduis
Eligamus nos in Fesulis.

To such a pressing call Donatus, however unwilling, is obliged to yield.¹³ With due authority he is enthroned as bishop of this old Tuscan city, famous in history for its resistance to Rome, for its support of Catiline, for its fidelity to ancient Etruscan superstitions. His subsequent life was marked by all the virtues that become a bishop. He was, according to his biographers and according to tradition, holy in his life, vigilant in all the cares of a pastor, sound in doctrine, ready in speech, devout in prayer, the defender of the widow and the orphan, the friend of the poor.

¹¹ See *Six Months in the Apennines*, by M. Stokes, p. 233.

¹² See the biography of St. Donatus published by Colgan, p. 236; also *Delle Vite del Invittissimo Martire Santo Romolo, Primo Vescovo di Fiesoli e più Altri Santi Vescovi Suoi Successori*, del Revmo. Mgr. Francesco De Cattani da Diaccato. Vescovo di Fiesole.

¹³ 'Sicque factum est, licet multum renitendo plurimumque repugnando resisteret; inthronizatus tamen est et presul sante Fesulane ecclesie electus.' Laur. Biog.

It is not without interest that we learn likewise that he was skilled in poetry and gave lessons in metre to some chosen disciples.¹⁴ He brought with him, as Ozanam remarks, the passion for letters that agitated the schools of Ireland.¹⁵ His polished Latin verses prove that, like St. Livinus of Ghent, he had imbibed rich draughts at the Castalian fountain. The natural beauties of Fiesole, which often attracted Lorenzo de Medicis, in the midst of which Pico della Mirandola made his home, which Politian celebrated in polished verse, awakened the spirit of poetry in this Celtic bishop, but inspired him to glorify in verse, not his new home, nor the Tuscan hills, nor the neighbouring brooks of Vallambrosa strewn with autumnal leaves

Where the Etrurian shades
High over arched embower ;

but the old land of scholars and of bards, of green fields and peaceful rivers, where no wild beasts roam, no snakes lie hid, no toads disturb the night with their plaintive chatter.

Melle fluit pulchris et lacte Scottia campis
Vestibus atque armis frugibus, arte, viris,
Ursorum rabies nulla est ibi ; saeva leonum
Semina nec unquam Scottica terra tulit.
Nulla venena nocent, nec serpens serpsit in herba ;
Nec conquesta canit garrula rana lacu :
In qua Scottorum gentes habitare merentur,
Incluta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide.

These lines are quoted from one of the few fragments that remain to us of the works of Donatus—the prologue written by the Saint for a Life of St. Brigid of Kildare, which was the work of Caolin or Chilien, a monk of Inniscaltra. St. Donatus is not sparing in his eulogy of the illustrious Irish Virgin, whose virtues he compares to ‘the glittering stars of heaven.’ She was, in his words, ‘an inextinguishable light,’ ‘a blessed fountain to the Scots,’ ‘a ladder of perfection to

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‘Gratuita discipulis dictabam scripta libellis
Schemata metrorum, dicta beata senum.’

¹⁵ Saint Donatus y paraît avec cette passion pour les lettres qui agitait les monastères d’Irlande. Il s’efforce de rallumer un foyer de science sacrée et profane dans les lieux encore tout consternés de l’apparition des pirates Normans.’ *Les Ecoles en Italie*. Vol. ii. of *Oeuvres Complètes*, p. 424.

men and youths and maidens, to mothers and to saints.' We doubt if anything more laudatory has ever been said of the Virgin of Kildare. If anything has, we are sure, at least, that it has not been more elegantly expressed.

That Donatus took an active part in the ecclesiastical affairs of Italy and of the whole Church is clear from the record we possess of his presence at Rome on two different occasions; once when Louis II. was crowned king of Italy by Pope Sergius II.,¹⁶ and again in 861, at the Lateran Council, in which the rebellious Archbishop of Ravenna made his submission to Pope Nicholas I.

In his episcopal city he seems to have advanced every day in the love and esteem of his people. In their favour he performed striking miracles; and although we are not bound to take in a literal sense all that his biographers relate of his command of nature and its powers, still we believe that he shared in a high degree that privilege which God confers on His chosen servants.

The date of the death of Donatus is disputed by historians as well as the date of his elevation to the bishopric. It must be ascribed, however, to some time about the year 870. He was buried in the cathedral of Fiesole, and the epitaph which he himself had composed was carved on his tomb:—

Hic ego Donatus Scotorum sanguine cretus
 Solus in hoc tumulo pulvere, verme, voror.
 Regibus Italicis servivi pluribus annis,
 Lothario magno, Ludovicoque bono.
 Octonis lustris, septenis insuper annis
 Post Fesulana Praesul in urbe fui.
 Grammata discipulis dictabam scripta libellis,
 Schemata metrorum, dicta beata senum.
 Posco, viator ades, quisquis pro munera Christi
 Te modo non pigeat cernere vota mea
 Atque precare Deum, residet qui culmina coeli
 Ut mihi concedat regna beata sua.

For many centuries the relics of the Saint remained in their first resting-place, viz., the famous Abbey of St. Peter, afterwards of St. Bartholomew, which long served as the

¹⁶ *Hist. de Vit. Rom. Pont. Serg. II.* Anastasii Bibliothecarii. Vol. ii. p. 486.

cathedral of Fiesole. It was only in the year 1810 that they were transferred by Bishop Mancini to the new cathedral and placed in a shrine in one of its chapels. The head of the Saint was procured by the clergy of the church of St. Dominic on the occasion of the translation.¹⁷ It is preserved in a silver shrine and is much venerated by the people of Fiesole.

THE MONASTERY OF SAN MARTINO IN MENSOLA

ST. ANDREW, the faithful companion and disciple of Donatus, remained at Fiesole with his master and guide.¹⁸ He was promoted to the office of Archdeacon, and was held in the highest esteem by the people as well as by the Bishop. In the course of his administration Donatus entrusted to him the renovation of the sanctuary of St. Martin which stood on a neighbouring hill over the brook Mensola. This shrine had been sacked by the soldiers of Totila and had since then remained a complete ruin. Andrew set himself with devoted energy to restore and enlarge it. He got the brambles cleared away from the foundations, got stones and cement prepared, collected alms from the people in the neighbourhood, hired builders to do the work, and laboured with them as far as his little body attenuated by fasting would allow.

He was soon able to gather into his establishment a small company of monks who led a rigorous and edifying life and gave the surplus of all they required for their own scanty support to the poor of the locality.

Andrew reached a glorious old age. He is said by his biographers to have cast out demons, restored sight to the blind, health to the fevered, and strength to the infirm. He closed the eyes of his father and benefactor Donatus, and soon after went to join him in heaven.

As he lay on his bed of fever, surrounded by his monks,

¹⁷ See *Six Months in the Apennines*, by M. Stokes, p. 258; also *La Cattedrale di Fiesole*, par F. Can. Bargilli, pp. 128-30.

According to Ware, Donatus was the author of several works, including *De bono Poenitentiae*, *De Effectu Eleemosynae*, *De Actibus Donati Magistri*. All these have been lost.

¹⁸ His life was written by Filippo Villani, who says, 'Fuit homo Dei Andreas oriundus ex insula Hibernica, quae alio magis vulgari nomine Scotia appellatur.' See Lanigan, vol. iii., p. 282.

memories of his childhood crowded back upon his mind, and he thought of a beloved sister, Brigid, who had wept bitter tears at his departure from Ireland and implored her brother not to leave her for ever. Andrew succeeded in persuading her that it was the will of God. She consented to the inevitable; but never during these long years that had elapsed did the love of her brother, Andrew, fade from her heart. And now, as that beloved brother lay on his bed of death far away amidst the hills of Tuscany, the sole earthly desire that he entertained was that he might lay eyes on his sister before he died. This desire was granted; for by a miracle of instinct Brigid had already set out in quest of her brother, and was led to the very door of his dying room in time to receive his parting benediction.¹⁹ This touching scene is recorded with great eloquence and dramatic effect by the biographers of Andrew and Donatus, and their account of it has frequently been reproduced by later writers.

ST. BRIGID OF LOBACO

AFTER the death of Andrew, Brigid, now an aged woman, retired to the source of the river Sieci, where she succeeded in inducing the people to build a church. In the full spirit, however, of Celtic asceticism, she soon withdrew from all society, and high up among the mountains she found a lonely cave to which she withdrew to spend the remainder of her days in penance and in prayer. This place, which was called Opacum, now Lobaco, was haunted by wild beasts; but the venerable recluse never suffered the slightest injury or annoyance from them. The peasants sometimes went out for a day upon the mountains used to offer her a share of their spoils, but she declined their gifts and lived, like St. John the Baptist, on products of the desert. Sometimes persons moved by the spirit of God came to speak with her in her cave, and a monk—the soul friend, as he was called in Ireland—came to give her spiritual comfort.

When she died at a great age the people venerated her as

¹⁹ See *Six Months in the Apennines*, by M. Stokes, p. 251.

a saint, and built a church on the spot in which she had spent her last days. Alongside the modern church of 'Santa Brigida in Lobaco' is pointed out the grotto which this extraordinary Irishwoman made her final home on earth. Within it is an altar with the rather primitive inscription sculptured on a shield:—

Grotta nella quale S. Brigida,
Sorella di San Donato
Faceva penitendus nel secolo nono.

She is called by mistake in this inscription the sister of Donato. In the popular mind Donatus holds a great place; but in authentic history Andrew is not forgotten.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

THE NEBULAR THEORY AND DIVINE REVELATION

II

In the beginning God created heaven and earth. And the earth was void and empty, and *darkness* was upon the face of the deep: and the Spirit of God moved over the waters. And God said: '*Be light made.*' And light was made.—(Genesis i. 1-3.)

And God made¹ two great lights; a greater light to rule the day; and a lesser light to rule the night: and the stars.—(*Ibidem*, verse 16.)

In the beginning, O Lord, Thou foundest the earth; and the heavens are the works of Thy hands. They shall perish, but Thou remainest: and as a vesture *Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed.* But Thou art always the self-same, and Thy years shall not fail.—(Psalm ci. 26-28.)

IN the last number of the I. E. RECORD,² too much like a *penny dreadful* in its sudden interruption, the want of space obliged us to abrupt the above subject, just as we arrived at the crucial point, namely, to answer the question with which the essay opened: '*Father, does the Church permit us to believe in the Nebular Theory of Sidereal evolution?*'

In other words, having carefully examined what is really meant by the Nebular Hypothesis, we have now to consider whether it is in any way opposed to Divine Revelation.

Such are the intricacy, complexity, and importance of this phase of the subject that I trust I shall be excused if I preface it with a few

PRÆNOTÆ.

1. By the term 'Divine Revelation,' we, of course, embrace the double channel of Divine truth, as it percolates to us either through the Inspired Scriptures or by the living voice of the Church (*per magisterium Ecclesiæ*).

2. When treating of the *Days* of Creation, we are by no means forbidden to regard them in the light of long periods of time, each *day* connoting a considerable epoch;³ and there-

¹ On the fourth day.

² Series iv., vol. xiii., April, 1903, p. 335.

³ 'One day of the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.'—(2 Peter iii. 8.)

fore we are not constrained by the text of Genesis to interpret them as *natural* days of 24 hours. We are at perfect liberty, *salvâ fide*, to regard them as immense periods of indefinite time,⁴ or biological cycles. Perrone writes:—

Nondum exploratum apud omnes esse, utrum sex dies sint *revera dies naturales*, an potius sex *indeterminæ et indefinitæ* plurium aut dierum aut *annorum periodi*. Inter varias interpretationes, hoc unum in præsentia satis est animadvertur, ejusmodi sententiam *non esse ab ecclesiâ proscriptam*; ac non solum *salvâ fide*, sed etiam *absque notâ temeritatis* defendi posse, si graves rationes suffragentur.⁵

3. Again, when dealing with Divine Revelation in the Written Word, we must not overlook the fact, that it has its own particular scope, apart and distinct from mere natural science. Its primary object is to teach men, not geology, astronomy, mathematics, or any other physical science, but *Religion*, man's obligations to his Creator in the natural and supernatural order. Its design is rather to inform man *who* made the world and all therein, than the *manner* in which they were created. When Scripture, therefore, announces that 'God created the heaven and the earth, etc.,' it sufficiently fulfils its object, even though it may convey very scanty or imperfect information respecting the earth and the celestial bodies. This is so true that it is worthy of notice that the relation of the most noble part of creation, namely, of the *angels*, is passed over in silence. And, as we have seen on a former occasion,⁶ in language and idiom it sometimes adapts itself to the notions of the people of a rude age and steers clear of apparent scientific difficulties. Hence, as regards astronomy, geology, and other recondite sciences, it leaves men to be capable, when sufficiently civilised, to study and inquire for themselves, and thus by a studious exercise of the faculties bestowed upon them by God, to make scientific discoveries and come to the knowledge of the secrets of nature. Even in the common parlance of everyday life, we often speak unscientifically, because it serves for the nonce to be thus

⁴ 'Magis vel minus (temporis spatium) non mutat principium'

⁵ Perrone, tom. v., cap. ii., *De Mosaica Cosmogoniâ*, nn. 179 et 182.

⁶ I. E. RECORD, November, 1902: 'Is Our Earth alone Inhabited?' pp. 436 et seq.

more easily understood. If a master wants his servant to go on an errand as directly as possible and within a given space of time, he would most likely say: 'Now, mind you go in a straight line and get there before the sun goes down!' An order couched in such explicit terms would be immediately understood by his servant and no further explanation would be needed. And yet this servant has been asked to accomplish two scientific impossibilities. He could not go *in a straight line* on a rotund earth; and *the sun never does really go down*. Whether the servant knows this or not, it matters little, as long as he understands the message of his master, who is not at all concerned about conveying to his menial any knowledge of geodesy, mathematics, or astronomy, but only to make his servant conform to his directions, which are therefore given in such a form as to be equally intelligible to the learned or the unlearned.

With these preliminary notions we may find it easier to examine how far the Nebular Theory is consonant with, or, at least, not evidently antagonistic to Divine Revelation and orthodox evolution.

On a subject of no inconsiderable intricacy, the simpler terms we employ the better. We do not need to follow in this study one of the greatest luminaries of the theological sphere, and like St. Augustine, go deep into simultaneous, primordial, causal, and seminal creation. This might be highly interesting in a more scholastic disquisition than this paper aspires to be.

For the purpose I have in view, I shall simply distinguish, in a most general way, between what I shall call *direct* or *immediate* and *indirect* or *mediate* creation. While the first may be said to dispense with evolution; the second offers it a place. By the former, I mean the creative act which produces the *res creata* in its ultimate ratio—complete and perfect for its designate end. And such a creator *must* be what philosophers call a creationist. By the latter, I mean to imply a creative act which produces something with a potentiality⁷ to develop or evolve an ultimate being of the same completion and perfection.

⁷ Whether active or passive.

Thus, if God wanted to create an apple tree, He has, *at least*, two *modi operandi* before Him: either he could by the utterance of a *Fiat*, bring immediately into existence an apple tree, mature, perfect, complete, and laden with fruit (behold! an *immediate* or *direct* creation): or, He could create the *seed* of the apple tree and (mediately) leave the earth, heat, light and moisture to germinate the created seed and thus gradually *evolve* the fruitful tree, according to certain natural laws established by Himself, acting under His constant administration. Whichever way God chooses, He is equally the actual and *sole* Creator.

In like manner, in the animal world, He might choose, in order to beget ostriches, either to directly create the egg from which the bird would afterwards be produced, or create the ostrich to lay the egg.

Now, applying this *modus gerendi* to the sidereal creation, in order to produce an habitable globe, such as our earth, God could either say the 'Fiat,' and the world with all its conditions suitable for vegetable, animal, and human life would spring into being, even in *natural* days (according to one reading of Genesis): or, He could create some primordial matter, which in time and by gradual evolution would naturally furnish an habitable world, such as geologists teach was actually our case in point.

In other words, He might select to produce (create) the sun, moon, stars, and planets in the direct or more immediate mode, or in the more indirect mode by creating a nebulous mass (say of attenuated gas), subject it to a universal law of gravitational attraction, and then leave time and *secondary* causes, such as condensation, shrinkage, energy to evolve the individual stars or suns, planets and planetary systems. In the first case, He would be a Creationist, according to all; in the second case, He would be the Creator-Evolutionist, according to others. Without going into the merits or demerits of contestants, it seems to me to result practically in much the same, as long as we eliminate the unorthodox phase of Darwinism and acknowledge that in all cases God must be regarded as the true and *sole* Creator and Administrator.

Hence, let us not presume to say that the indirect, or what

may be called the evolutionary process, is less honourable or glorious to God. On the contrary, it might be fairly argued that, to create a simple substance endowed with an extraordinary potentiality of gradually developing or evolving, under certain fixed laws, an ultimate form of complex beauty, power, organization, and utility, seems more enhansive to the knowledge, wisdom, and omnipotence of a Creator than an instaneous and immediate creation.⁸ Do we not seem to realise this, when we watch the evolution of the pretty butterfly from the chrysallis, or the blushing rose from that tiny seed which needed almost a microscope to discern? At any rate, by this direct and immediate creation of primordial matter by God, we may, without violence to His attributes, suppose Him to impress upon it a certain potentiality, so that, under secondary causes or laws, equally established by Him, and under His constant administration, it would evolve sidereal *genera et species*. This principle is expressed differently by different advocates of evolution.

Some, following, I think, Dr. Zahm, hold that God bestowed upon the primordial matter certain powers and subjected it to certain laws, in virtue of which it evolved into all the myriad forms which we behold. Others, who seem to thus read the great Latin Doctor, prefer to say that God impressed upon the primordial matter a certain *passive* potentiality (*rationes causales*),⁹ for the after-production or evolution of every species—each in its own kind; but for the *actual* development or evolution of which, God's further action (called *administratio*) would be needed, in order that the passive potentiality (of what the Saint seems to call the *first* creation—i.e., the *rationes causales*) might develop or evolve an *activity* from His further Divine influence.

Though these somewhat differ, they agree in this, that the creative act is simultaneous, direct and immediate, as far as

⁸ 'Maximus in minimis cernitur esse Deus.'

⁹ Even according to St. Augustine, matter at its creation was endowed with what theologians call *potentia obediens*,—an aptitude in virtue of which it may be formed into any organism which God may determine to create. It is in this sense St. Thomas interprets the *rationes causales* of St. Augustine. See *Recond.* v., p. 763.

the primordial matter is concerned; and, as I have remarked before, I want as much as possible to preserve this paper from scholastic disquisitions. Astronomy is difficult enough without hampering it with the finer distinction of schoolmen.

Let us now turn our thoughts to the Mosaic account in Genesis. 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth.' Such are the opening words of Moses's account of the history of the creation in the first chapter of Genesis. We need go no further without an objection being suggested. The earth, then, our planet, exists before any light, be it nebulous or sunlight. 'And darkness was upon the face of the deep' (verse 3). This need not present a very formidable objection, whatever mode of creation one adopts. The first words of a history should be expected to announce the object of its relation. As Moses was about to describe *who* created, and *in what order* the world was created, he naturally introduces his subject by saying: 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth.' His design evidently was to describe the creation to men; but the first thing men would be naturally interested in would be the earth on which they dwelt; and hence he immediately refers to it and to its primal void and empty state during those many thousands, and perhaps millions of years, before it was fit for any living thing of the vegetable and animal kingdom. Hence, note the wording of the fifth verse of the second chapter: 'In the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth: and every plant *before it sprung up in the earth*, and every herb of the ground *before it grew*.'

If this may be said of the world or of our planets when once formed, why not be said of the whole primal creation? Again, if between the separation of water from land *on the third day*, three whole days or thousands of years are to elapse before that same earth and water brought forth their living inhabitants, viz., the animals and fish (*on the fifth and sixth days*), why should we be surprised that the light created *on the first day* ('and the light was made'—verse 3) should be that primordial creation from which was to be evolved in due time the solar and planetary systems? 'In the beginning' (verse 2), we are told, 'darkness was upon the face of the deep.' But immediately God said (that is, on the first day): 'Be light

made' (verse 3). Why should not this be the creation of the great Nebulous mass—the primordial sidereal matter? In a word, we seem to find here a record of the creation of a vast nebula or a host of them, which were to be evolved in due course, and according to Divine natural laws, into stars, suns, planets, etc., in the visible heavens. Nebulæ, as we have seen in the first part of this article,¹⁰ are *luminous* clouds of gaseous materials. But we know that their light is due to their heat, and their heat in turn is due to their condensation. Hence, the 'darkness' might not be actually prior to the nebulous creation, at the moment of which it would only be an invisible gaseous material infinitely attenuated and widely diffused through space; but prior, at least, to its condensation, at and after which it gradually became an incandescent, and therefore light-giving nebula. By this hypothesis, too, the recorded creation of the sun, moon, and stars *on the fourth day*, would imply that then, and then only, after the long periods—may be millions of years—between the first and the fourth day of gradual evolution, it could be said: 'Let there be lights made in the firmament of heaven to divide the day and the night, and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years—to shine in the firmament of heaven and to give light upon earth' (verse 14).

Let us repeat: any theory as to how the universe was created and by what process it arrived at its present state does not affect in any way the *Author* of the process. That there was some process of creation and not a ready-formed universe in one stroke, like the fabled birth of Minerva, is, I think, pretty generally admitted; and, therefore, as far as the Creator's methods are concerned, the Nebular Theory seems a very probable and plausible solution, and by no means affecting the question of a Creator at all, as materialists would have us think.

And here, again, we can realise that striking utterance of the Psalmist, which I also placed at the head of this paper, whereby is declared the *mutability* of matter in contradistinction to the *immutability* of its Creator. 'They shall perish, but Thou remainest: *and all of them* (the earth and the

¹⁰ I. E. RECORD, April, 1903.

heavens) *shall grow old like a garment, and as a vesture Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed.*'

Why, then, should not this figurative garment or vesture be of the material of a gaseous Nebula?

A few quotations from ecclesiastical authors appear to the writer to bear, at least indirectly, on this point.

Pererius censet primo creatam lucem, quia lux, inquit generale principaleque est *instrumentum* causarum cœlestium, quo vis omnis siderum omnisque defluxus et effectus ad nos defertur, ex quo uno fit in hoc nostrate mundo quidquid à cœlo fit.¹¹

And to the question—'Quænam fuerit hæc lux?'—we read in the same place:—

Beda, Hugo, S. Thom., Bonav., etc., putant lucem hanc fuisse *lucidum corpus*, sive cœli aut potius abyssi lucidam partem, quæ in *circuli aut columnæ speciem* conformata orbi præfulserit quæque fuerit instar materiæ *ex quâ postmodum in partes distincta ac divisa, adaucta, et velut in igneos globos fabricata, SOL, LUNA ET STELLÆ FACTÆ FUERINT*: unde S. Thomas ait 'hanc lucem fuisse ipsum solem adhuc *informem et imperfectum*.'¹²

Accordingly, it is still reasoned that this was not properly created;¹³ because God created the whole primordial matter on the first day, and cloaked it, as it were, under the form of abyssal waters, and then afterwards evolved from it this light and all other forms, whether essential or accidental; just as all other natural forms are produced from potential matter.

Deus ergo *primo die* tantum creavit *omnia creanda*, reliquis vero quinque diebus *non creavit, sed creata formavit et exornavit*. Itaque videtur Deus lucem producturus, ex aquis abyssi condensasse instar *crystalli corpus aliquod orbiculare, eique lucem hanc indidisse*.

Hoc *lucidum corpus* primo mundi triduo, scilicet, *antequam quarto die* crearetur sol; ab angelo motum fuisse ex oriente in occidentem; atque eodem modo et tempore quo sol, scilicet, 24 horis, utrinque cœli hemisphærium circumgyrasse, et illuminasse, *uninformiter, difformiter* uti jam facit sol. Lux enim hæc primos tres mundi dies suo motu descripsit et distinxit; sicuti cæteros deinde sol suo motu descripsit, et in dies describit et distinguit.¹⁴

¹¹ *Cursus Completus Script.*, tom. v., in Gen., p. 110.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹³ Except primordially.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

So far scriptural exegesis and astronomical science do not seem to be irreconcilable.

Science, as we know, cannot be at variance with revelation: for either the one is falsified or the other is misinterpreted. If opposition be shewn between them, then science, or what was looked upon as science, must give way to Revelation. But just as the whole world once thought and Revelation *seemed* to teach that the sun revolved around the earth and not the earth around the sun, and just as we know *now* and believe that the heliocentric system is *not* in opposition to Divine Revelation; so who knows, when the question receives closer attention from exegetists and theologians, that, at least, some *media via* may not be forthcoming to prove harmony and concord? One thing, I think, may be claimed, viz., that it would be very hard to prove it opposed or antagonistic to Divine Revelation.

Is it not only in recent years that geological research has proved beyond dispute that our earth is much older than mankind had believed? Is it not only a little more than a century that, despite a Pythagoras of the pagans, a Copernicus and a Galileo of the Christians, the heliocentric system has secured *universal* credence? I trust my readers will pardon me if I refer again to the opening words of the Genesiactal account by transposing a few pregnant passages of the immortal Augustine.

Cœlum et terram,¹⁵ hic vocatur materia prima, eo quod ex illâ cœlum, die secundo, et terra, die tertio, producenda esset; sed non est probabile materiam solam sine formâ creatam esse, nec talis vocari posset cœlum.

Informis illa materia, quam de nihilo fecit Deus, appellata est primo cœlum et terra, *non quia jam hoc erat, sed quia hoc esse poterat*. Nam et cœlum scribitur postea *factum*; quemadmodum si semen arboris considerantes, dicamus ibi esse radices et robur et ramos et fructus et folia; *non quia jam sunt*, sed quia inde factura sunt.¹⁶

The illustrious Doctor adds :—¹⁷

Hanc materiam eodem instanti temporis fuisse suâ formâ donatam et ornatam. Itaque hic ejus creationem tantum nominari, quia *naturâ, non tempore*, suam formam antecessit.

¹⁵ Inquit St. Aug., lib. i., de Gen. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *Cursus Completus*, tom. v.

¹⁷ Lib. i., de Gen., ad litt., c. 14.

All things considered, then, both for intrinsic and extrinsic reasons, the hypothesis of Laplace and Sir William Herschel claims more than a passing notice, and to many might seem sufficiently probable to warrant an *affirmative* answer to the question at the head of this essay. The accumulative force of all the scientific reasons for leaning towards the Nebular Theory is exceedingly strong. Where evidence of a mathematical nature is wanting, probabilities often step in and carry a practical conviction to the human mind. If we were to discard *probabilities* in ethics, whenever *evidence* is not forthcoming, what would become of moral certitude, and where would there be even an opening for *probablism*? In our question the accumulative reasoning force is strong enough to discount our surprise that so many astronomers view the hypothesis with a favourable eye. Only some of these reasons have been advanced in these pages. Amongst those which appeal to the scientific mind, I may enumerate :—

1. The wonderful concord in the *spectra* of the celestial bodies ;
2. The similarity and homogeneity of material in Nebulæ, sun, stars, planets, etc., as revealed by Astrophysics ;
3. The satisfactory explanation the Nebular Theory affords for the bodies of our solar and planetary system both revolving and rotating *in the same direction* (with the minor exceptions noted in the Uranian and Neptunian satellites) and *much in the same plane on the Ecliptic* ;
4. The apparent changes or evolution which both applied astronomy and spectroscopy intimate to be going on in Nebulous matter, especially in Spiral Nebulæ ;
5. The plausible origin it suggests for new stars, and even for the disappearance of old ones.

Surely this is no inconsiderable cumulative force.

Nevertheless, we should not overlook the conclusion of one who, though he unfortunately overstepped the bounds of reasonable and orthodox evolution, appeals therefore with greater force to a more logical sense of moderation, when he admits that the Nebular Theory 'is merely a conjecture more or less plausible.' If here I closed my paper the impression would be left upon the reader that, both scientifically and

theologically, I regarded this theory as, at least, probable, and in no way antagonistic to Scripture. Such an opinion would be the natural result of my having made the case as strong as my poor abilities permitted on behalf of scientific evolutionists. Moreover, I have even implied that the only Doctor of the Church they attempt to claim, is open to that claim by the quotations I have given. I wanted to write as if I had a 'brief' from moderate evolutionists and to present it in all its force. But it cannot be gainsaid that, on the other side, the Creationists, as they are called, have grave difficulties to advance, if not on scientific evolution, at least, on reconciling it to the Genesiactal account of the Creation. We know that the evolution theory dare not be applied, *salvâ fide*, to any *mediate* creation of Adam's soul. We know that it would be, at least, rash, if not proximate to heresy, to apply it to creation of his body; ¹⁸ because even in the latter case, the *traditio Patrum* and the *consensus theologorum* are against it. Whether it may be applied to other organisms of the animal and vegetable kingdom seems little to have occupied the minds of the theologians.

A distinguished writer in the *Dublin Review* of July, 1871, admits that *it is not against Faith* to apply it to organisms lower than man. On the other hand, Lamy and Jungman hold that its application to plants and animals, mentioned in Genesis, is *incompatible* with the true meaning of the sacred text.¹⁹

Even St. Augustine, whose *rationes causales* and distinction between a *first* and *second* creation lend such colour to a very general form of evolution, is so little clear that Cornelius à Lapide writes: ²⁰ 'Quare jam erroneum est dicere, omnia uno die producta, juxta S. Aug., Caj. et Melch. Canus.'

And studying the etymology of the Genesiactal history in the first and second chapters, the literal sense of separate *immediate* creations would seem to hold the field, unless authoritative exegetists and the magisterium of the *ecclesie docentis*

¹⁸ Berti, the great expounder of St. Augustine, writes:—'Hoc aliisque exemplis, probat Sanctus Pater, Opificem omnium *statim* formasse hominem adultum,' Lib. xii. c. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Vol. iii., Com. in Gen. i., p. 40

dislodge it by a metaphorical or non-literal interpretation. If, however, in face of these difficulties, a reader should be induced to believe that the Nebular Theory of sidereal evolution rests on a true and solid foundation, and that an *affirmative* reply may be given to the question with which I opened this essay, it would seem, pending more light from exegetical theologians or explicit direction from the great *Mater docens*, somewhat harsh to condemn him.

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

THE IRISH RESIDENTS IN ROME

THE latest news from Rome details the almost general collapse of the proselytising centres, and notably the statement that Mrs. Morgan's farm at Fara is now untenanted. It is too clear Protestantism was not made for the Italian. The Bible, however widely open, the plain, unadorned pulpit, the solemn parson, the cheerless conventicle, are but poor substitutes for the beautiful ceremonial, and gorgeous decoration and outline of the Italian churches. It is noteworthy that most of the boys, and still more generally the girls, who have been brought up at the institutions, return of their own accord, when free, to the Catholic Church. The proselytisers, therefore, have not all profit; but it is undoubted, if left unmolested to prosecute their vile traffic, many should eventually be lost to the faith. An Irishman, Mr. William Osborne Christmas, largely took the initiative in the rescue work; and, in this he was ably assisted by the Right Rev. Monsignor Stoner, Archbishop of Trebizonde. The Archbishop kindly agreed to become President of the little association inaugurated for this purpose which happily prospered, and extending its branches as well as its enthusiasm, has since become such a mighty power in Rome. This association is still in existence, and latterly the Holy Father has instituted, and as far as circumstances allow, endowed a Catholic Rescue Association whereby the young Italian is

afforded an opportunity of learning such branches, especially languages, as may be necessary for success afterwards in life, and at the same time supplied with suitable shelter, when willing to abandon proselytising institutions, entered generally, it must be said, in extreme necessity. Much praise is due to Father de Mandato, the illustrious professor at the Gregorian University, and Archbishop Adami, as well as Father Grossi, who devoted so much time, and still continue to make such sacrifices in this essential and pressing work of charity.

Archbishop Stoner belongs to a distinguished English Catholic family, and has been for many years resident in Rome. The Archbishop is about sixty, but he looks much younger. He is physically strong, of medium height, very entertaining and agreeable in manner, and generally bears distinct marks of his early training and associations. Though comparatively little known, I believe, elsewhere, he is a prominent figure in the English colony at Rome. Each new Consistory brings the news of his elevation to the Cardinalate, but the actuality has not yet come to pass, and possibly the rumours and comments never reach his Grace. He is a Canon of St. John Lateran's, which brings with it some emoluments, but it is understood he has very considerable private means. His residence is at Via Sistina, where he lives in a style perfectly in keeping with his exalted office, near the Scotch College, and in the neighbourhood of Mr. Christmas, with whom he is always pleased to be associated in any philanthropic work.

To Irish readers the name of Mr. William Osborne Christmas will not be unfamiliar. Mr. Christmas has been residing in Rome for about twelve years, and most of his time since has been devoted to some work or other of charity. He holds a very important honorary office at the Vatican, being Private Chamberlain, and on days of Papal receptions, and pilgrimages, he is, in turn, one of the officers on duty. With English-speaking visitors he is very much in request, and when there is a question of seeing the Holy Father or an audience, he spares no pains to render every assistance. He is not, however, above taking an especial interest in his countrymen. 'I am Irish,' said Mr. Christmas,

'but I fear the real Irish would not acknowledge me, as we are only about four hundred years in the country.' Well, this is not a bad passport, and whatever may be said about the unwillingness of the Irish to allow the claims of his family, he is quite willing to own the Irish, and at much personal inconvenience, make pleasant their visit to Rome. Mr. Christmas is a native of Waterford where he has still many interests, but there seems to be little chance of his future residence in Ireland. He is little beyond the prime of life, buoyant, overflowing with good nature, and is only happy when conferring whatever favour may be in his power. The entire family is resident in Rome; and I cannot omit to speak of Miss Grace V. Christmas, the gifted authoress, whose fascinating writings are so often to be met with in the leading periodicals of this country and America. Her writings are mostly religious; and the story of *The Conversion of Jack Enderby*, is entertaining and instructive. More than once she has been offered some very lucrative literary engagements, but as they did not quite harmonize with her religious bent of mind, she thought advisable to decline them. Her brother, Mr. Christmas, is always pleased with every new literary effort, and not unfrequently refers to her writings with feelings of unmixed pleasure; and especially that they are religious. Indeed, religion and piety are the especial characteristics of the family, and it is for this reason that Rome has for them such a peculiar attraction. Reference has been made already to the efforts of Mr. Christmas on behalf of the night schools; and it must not be forgotten that for several hours each night he himself taught the English classes. He was also much interested in providing the young Italians, who joined his classes, with opportunities for Confession and religious instruction, in which it must be said, notwithstanding the many opportunities available, they are often sadly deficient. Nor did he, at the same time, neglect to furnish them with English periodicals, and reading of an entertaining nature, taking even leading parts in their boyish sports, and excursions to the country. All this seemed to be to him no labour; on the contrary, a recreation. But the tact with which he manages young men, and the perfect control he is able to exercise over

them, without being in the least authoritative, is a study. I have known him to bear up with the utmost composure in circumstances in which the patience of the ordinary individual would have been utterly overtaxed; and yet he was in the end the victor. His advent to Rome, therefore, has been for some providential, and while Ireland is the loser, she can point to very honourable and worthy representation at the centre of the Christian world, in the subject of this sketch and family. The charming residence is at 109 Via Sistina.

There are various residents in Rome, who though not born in Ireland, are of Irish descent and are deeply interested in the country. Among these may be mentioned Valentine Patrick Marquis MacSweeney. The Marquis was born in Paris in 1871, and is son of Valentine Patrick MacSweeney of Macroom, County Cork, where still are the ruins of the old family residence. His mother was Polish, being Emma Countess Konarska. It is not improbable that to his maternal origin is traceable his rare genius for languages. He is said to speak eight modern languages with facility and accuracy. It is certain that he speaks and writes English, Italian, and French with the ease and grace of a native. His mastery of the languages is of valuable service to him in his relations with the Vatican, where he was appointed Honorary Chamberlain in 1893, and Private Chamberlain in 1895, receiving title of Marquis in 1896. In the diplomatic service of the Vatican, these three languages, at least are, it may be said, indispensable. It is understood he took part in the diplomatic negotiations between the Holy See and Montenegro, and has taken a deep interest in the union of the Oriental Churches, since the promulgation of the Papal Encyclical of 1894. He is also a litterateur, having graduated with honour degrees at the University of Paris, and has since published several works, and contributes to the leading periodicals of the world. His efforts in founding the *Cosmos Catholicus*, which deals with Catholic subjects, and the international affairs of the Holy See, are much to be commended. He is partly editor, and hopes to be able to render much service to the Church. The *Cosmos Catholicus* is beautifully illustrated, and is printed in Italian, French, and English, the same articles occupying

adjoining columns and the same illustrations for all. It is now regarded as one of the most important illustrated magazines in Italy. I cannot omit to mention that he is President of the Committee for Great Britain and Ireland, in connection with the International Scientific Catholic Congresses. The Marquis lives in truly princely style at the Palazzo Falconieri, Via Giulia, where he entertains largely, and is always glad to receive Irish visitors, but especially the representatives of the Irish Church. He has been for about ten years resident in Rome, but has now adopted the Eternal City as his home. The Marchesa is Brazilian, her father being Minister of Foreign Affairs under Don Pedro, of very many accomplishments, but prefers to speak Italian, French, or Portuguese to English. This preference, or rather want of confidence, in speaking English, is occasionally a little embarrassing.

Ireland has the distinguished honour of giving an abbot to the Italian monastery of Valvisciolo in the diocese of Terracina, in the person of the Very Rev. Fr. Stanislaus White. Father Stanislaus is a native of Derry, where he was born in 1839, and belongs to one of the most influential families in Ulster. The family is also noted for piety, several members having entered religion. In his twenty-first year, he entered the monastery, Mount Melleray, and was ordained in 1866. In the subsequent year, he was nominated Secretary to the Procurator-General, Rome, which office he held for twelve years. Pope Pius IX. appointed him one of the 'Apostles' at the 'Lavanda' on Holy Thursday, in St. Peter's, in 1869. He was elected Procurator-General of the Order in 1879, which office he continued to fill for thirteen years, residing in Rome. In 1893 he was elected Superior of the Abbey of Valvisciolo, in the diocese of Terracina, about fifty miles south of Rome, and nominated by Pope Leo XIII., *motu proprio*, Abbot in 1901. It will thus be observed that he has been rapidly promoted through the various grades, now attaining the highest position it is possible to attain in the Order. In conversation, Father White is bright and entertaining, and possesses a rare adaptability of accommodating himself to persons and circumstances. His manner is exceedingly simple, and although there is a tone of restraint and piety throughout his conversation,

he is very interesting and agreeable. This simplicity of manner is very remarkable in the case of most of those who hold offices in Rome, and the same is to an extent noticeable with regard to visitors. It arises, possibly, in part, from Italian associations and proximity to the Vatican, side by side with which all else is as nothing. But it is especially gratifying, that the Holy Father has appointed an Irish Abbot to an Italian monastery where the rule is the strictest of any Order in the Church, clearly showing his absolute confidence in Irish capacity, and Irish ideas on religion.

On arriving in Rome, the first care of the weary visitor is to secure comfortable quarters, and, indeed, on this depends greatly the success and pleasure of the visit. The language difficulty is not by any means what might be supposed. Almost everywhere at the hotels and pensions, some effort is made to speak English; and it is most annoying when one has mastered the Italian, to be confronted at every turn, with a jargon of English, distorted partly out of recognition by its Italian medium. The hotels and pensions at Rome are beautifully appointed, and in the matter of expense, correspond much with our own. Many intending visitors from Ireland will be pleased to learn they can find the very best accommodation, and an Irish hostess, at Pension Hayden, 42, Piazza Poli: Miss Mary Hayden, the accomplished proprietress, comes from Dublin, and has been for some years resident in Rome. Her early training and natural ability peculiarly adapt her for her present position. For some years she was resident governess in an Irish family, and was afterwards English mistress to Princess Bianca, eldest daughter of the Duchess of Madrid. After her term of engagement she decided to make her home in Italy, and has since been engaged in hotel business, in which she has been most successful. The Pension accommodates one hundred guests, and has been recently remodelled, and fitted with every modern convenience and comfort. Notwithstanding her absence of some years from Ireland, and her intention of fixing her residence permanently in Rome, she still continues to take a deep interest in her native land, and especially in the workings of the Irish Church. Speaking of Miss Hayden, a guest who had

the opportunity of judging, and whose opinion is worth recording, described her as Catholic first and above all, and Irish next. I believe this is a fair embodiment of her character.

To those interested in the Gaelic Revival, it will be pleasing news that the cult of Irish was not neglected in the Eternal City. The idea had its origin with the students of the Irish College, who spontaneously gave their recreation hours and vacation time to its study. They were fortunate in having some Irish speakers of their body, and they very readily gave their services. The matter was recognised, and a class was established in the College in 1899, and, although this study was not obligatory, within a few weeks almost every one became members. Marked progress was made; and in the following spring an address in Gaelic was presented to the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishop of Raphoe on the occasion of their visit to the College, which, it is hardly necessary to add, was much appreciated.

In this movement, Mrs. Mulhall, the wife of the late Mr. Michael G. Mulhall, the great statistician, is very much interested. Mr. Mulhall, for some years previous to his death, was resident in Rome, although a few months of each year were spent at his Irish residence, Killiney Peak, Dublin. He was for some time student of the Irish College, Rome. Having left the College he went to South America, and started the *Buenos Ayres Standard*, in 1861, which was the first English daily newspaper printed in South America. He is the recognised authority of the world on statistics, and his work, *The Dictionary of Statistics*, has had a marvellous sale; and is the author besides of several works on statistics. A few years ago he severed his connection with the Argentine Republic, and until his death resided mostly in Rome. Mr. Mulhall manifested much interest in his *Alma Mater*, and at every religious ceremony or entertainment of the College he was certain to be present. Intensely religious, he was a very agreeable companion, speaking with much fluency, Spanish, Italian, and French, as well as English. In 1900 he died at his residence, Killiney. Since the death of her husband, Mrs. Mulhall has been mostly resident in Rome. She, too, is

literary, and has published a work on South America, which appeared in 1883. Her articles to the *New York Freeman* some years ago, proving that Dante drew his inspiration from an Irish poet, created, at the time, quite a sensation. I do not know what Monsignor Bartolini, the great Roman exponent of Dante should have to say on the subject. Much of her time is occupied in attending at the ceremonies in the churches, and is now a constant student in the Vatican Library, where she is devoting her attention to the study of Irish Manuscripts. Socially, Mrs. Mulhall is much esteemed at Rome, and her rare intellectual gifts are generally admitted.

As we carry with us in physique and manner distinctive marks of our nationality, the same is generally true of accent and speech. The sweet tones of the Gaelic are still traceable in the Anglo-Irish accent of to-day. I am just reminded of this fact by an incident, which, though trifling in itself, is, perhaps, interesting. Walking leisurely towards the end of one of the principal thoroughfares of the city, where the crowd had dwindled to individuals, a cabman sauntered after me for some considerable time, and that without soliciting in any way my patronage. This struck me as unusual, and instinctively I turned to satisfy myself that I was really in the vicinity of an Italian cabman. Judge of my surprise when I found myself addressed in the softest of Dublin accents. After directing my attention to his appointments, and offering his services gratis, he freely entered on an account of himself. 'My name,' he said, 'is Kelly. A few years ago when Italian buyers came to Ireland to purchase an outfit for the Italian army, I accepted an engagement, and then came to Rome. Here I have been resident ever since, and am a registered cabman of the city. My home is Via Merulana, and my children are constantly at school. They speak Italian, for the mother brings them up her own way, and can't speak English. I get on fairly well. I know the Irish, English, and Americans by their faces, and they are glad of any one that speaks English. I am happy, and am going to live and die here.' I had occasion to meet him frequently afterwards, and found him cheerful, good-humoured, and obliging.

To readers of the periodicals and reviews on both sides of

the Atlantic, the name of Dr. William J. D. Croke, will not be unfamiliar. His name is at present before the readers of the I. E. RECORD with reference to his theory on 'The Double Personality of St. Patrick,' and he is frequently quoted in the Rome Letter of the *Irish Catholic*. Dr. Croke, though born in Canada, some thirty four years ago, is of Irish descent, and is heartily interested in everything that concerns Ireland. He is a native of Halifax, Nova Scotia, where his father was a prominent member of the Nova Scotia Bar, and Member of the Canadian Parliament. His education was acquired partly in Canada, and at St. Edmund's College, Douai. He lived some time in England, and in 1889, came to Rome, which has now become his home. Much of his time is devoted to History and Archæology, and is now engaged on a History of the National English Institutions in Mediæval Rome. It is understood he is not yet finished with his theory on St. Patrick, and that a work of his on the subject will shortly appear. It will thus be observed he is versatile, but he always secures a good grasp of his subject. Though a prolific writer and constant student, he bears no traces of the book-worm, and in his free time is a most entertaining and pleasant companion. He lives at 15, Via del Leone, and is always glad to be of service to English-speaking visitors, and especially the Irish, whom he regards as his kinsfolk.

When I mentioned the Gaelic Revival in the Irish College, I readily recalled the name of Father Louis Carew, the representative at Rome of the Reformed Cistercians or Trappists as they are commonly known. Father Louis is Irish of the Irish, and is glad of any movement calculated to elevate his countrymen; and I remember the interest he manifested in the Irish Language as revived at Rome, and on one public occasion how intently, nay jealously, he regarded the reader of an Irish essay. He entered the Order at Mount Melleray in 1869, was ordained priest in 1875, and after various offices, was appointed Prior of New Melleray, Dubuque, Iowa, United States, in 1899. Here he remained for eight years, and then returned to Ireland. At the General Chapter of 1898, he was selected as one of the five Assistants to the Abbot General, who resides in Rome, and since then has been resident at the

monastery, Via San Giovanni, not far from St. Clement's, and in the neighbourhood of the Colosseum. Father Louis in appearance is somewhat more than fifty, but healthy and full of vitality. While exceedingly simple in manner, he is by no means silent, and can with perfect ease and grace take his place at any social re-union in Rome. Visitors to the Eternal City will find in him a most cordial and interesting helper and friend, especially such as come from Ireland duly recommended. Without such recommendation, it must be said, few go to much inconvenience to serve the casual comers, for at certain seasons the influx is so great that general and indiscriminate attention would be impossible.

I find I have omitted mention of Mr. P. L. Connellan, whose name is so familiar to the readers of the *Freeman's Journal*. Mr. Connellan was born in Ireland and came to Rome from Boston in 1869, as special correspondent of the *Boston Pilot*, for the great Vatican Council. Since then he has lived in Rome, and witnessed the declaration at St. Peter's of the Infallibility of the Pope in 1870, the invasion of Rome by Victor Emmanuel two months afterwards, and was present on the occasion of his funeral in 1878. He acted in the capacity of correspondent on the occasion of the death of Pope Pius IX., and again on the elevation of his illustrious successor; so that he has seen Rome under many phases. Mr. Connellan is a regular contributor to the *Baltimore Sun* and *Boston Sunday Herald*, which is one of the great weekly journals of the United States. In 1888, the Holy Father conferred upon him the decoration of the newly established Order, 'Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice,' and lately has been created a Knight of St. Gregory. A profound student of Roman Archæology, he is vastly cultured in the antiquities of pre-Christian and Christian Rome. His lectures at the Irish College on the Catacombs, showed deep thought and patient research. Mr. Connellan is an ardent Irishman, quick to resent when the honour of his country is assailed, bright and cheerful, but a profound thinker, as well as a most accomplished writer. He is always glad to see his countrymen at his beautiful home, 6, Via Privata, as is also Mrs. Connellan, formerly of Boston.

Almost all the Religious Orders of the Irish Province have representation at Rome. Thus the Jesuits are represented at 8, Via di San Nicolo da Tolentino; the Passionists at the Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paulo; the Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost at the French Seminary, Via Santa Chiara; the Carmelites by Very Rev. J. Crowley, Collegio di Sant Alberto, Prati di Castello, and by the Very Rev. John Dowling, Convento Carmelitano, di San Martino di Monti; the Marists at 14, Via Cernaia; and I have already mentioned the other Religious Orders whose centre is at Rome. Generally, some one is to be found at these addresses who speaks English, which is often a boon to the weary and perplexed Irish visitor.

It is remarkable that since the Irish Pilgrimage of 1893, the number of visitors from Ireland to Rome, has been every year multiplying. The Irish are principally attracted to the churches, and among the churches which have for them an interest is the titular church of the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh, Santa Maria della Pace, near the Piazza Navona. It was founded in 1482 by Pope Sixtus IV., who, in order to make reparation for an outrage by a soldier to a picture of the Madonna, as well as to save the peace of Italy from the Pazzi conspiracy, vowed to have a church built here and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, under the title of St. Mary of Peace. Interiorly and exteriorly it is a beautiful structure, and is remarkable for its famous paintings by Raphael. Formerly it was an abbacy of the Canons Regular of the Lateran, but it is now in the hands of secular priests. Each Cardinal has a titular church at Rome, and over the high altar, there is, on one side, a portrait of the Holy Father, and on the other that of the cardinal titular. The titular church of Cardinal Cullen was S. Pietro in Montorio; that of Cardinal M'Cabe, Santa Sabina; while the titular church of Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, is Santa Susanna. Some portion of the dress of former titulars may be seen here and there in the church.

The nuns, we have seen, rendered excellent service in foiling the efforts of the proselytisers, and still continue their good work. Of the Sisters known as the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, the present Superioress is Irish, and several

members of the community. They teach, visit the sick, and give alms. Their English schools are very flourishing. The Convent is at Via Sebastianello, and formerly they took charge of a hospice for invalids who came to Rome. This hospice no longer exists. In this country, perhaps, they are best known as associated with the name of Lady Georgina Fullerton. At Via Castelfidardo, the Blue Sisters founded by Bishop Bagshawe have a magnificent hospice, where they are pleased to receive and board visitors of a class, and on moderate terms. Their duties are mostly nursing, in which they are very proficient, and are much in request by the English-speaking invalids. They do not, however, confine themselves to visitors, but interest themselves in the poor of Rome, and act as nurses in the better class families. Although the Order was founded in England, they are for the most part Irish.

The Sisters of the Institute of Mary, Via Nazionale, were introduced to Rome a few years ago, through Father de Mandato, to combat the inroads of the proselytisers. Their Order was founded in England, and will be more familiar to us as associated with the name of their foundress, Mary Ward. They are few, but can boast of Irish in their number. The excellent work which they did, and still continue to do, fully realised all the expectations of the good Jesuit Father.

At the Convent of S. Maria Reparatrice, Via Lucchesi, an Irish nun, sister of Monsignor Raymund, was for some time Superioress, and still continues a member of the community. The Monsignor is now Coadjutor Canon of St. Peter's, and resides with his mother the Countess Raymund, at Via del Pozzetto. It will be remembered he was entrusted with the office of bearing the Cardinal's hat to the Apostolic Delegate at Washington, Cardinal Martinelli, on the occasion of his elevation to the Cardinalate. He is still in the prime of life, one would think not very robust physically, somewhat retiring, very devout, and may be often seen in the churches before the Blessed Sacrament. Everything in his regard gives much promise for the future.

Near to the Convent of the Reparatrice is the Church of San Silvestro in Capite, which is regarded as the English

church in Rome. The Rev. Basil Maturin, an Irishman, is the Lenten preacher for 1903, and here it may be observed he preached his first sermon after his ordination in 1898. His style is peculiar to himself; and he has an extraordinary command of language and ideas. He is a convert, still comparatively young, and full of life and energy. There is nothing in his manner indicative of that reserve, and unwonted restraint so generally noticeable in converts, especially, who have embraced religious life. He is attached to the diocese of Westminster, and might anywhere be taken for an Irish priest. The Very Rev. William Whitmee is the rector of this church and General of the Society of Missions. There are several Irish students in the community. In the North American College, Via dell' Umiltà, the Rector is the Right Rev. Monsignor Kennedy, and the newly-appointed vice-rector is the Rev. Father Murphy; these names are sufficiently suggestive, while most of the students bear Irish names, and in cases have never been to America. The Scotch College, Via Quattro Fontane, has its Irish students; and the English College, Via Del Monseratto, as well. In the new Collegio Beda, expressly founded for converts intending to enter the Church, Monsignor Prior is vice-rector, while of the English College proper, the Rev. D. Cronin is vice-rector. The names are indicative of their original nationality.

In the fine arts Ireland is represented by Mr. Hogan, sculptor, who has been for some years past resident in Rome. He is son of the late celebrated sculptor of that name, so favourably known in Dublin. His business seems mostly to study the finest specimens of Italian art, although he has executed work of rare merit for several Irish churches within the last few years. His residence is Via Rasella, near to the Piazza Barberini. In everything he is essentially an artist, and is studious and retiring.

As to the social life of Rome, I must observe that the best Italian society is very exclusive, and only foreigners with highest introductions are eligible. I will only here refer to that society into which ecclesiastics may, with proper propriety, find admission, and where guests are partly clerics and partly laics in strong sympathy with the Catholic Church and

its workings. After special ceremonies in the churches it is quite usual to hold a reception, where many of those who attended are presented to the officiating prelate. The whole is, of course, very informal. A dinner party is so little different as to the manner in which it is conducted from a similar institution with us, that a description would be uninteresting. An evening party is enjoyable and not in the least perplexing. The guest of the evening is usually a dignitary of the Church, and you are invited to meet him. In this matter the Italians show great tact and thoughtfulness, as well as delicate feeling. Hardly ever is more than one cardinal present, and the same is pretty generally observed as to the other various grades in the Church. The receptions usually take place from 5 to 8 in the evening; and on arrival you are received by the host or hostess, presented to the guest of the evening, and if there is no such, to the guests in general, and after some interchange of ideas, and refreshments partaken standing, sitting, or moving around, all within the space of about half an hour or so, you are then perfectly justified in taking your leave without further ceremony. Meanwhile guests continue to come and go. At these receptions non-Catholics, too, are frequently to be met with, who enter thoroughly into their spirit. Mrs. Charles Smyth, who is Irish, holds her reception on St. Patrick's Day. Her name will be best known to us associated with the Palazzo Odescalchi. She is said to be related at the White House, Washington. On these occasions the Countess Strozzi is often to be met with, she is also Irish, but is resident in Rome for many years, having formed a connection with the well-known Strozzi family. Her beautifully appointed home is at Via Palestro.

Passing over the solicitude of the Holy Father, for not merely the spiritual but the temporal concerns of the Irish, which never flags, and of which he gives so many proofs on the occasion of the visitations of the Irish Bishops, as well as that of the Irish Pilgrimages, I may be permitted to refer briefly to a few of the many residents in Rome, who, though not Irish, are deeply interested in Ireland and its people. Among them may be mentioned Cardinal Satolli. His Eminence is a native of Perugia, the former See of the Holy Father. This interest arises in a great measure from contact

with the Irish in America, during his office of Apostolic Delegate at Washington. Then the Cardinals Vannutelli ; they are brothers, natives of Genazzano, and one is spoken of as a likely Pope. Archbishop Merry del Val also manifests much interest in Ireland. His name is still remembered as arbiter in the Canadian School question, a few years ago. He is a Spaniard, being son of the late Spanish Ambassador to the Holy See. For some years he has been President of the College of Noble Ecclesiastics, and, considering his exalted position, is very young. He speaks English perfectly, having been educated at Stoneyhurst. The Rector of the Propaganda College, Monsignor Cammassei, since his visit to Ireland in connection with the Maynooth Centenary in 1895, has taken a deep interest in the country. He has frequently expressed himself gratified with all he witnessed on that occasion, as also with the great piety he observed among the people everywhere during his sojourn then, and on a still more recent occasion. Nor has Father Palliola forgotten his Irish associations. He will be favourably remembered in connection with the missions of the Redemptorist Fathers in Ireland some years ago. In 1898 he was recalled to Rome, while Superior at Perth. He is now attached to the new church of St. Joachim, built by the present Pontiff. The Very Rev. Dr. Esser never tires of recounting his pleasing reminiscences of Maynooth, where he was for some time professor. He is on the Congregation of the Index, and has lately been appointed a member of the Papal Biblical Commission. Now he is connected with the Dominican Convent, Via Sebastianello ; and so I might go on.

Having said so much on the Irish residents in Rome, I may remark that I have by no means exhausted the subject. I have only mentioned, for the most part, the residents of note with whom circumstances brought me into relationship. There are, I know, Irish employees in various business departments in the city, and Irish tutors in Roman families. I feel however, I have said enough to show that Ireland is well and favourably represented in the religious, social, and economic life of the Eternal City.

D. F. M'CREA, M.R.I.A.

A PROTEST AGAINST PESSIMISM

THE common consent of men taken in the mass has long been regarded as of prime importance in the establishment of theories which elude the grasp of scientific demonstration. Some philosophers would almost go so far as to attribute to it the character of an infallible criterion of truth. Unfortunately, however, the common consent is extended to theses for the proof of which no other reason either of congruity or probability can be adduced than that their exploitation seems to involve a subtle satisfaction. That the world is constantly getting worse is an opinion which apparently has been held universally since the human intellect began to concern itself with the subject. In fact it is the only opinion in the matter which has obtained a currency worth speaking about. Jews, Greeks, Romans, Teutons, have all testified to their belief in degeneracy as a constant factor in human affairs. Ancients and moderns have here a common ground. Rudyard Kipling is quite as good an authority on the matter as Homer; both probably echo the sentiments of the authors who flourished in the Stone Age. In the face of a consensus one is inclined to think twice before venturing on a traverse. It would be hardly safe to deny, for example, that the men of long ago were taller and stronger and wiser than the men of to-day, that the winters were colder and the summers warmer and the grass several shades greener in that spacious and, as to boundaries, vague period of time known as the good old days. The theory is in itself of little consequence; the world presumably rolls on without reference to theories, and the matter would not be worth a mention except for the fact that it bears a close resemblance to an attitude of mind towards our national concerns, political and ecclesiastical, with which we are becoming more and more familiar with the revolving years.

A great deal has been written recently, and countless speeches have been delivered by way of shedding light on

the secret places in the national character. The spirituality, the gaiety, the humour, the patriotism, the artistic power, the idealism, and the hundred and one things that make up the Celtic temperament have been enlarged upon in season and out of season. It would be well if some authority on the psychology of the Celt would enlighten us as to the source from which proceeds the national tendency to pessimism or from what nether foundation of the mental structure arises the mist of despondency which so frequently envelops us. Is it the inevitable counterpart of the gayer and sunshiny side? Is it the dryness and bitterness which so often attend progress along the paths of spirituality? Is it the reaction consequent on the *joie de vivre* which only those gifted with artistic sensibility share? It is just possible that an exaggerated devotion to ideals, which, judged from many standpoints, are pre-eminently foolish, has something to do with it. Ideals suffer so much when they clash with the practical that their owners are bound to suffer *toties quoties* a vexation of spirit. And as any reference to Irish affairs would be incomplete without honourable mention of our rulers, it is well to say here that it is highly probable that the Government, fruitful parent of unnumbered woes, is to some degree responsible for the periodic ebbing of our dearest hopes.

But to come to the matter in hand. If ever a spontaneous political sentiment existed in the hearts of men, surely the focussing of the hopes of modern Ireland on the idea of self-government must be considered as the result of natural and inborn tendencies and reasonable ambitions. There is no necessity here to point out how deep-rooted and how universal is the belief in the ultimate triumph of what, in spite of cheap sneers at demagogues and agitators, in spite of the ridicule with which at times it seems to be tarnished by the performances of many of those who are loudest in their professions of devotion, is yet a lofty and inspiring cause. Nor is any elaborate proof required for the statement that side by side with the most buoyant hopes of Ireland's political future there exists the fear that in some occult and hitherto unexplained way the interests of religion will suffer as the material concerns of the country advance and prosper. To come to close

quarters, it can no longer be denied that many trained observers of public life in Ireland see in the present-day conduct of those affairs signs to justify the worst apprehensions, and no longer hesitate to mark the line of cleavage which they profess is visibly broadening between a section of the people on the one hand and, on the other, those who have been up till now their closest allies and their trusted leaders. This fear is not confined to any particular class of Irish Catholics, it is entertained and expressed by learned and unlearned, gentle and simple, by men skilled in the ways of the world and by men who in those ways are, to borrow a Rhodesian phrase, but as children. That political emancipation or the worldly prosperity which might follow thereon should stand for a menace to the Faith is not exactly a self-evident proposition. The perception of fear, however, does not depend on the actual presence of danger and certain mental states are in no way affected by the laws of sound reasoning. To decide to what extent this frame of mind squares with the actual facts is a business of some importance. Few Catholic Irishmen will deal hardly with an attempt to show that the nervousness about the future of religious interests in Ireland arises more from an excessive, though natural anxiety on behalf of those interests than from the matter-of-fact operation of forces which notably threaten them.

It is too late in the day for men to expect to gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles. Anyone who hoped for a resultant good to public life in Ireland from the years covering what is popularly known as the Parnell split has thereby redeemed himself from the charge of pessimism. It was an ugly business and left ugly marks. The fever of excitement did not leave the patient with a clean bill of health, as is not unfrequently the case with fevers. During these evil days the National cause lost a considerable amount of caste, and many found it incumbent on them to retire from the fighting line. Their retirement under such circumstances scarcely prejudiced them in favour of those who filled up the vacancies, and it is not in human nature to expect their unqualified approval of the subsequent proceedings. Religion and politics are so inseparable in Ireland that the Parnell controversy was

bound to react on matters of religion, and the prestige of clerical leadership was somewhat damaged. A precedent was established. The people were familiarised with demoralising divisions and causes produced their natural effects. The Parnell controversy is over and the union between the priests and people has survived. It is a strong bond which endures such an ordeal and the breaking of it promises to be an affair of some time.

Change is ever regarded, we may suppose, by the wise with mixed feelings. It would be absurd to think that a momentous political change can take place in Ireland without influencing ecclesiastical affairs. But is there evidence to prove that any section of Irishmen hopes for, or is working for legislation inimical to the interests of the Church? The whole political programme of the Nationalist Party, if granted to-morrow, contains nothing that could be turned into an anti-religious weapon without grave perversion of its nature. There is no organ published in Ireland by Catholics which displays the slightest anti-clerical bias. There is no representative, or for that matter unrepresentative, public man who dares to introduce the anti-clerical or anti-religious note into platform utterances, nor is there the least indication of even the desire to do so. There is no known part of Catholic Ireland where such an utterance could be safely delivered. At public meetings priests are received with genuine enthusiasm, and their adhesion considered a valuable distinction. The representative and responsible Press chronicles with eagerness news bearing upon ecclesiastical matters, and nowhere are the claims of Catholic institutions—schools, hospitals, orphanages, societies—more eloquently advocated than in the columns of our most popular newspapers. In matters, too, less exposed to observation than the doings of public men, the same hopeful features are to be noted. Few parish priests in Ireland, we venture to assert, are troubled with a disposition on the part of parents to withdraw their children from schools under their management. Neither does the existence of the University of Dublin or the Queen's Colleges seriously add to the cares of the pastors of the Irish Church. The powerful attractions of these establishments are held out in vain to the Catholic

youth of Ireland, while on the other hand the influx of students to the seminaries and Catholic colleges increases more rapidly than do the facilities which they seek—in itself no mean test of the spirit of a people. Where are we to look for the portentous signs of religious decay? Is it in the churches? From Fair Head to Bantry the cry is for increased accommodation for the worshippers. Is it in the habits of the people? Statistics, it is said, will almost prove anything, but they will be taxed to the utmost to prove that the standard of morality in Ireland is being lowered. Is it in their intellectual pursuits? The literature of the philosophy of unbelief is unread and unheeded, and the glorious panoply of Christian and Catholic thought alone occupies the field. That one or two publicists of a type find their only chance of circulation in the manufacture of falsehoods about the Church to which they owe allegiance, points out nothing except that a certain amount of bread is generally buttered on that side and that renegades have a singular facility in discovering the fact. That in the heat of election speechifying or in the qualified amenities of newspaper controversy things should be said which are better left unsaid is not a matter for surprise, and still less a warrant for panic. We might search Ireland with candles, and fail to find a reason for despondency boldly stamped in the face of things, but on the contrary, in broad daylight, and in abundance, we may find clear springs of hope and courage.

The debate on the subject usually includes, on the part of the pessimists a clearly drawn parallel between France and Ireland. The state of religion in France is brought in as an unanswerable argument. It is easy to understand the feelings with which modern France is regarded by an Irish observer; it is also easy to understand that the remotest chance of a similar declension in Ireland should be zealously guarded against; but it is not so easy to see where the spirit of secularism and infidelity responsible in France is at work in Ireland. The Catholics of Ireland have not yet ranged themselves under the banner of Freemasonry, nor are they divided on any public question to the detriment of the Church, as were the French Royalists and the founders of the Republic. They are not blinded with power and maddened by success in arms,

as were the Frenchmen of the Empire. The literary field in Ireland has been almost completely abandoned in favour of the political: the few men of genius, however, whom we honour have not been scoffers. Our best achievements in literature, in art, in education, and in politics are united indissolubly to the cause of Catholicity. The brightest pages of our history are those which speak of the glories of the National Church: the dearest to the hearts of Irishmen are those which tell of the sufferings manfully endured by their ancestors because of their unpurchasable loyalty to Rome. Is there any possible parallel here between France and Ireland? The Ireland of the future will be the outcome of natural development. Whatever legislative changes may be in store for us will be accomplished peaceably and without a violent breaking with the past. The sky would not fall even if Home Rule were suddenly thrust upon us, and the change that could induce Irishmen, directly or indirectly, to part company with their proudest memories, and to barter their hardily-won heritage, has not yet loomed above the horizon.

On one side of the account must be placed the aptitude for and acquaintance with public affairs possessed by the people. The political Irishman is often made the target of clumsy witticisms; but it is just as well, perhaps, that an Irishman, shut out by the operation of unjust laws from a wider culture, should find in politics a stone on which to temper the keen edge of his intellect. It is inconceivable that Irish electors should return either to a native or a foreign Parliament men to represent them of the type which receives the suffrages of the French peasantry. At home, the interest, perhaps in some ways inordinate, which the people take in Parliamentary business, is, roughly speaking, ample guarantee for the conduct and character of their representatives. The clear perception of the issues at stake with which an Irishman enters the polling booth seems to have no equivalent in France. On all sides the parallelism collapses. To construct it one would require to re-write the respective histories, constitute the peoples of France and Ireland in similar circumstances, and subject them to the same tests, in a word, to pre-suppose a state of affairs which no man shall ever see, and to anticipate

which is but an unprofitable thrashing of the water. It is submitted that what has been said is a fair representation of the facts, temperate and free from exaggeration. It is not argued that the millennium has arrived or that the ground is completely cleared of bones of contention. But we contend that the religious body is in a normal and healthy state, and in contradiction more will be required than the elevation to a plane of national importance affairs of a petty and personal nature. The resolutions of a District Council, for example, do not sensibly affect the political atmosphere; it is difficult to see how the irreligious action of the same body—supposing such action to be remotely probable—should shadow forth the doom of Catholicity. But if the remote probability came to pass, the pessimists would all declare that the hour had come.

Out of the mass of conflicting accounts which reach us from over sea, one thing seems clear. The Irish abroad are exposed to grave risks of losing that spirit of fidelity to the Church which distinguishes them at home. They do not leave their native shores with an animus against the Church, but with feelings of tenderness and affection for the mighty mother whose strength has been expressed to them in units of kindness. The weak spot in their armour seems to be at the point of contact with a civilization which either they cannot assimilate or which is in itself of a lower form than that in which they have been bred. If the argument were advanced that the same danger threatens the remnant of the race which still clings to the sod, through the medium of foreign manners and ideas, the worship of a foreign ideal of success and—most powerful of all agencies—a frivolous, debasing, and, because professing no belief, infidel literature, it would call for earnest attention. The cancer of worthless literature is an evil which it is to be hoped will never spread abroad its roots in Ireland. But even here pessimism is at a discount. On all sides the tide of a sound public opinion in the matter of books, newspapers, and publications of every kind is rapidly rising. The Language Revival will have achieved a great result if it succeeds in thoroughly awakening the national consciousness of what is base and what is noble in the printed matter which is daily and weekly unloaded amongst us. It will achieve a

greater result if it succeeds in creating, or helping to create, a literature racy of the soil in the best sense of that well-worn expression, congruous with the character of the people, and bringing them into contact with the culture of which the Church is the guardian and dispenser.

Time and again in the history of the Church has Ireland stood as the exemplar of a Christian nation. In learning and sanctity, and, in more modern days, in loyalty to the See of Rome, has Ireland led the way. Destiny may yet hold for her another proud distinction. When the tiller of the soil enjoys in peace and without fear the fruits of his industry, when her sons attain free and honourable access to the fountains of learning in a native University, when national affairs are administered according to native ideas, Ireland may prove to the world that commercial prosperity and enterprise, high educational achievement, and civil splendour may exist side by side with, and be graced and dignified by the profession of an uncompromising Catholicism. Ireland may again bear unimpeachable witness to the glory of that Church with which her varied fortunes have been so closely linked. When Ireland comes forth from the Valley of the Shadow she may amply vindicate the claims of the Church to be equal and necessary to every social and national development, to be triumphant over every accident of circumstance, governed by principles constant and universal in their power and application, the same in prosperity as in adversity, the source of a nation's strength in the hour of endurance, and its chiefest pride in the days of its exaltation. It is in a country such as ours, which has kept its borders clear of the prophets of irreligion, it is on the virgin soil of a self-governing Ireland that the unthwarted influence of the Church on civil affairs might be tested, and its beneficence proved. It is a consummation to be hoped for, and by courageous and righteous men of every estate to be strenuously worked for. In the face of such a future no man may lay down his arms, and no effort may be spared until Catholic Ireland stands amongst the nations in the foremost file.

THOMAS M'CALL.

EDITORIAL NOTE ON A RECENT DECREE OF THE HOLY OFFICE

WE have been requested to draw the attention of our readers to the Decree of the Holy Office which is printed in the first place amongst the Documents of our present issue. We wish particularly to point out that one of the results of this Decree is that where bishops of a diocese have been granted faculties to bless beads, crosses, etc., and to bless scapulars and enrol the faithful in them, they can subdelegate these faculties to the priests of their diocese. We are furthermore requested to state that the authorities at Propaganda prefer that priests desiring such faculties should apply for them to their respective bishops.

It appears that the number of applications for such faculties sent to the authorities in Rome from this country without any regard to form or to the labour and inconvenience involved in deciphering their communications, and the difficulty in many cases of reading even their names and addresses, makes it quite impossible for the Propaganda authorities to attend at once to requests of this kind. Nor is it fair to expect the President of the Irish College in Rome, who has many other duties to claim his attention, to sit down and put all these applications into form, then bring them to Propaganda, and leave them to be presented, and return again to call for them when the forms are made out. The system hitherto followed implies delay and much difficulty and trouble. The alternative has the advantage of being simple and expeditious.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

PRIVATE MASS AT EXEQUIAL OFFICE

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the next issue of the I. E. RECORD would you kindly favour me with a reply to the following :—

Can a priest who may or may not be able to sing, simply read Mass (a requiem) immediately after chanting the 'Officium Defunctorum' with other priests or clerics? What should a priest who is unable to sing do on (a) All Souls' Day? (b) on the death of a friend or relation?

SACERDOS.

There is nothing wrong or incongruous in a Private Requiem Mass as such following the recital of the 'Officium Defunctorum.' As to the propriety, however, of dispensing with the Solemn Requiem Mass, where it is possible, it occurs to us to make the following observations. There is no doubt that the Mass contemplated by the Rubrics in connection with the Exequial Office is the 'Missa Solemnis seu Cantata de Requie.' A glance at the singularly elaborate and beautiful ceremonies prescribed by the Roman Ritual for this solemn occasion, makes this quite clear. The same may be concluded from the very provident legislation of the Liturgy in virtue of which these Masses are granted extensive privileges, enabling them to be celebrated, with few exceptions, on almost all days of the year. It being then the mind and wish of the Church that these impressive rites should be performed, as far as circumstances permit, in all their fulness, we think that there is some obligation in not omitting, without sufficient reason, the Solemn Requiem Mass, and, consequently, the full exequial service of the Church. In the concrete case before us, judging from the data supplied, we do not see why the right and proper course ought not be followed. Certain exigencies, however, often render the substitution of the Private for the Solemn Requiem Mass perfectly legitimate,

just as the Office, and even the Mass may be altogether omitted for a reasonable cause. It must be borne in mind that the Rubrics do not always sanction the saying of a Private Requiem Mass in the same circumstances in which a Solemn one may be celebrated. There is only one case where the formal substitution of the former for the latter is recognised, and it is where the Private Mass is celebrated 'pro paupere defuncto cujus familia impar est solvendo expensas Missae exequialis cum cantu.'¹ In this case days admitting the solemn, admit also the Private Mass, 'De Requie,' under almost identical circumstances. From the foregoing, then, it will appear that in our opinion, for the reasons stated, the Solemn Mass ought not be omitted without some cause at least.² As to the second part of the query it is not edifying, to say the least, when a priest essays to sing High Mass, who does it so painfully that, instead of inspiring devotion in his hearers, he rather contributes to fill them with a feeling of disgust for the sacred function in which he is engaged. At the same time we fancy there are few priests who have so little music in their souls that they may not with training and practice acquire such proficiency in Plain Chant as will enable them to sing a Solemn Mass with tolerable, if not commendable, success. There is no obligation, or, as far as we are aware, no universally prevailing custom of having a Solemn Requiem Mass on the feast of All Souls. To be sure it would be desirable to have it. But we would say of this, as well as of every other occasion on which there may be question of having Solemn Requiem Mass, that it would be best to omit it altogether unless it can be carried out with due regard to the requirements of the ceremonial, and with the solemnity and sacredness befitting one of the most impressive functions of the entire Liturgy.

¹ Decr. S.R.C., n. 4024 (Nov. Ed.)

² For the method of carrying out the Exequial in small churches cf. De Hert, *Praxis Lit. Rit. Rom.*, cap. vii., §18.

ROSARY CHAPLETS AND THEIR INDULGENCES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say if a Rosary from which the cross becomes detached, or which has been re-chained or re-wired, loses its indulgences?

INQUIRER.

In the case of Chaplets or Rosaries, the indulgences are attached to the stones, or *beads* properly so called, and do not cease when the crucifix becomes lost or detached. Similarly, in an indulgenced crucifix, the image or figure retains the indulgences after it has become detached from the cruciform frame to which it is affixed. The Congregation of Indulgences has decided that the loss of a few stones does not invalidate the indulgences in the case of a Rosary, and the reason given for the decision is 'quia coronae eadem perseverant quoad formam moralem.'³ Hence Beringer⁴ concludes, 'On peut donc, sans crainte de perdre les Indulgences, enfiler les grains d'un chapelet dans un autre cordon ou dans un autre chaîne, et remplacer par d'autres les grains peu nombreux qu'on aurait perdus.' For purposes of greater security the method adopted by some people of not disengaging all the stones at once, but of renewing the wires according as the old ones are rejected, may be recommended.

P. MORRISROE.

³ Prinzivalli, *Resolutiones*, etc., n. 482.

⁴ *Les Indulgences*, vol. i., p. 333.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NEBULAR THEORY AND DIVINE REVELATION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Father Selley, in his learned and most interesting article on the Nebular Theory, after remarking rightly that ‘there does not exist such a thing as a fixed star,’ proceeds to define a planet as ‘a cool opaque body, either in a solid or semi-solid state, revolving round another body, as a centre of centrifugal motion.’ I do not understand how the term, revolving, in any sense can help to define the nature of a planet. According to Sir William Herschel, our sun, with its numerous planets, is travelling towards the star Lambda in the constellation of Hercules.

Many dark bodies, such as that revolving around Algol in Perseus, are supposed to be extinct suns, now cold and dead, as they say will be the fate of our own sun some seventeen millions of years hence. May our sun then be described as a planet? Sir Robert Ball ended his series of lectures at the Royal Institution by declaring that no evidence can be conceived by the mind of man as necessary for the final proof of the Nebular Theory that we have not in superabundance already. The satellite of Neptune, revolving the wrong way (!) is only the last item of our system to settle down. In the course of ages it also will show no departure from the general rule. Final proof has only recently been forthcoming, but the great hypothesis of Laplace, with its corollary, now takes rank as the most tremendous fact in Nature. The corollary is that long after stars and suns are cold they meet in fierce collision and are dissolved into new nebulae to start their cycles of the worlds again.

Flammarion tells us that this ‘final proof’ can never be more than a speculation, and cannot be proved by calculation. Astronomy is, indeed, a wonderful and progressive science, but its votaries should not run away with their theories so much. They must agree among themselves, and prove their theories by more convincing proofs, before declaring that we have more than abundant evidence for mere speculations.

In one of his late articles on ‘The Scale of the Visible Heavens,’ published in the March number of *Good Words*, Sir

Robert Ball admits 'that it not unfrequently happens that after much labour has been expended on observations of some particular star, the work turns out to be fruitless, the cause of failure being that the star is so remote that there is no possibility of measuring its distance with the appliances of our observatories.' If mistakes may be made about stars, how can we make sure of the nature and genesis of the Nebulæ?

N. MURPHY, P.P.

Kilmanagh.

BOOKS ON THE INDEX—ADDRESS OF SACRED CONGREGATIONS, FORMS OF APPLICATION—COPPER COLLECTIONS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I. Might I suggest that printed copies of all the books which are prohibited by the Index be printed and circulated through the priests. I am sometimes in doubt as to whether I may read a book which I would wish to read. It is also a fact that sometimes a priest reads *bona fide* a book which is strictly prohibited. Neither can we advise lay persons unless we have certain knowledge ourselves. A small payment would cover the cost of printing.

II. Printed forms of application to Roman Congregations for the various dispensations, etc., together with the addresses of those Congregations, would be useful.

III. I would like to have an opinion on the following subject:—It is the custom in many parishes in Ireland to have Sunday copper collections. It is not the practice of bishops, so far as I know, to demand an account of those collections from parish priests. I have heard an experienced parish priest conclude from the above premises that a parish priest may put part of that money to his own personal use. I hold the opposite opinion. Who is right?

April 10th, 1903.

J. G.

I

The first suggestion or request of our correspondent is ambiguous as it stands. We infer, however, that what he wants is not a library of all the books condemned by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, but merely a list of these books. We have no doubt that it would be useful to many

priests for their own guidance and for the guidance of others to have a list of these books, and we are happy to be able to inform our correspondent that such a list is available, and can be got through any Catholic bookseller in Dublin or London for the sum of four or five shillings. The list has been recently most carefully revised and re-edited by our friend and former colleague, Dr. Thomas Esser, O.P., who is now Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of the Index. As an introduction to the list, our correspondent and all others whom it may concern, will find set forth in order the Apostolic Constitutions by which the Sacred Congregation is guided, and from which it derives its authority. For it must be remembered that it is not alone the books actually mentioned in the list that are forbidden, but also the classes of books mentioned in the Constitutions. The recent list was issued from the Vatican Press in 1900.¹

II

The Roman Congregation with which Irish priests are most frequently in correspondence regarding dispensations and all practical matters in these countries is the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. Communications intended for this Congregation may be addressed as follows:—

All' Eccelmo. e Revmo. Signor Segretario,
Della S. Congregazione di Propaganda,
Piazza di Spagna,
Rome.

There are many ways of addressing the Secretary; but this will do as well as any other.

As to the forms of application for dispensations, we must refer our correspondent to standard works, such as Putzer's *Commentarium in Facultates Apostolicas*, or Gasparri's

¹ Index Librorum Prohibitorum SSmi. D. N. Leonis XIII. Jussu de Auctoritate Recognitus et Editus. Praemittuntur Constitutiones Apostolicae et Examine et Prohibitione Librorum. Romae: Typis Vaticanis. MCM. Quinque Libellae.

Tractatus Canonicus de Matrimonio. Feije's treatise, *De Impedimentis et Dispensationibus Matrimonialibus*, will also be found helpful; for although he does not give specimen forms, like Putzer and Gasparri, he treats the subject in such a manner as to make it easy for his readers to put a complicated case in clear and practical form. In the case of faculties to bless beads and crosses and enrol in scapulars, we would direct our correspondent's attention to the Decree of the Holy Office, page 460, and our note on the subject, page 452.

III

Obligations differ in this matter according to the circumstances and legislation of the different countries. We are not aware that any general regulation has been made for Ireland. Our correspondent would be bound by a diocesan regulation if there be a general law in the diocese. If not, the Bishop can regulate such matters in each particular case according to the needs of the mission. If our correspondent has any practical difficulty, where no general law exists, and local custom does not come to his aid, the Bishop can easily solve it for him.

ED., I.E.R.

DOCUMENTS

DECREE OF THE HOLY OFFICE REGARDING THE POWER OF
BISHOPS TO SUBDELEGATE CERTAIN FACULTIES

DECRETUM. SUPREMAE CONGREGATIONIS S. O. SUPER POTESTATE
EPISCOPI DIOECESANI SUBDELEGANDI FACULTATES IPSI AB
APOSTOLICA SEDE AD TEMPUS DELEGATAS.

In Congr. Gen. S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis. habita ab Emis. ac
Rmis. DD. Card. in rebus fidei et morum Gen. Inquisitoribus,
feria IV die 14 Decembris 1898, proposito dubio: *An possit
Episcopus dioecesanus subdelagare, absque speciali concessione,
suis Vicariis Generalibus aut aliis Ecclesiasticis Viris modo
generali, vel saltem pro casu particulari, facultates ab Apostolica
Sede sibi ad tempus delegatas?* Iidem Emi. Patres responden-
dum censuerunt: *Affirmative, dummodo id in facultatibus non
prohibeatur, neque subdelegandi ius pro aliquibus tantum coar-
ctetur; in hoc enim casu servanda erit adamussim forma
Rescripti.*

Insequenti vero feria VI, die 16 Decembris 1898, in solita
Audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de iis omni-
bus SSmo. D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, Sanctitas
Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit.

Quum insuper dubitatum fuerit, an quod praefatum Decre-
tum statuit de *Episcopo dioecesano*, intelligendum etiam sit de
Vicariis, Praefectis et Administratoribus Apostolicis iurisdic-
tionem ordinariam cum territorio separato habentibus; SSmus.
D. N. in Audientia feriae V, die 23 Martii 1899, referente
R. P. D. Adessore S. O. respondet: *Affirmative.*

INDULT FOR PRIESTS OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM. INDULTUM PRO
SACERDOTIBUS TERTII ORD. SAECULARIS S. FRANCISCI

Beatissime Pater,

Sacerdotes Tertii Ordinis Saecularis S. Francisci, ad
osculum S. Pedis provoluti, humiliter implorant ut, qui ex ipsis,
muneribus Sacerdotalibus inpediti fuerint quominus adsignatis

diebus Ecclesiam vel Oratorium adire valeant ad recipiendam Benedictionem Pavalem vel Absolutiones Generales cum adnexa Indulgentia Plenaria praefato Tertio Ordini concessas, easdem recipere possint quocumque die inter festi octiduum occurrente, ne tanto bono spirituali inculpabiliter priventur.

Et Deus, etc.

Vigore specialium facultatem a SS. D. N. Leone Pp. XIII sibi tributarum, S. Congr. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita benigne annuit pro gratia iuxta preces, ceteris servatis de iure servandis. Contrariis quibuscumque obstantibus. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Cong. die 11 Februarii 1903.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

FRANCE AND THE POPE

LEO. XIII. RESCIBIT EPISCOPIS GALLIAE GRATULANTIBUS DE 25 ANNO
AB ASSUMPTO SUMMO PONTIFICATU

LEON XIII. PAPE.

Chers Fils, Vénérables Frères.

Salut et Bénédiction Apostolique.

En ce temps où, de toutes parts, se multiplient pour Nous les causes d'affliction, alors que Notre âme est plus douloureusement affectée des tristesses qui Nous viennent de France, la lettre que, d'un commun accord, vous Nous avez envoyée pour Nous exprimer à l'occasion de Notre Jubilé pontifical vos vœux unanimes, a été une consolation pour Notre cœur.

Dans votre empressement à Nous féliciter si éloquemment et à Nous offrir des souhaits de bonheur à l'occasion de cet heureux événement et de la durée de Notre Pontificat, prolongée au delà de toute attente, Nous avons reconnu l'urbanité et la piété filiale des évêques de France et c'est de grand cœur que Nous vous offrons, à Notre tour, Nos vœux les meilleurs avec l'expression de Notre gratitude. Mais il semble hors de doute que ce témoignage éclatant de respectueuse soumission renferme et exprime, surtout dans les circonstances que traverse présentement l'Eglise, une plus haute signification. Nous y voyons, en effet, un témoignage évident et public de votre

union: non seulement de votre concorde mutuelle, mais aussi de votre étroite union au Siège Apostolique.

Or, Nous sommes convaincu que cette concorde des évêques doit être, au plus haut point, féconde et salubre. Elle sera d'un grand exemple pour la nation française, et il en résultera, entre vous et votre clergé, puis, entre le clergé et les fidèles, une entente plus cordiale encore qu'auparavant. Cet accord des esprits et des volontés, que, plus d'une fois, Nous avons instamment recommandé, les maux de l'Eglise qui s'aggravent de plus en plus à l'heure présente, Nous portent à le recommander plus fortement encore. Qui ne se sentirait, en effet, profondément ému, en face des machinations auxquelles sont en butte aujourd' hui les lois chrétiennes?

Quel évêque, vraiment vigilant, peut ignorer qu'une influence funeste, partout répandue, inculque à la multitude les erreurs les plus pernicieuses, arrache à l'enfance toute religion, livre au mépris les institutions de l'Eglise, s'efforce enfin de ruiner cette Eglise elle-même, fondée par le Christ? Et pourtant, dans toutes les branches de l'activité humaine, les nations ont ressenti les heureux effets de la foi divine; il est évident aussi que le progrès des Etats naît du respect de la religion, et que, les plus florissantes républiques ont été ruinées par l'impiété.

Seule, l'union des bons peut empêcher que la haine des méchants ne triomphe, c'est pourquoi, conscient de la volonté divine qui a fait de la chaire de Pierre le plus ferme appui de la religion, Nous avons tout tenté pour susciter, dans le clergé et dans le peuple, des résolutions proportionnées aux maux qui affligent l'Eglise. Aussi, lorsque Nous considérons ceux qui exercent l'autorité dans l'Eglise, sommes-Nous pénétré d'une joie profonde, en voyant les évêques obéir avec un zèle ardent à Nos exhortations et donner des témoignages éclatants de leur sollicitude pastorale.

Les évêques française, principalement, méritent cet éloge. car bien qu'ils aient eu à souffrir davantage du malheur des temps et de la difficulté des circonstances, ils n'ont pas cessé d'entourer de la plus profonde vénération le siège de Pierre et de Nous aider par leur travail à porter le poids de Notre charge.

Votre lettre nous est un témoignage de ces dispositions filiales à Notre égard; vous y consolez Notre tristesse au milieu des maux qui nous assiègent et vous y montrez des cœurs, non seulement disposés à l'obéissance, mais encore prêts à aller, s'il en était besoin, au devant de Nos préoccupations. Nous vous

félicitons donc, et de votre zèle à défendre la foi des ancêtres et du bel exemple de concorde que vous donnez à votre troupeau. Vous gardez vraiment, avec une sainte et inviolable fidélité, la mémoire des premiers évêques de France, mémoire illustre et digne des louanges les plus hautes.

C'est à eux que la France doit d'avoir pu ajouter, à ses autres titres de gloire, le nom de catholique; c'est par les évêques encore que la religion y sera maintenue à notre époque, dans tout son éclat. Il faut vous attacher fortement à ces traditions si vous voulez être assurés de préserver de toute atteinte la gloire de la France très fidèle, et de repousser efficacement les efforts des impies. Comptant sur votre vertu que Nous connaissons par expérience, Nous ne doutons pas que, pour obtenir ces heureux résultats, vous ne combattiez avec la constance de vos prédécesseurs.

Et Notre confiance dans cette fermeté ne fait que s'accroître, lorsque Nous considérons tous les bons Français qui gardent dans leur cœur cette noblesse que votre illustre nation s'est acquise par l'accomplissement des œuvres de Dieu. L'épreuve qui les accable n'est pas une raison, en effet, d'attendre moins de vos fils, et la mauvaise fortune ne peut les dépouiller du nom si honorable de catholiques. Nous mettons aussi Notre espoir dans les prières que vous adressez à la vénérable Jeanne d'Arc et Nous avons la confiance que cette vierge si bonne vous sera d'un puissant secours.

Saisissant l'occasion de ces solennités jubilaires, vous Nous priez instamment de mettre Jeanne, toujours invaincue, au nombre des bienheureuses: ce serait pour Notre amour paternel une véritable satisfaction que d'accorder à la France catholique, comme une nouvelle marque de bienveillance, cette grâce tant désirée. Mais vous n'ignorez pas que, dans l'affaire si grave que vous Nous proposez, on doit religieusement observer les lois qui règlent la procédure de la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites. C'est pourquoi Nous ne pouvons maintenant que demander à Dieu de faire aboutir cette cause au gré de vos désirs.

Cependant, en témoignage de Notre bienveillance, et comme gage des faveurs célestes, Nous vous accordons de tout cœur dans le Seigneur, à vous et à vos fidèles, la bénédiction apostolique.

Donné à Rome, près Saint-Pierre, le 15 août de l'année 1902, de Notre Pontificat la vingt-cinquième.

LEON XIII. PAPE.

FRANCE AND THE POPE

EPISTOLA EPORUM GALLIAE GRATULANTIUM DE ANNO 25 AB
ASSUMPTO SUMMO PONTIFICATU*Très Saint Père,*

L'Eglise de France est trop fière de son titre de Fille première-née de l'Eglise, pour ne pas saisir avec empressement toutes les occasions de témoigner, au Siège apostolique et à Votre personne sacrée ses sentiments d'amour, de fidélité et de dévouement.

C'eût été pour nous, assurément, une grande joie que de nous retrouver groupés autour de Votre Sainteté en ces solennités si imposantes du 20 février et du 4 mars, qui célébraient l'aurore de la vingt-cinquième année de Votre Pontificat. Si nous n'y étions pas tous, Très Saint Père, l'épiscopat français y était dignement représenté. et tous, dans une même pensée de filiale affection, nous Vous avons exprimé, dès la première heure nos félicitations et nos vœux.

Mais voilà qu'aujourd'hui, impatient de déposer aux pieds du du Saint-Siège, en poursuivant sa mission, en développant son admiration, le monde catholique, dans un élan magnifique de foi et de piété, devance les dates officielles, et que les Gouvernements eux-mêmes s'empressent de rendre hommage au Pontife providentiel dont l'énergie et la sagesse, en affirmant les droits du Saint-Siège, en poursuivant sa mission, en développant son influence, ont porté si haut le prestige de la papauté.

Les Evêques de France, eux non plus, ne veulent pas attendre pour s'associer, de nouveau, et par un acte public, à cette manifestation universelle, si consolante et très significative.

Ils tiennent à Vous redire une fois de plus, Très Saint Père, ce qu'ils Vous ont dit maintes fois déjà: qu'ils sont les fils soumis, dévoués, aimants de Votre Paternité; qu'ils protestent contre les entraves mises par l'impiété à l'action apostolique de l'Eglise; qu'ils souffrent de vos épreuves; qu'ils partagent vos préoccupations, vos soucis, vos peines; qu'ils reçoivent avec respect tous vos enseignements; qu'ils entrent pleinement dans les voies que Vous leur avez tracées et qu'ils sont prêts à tous les sacrifices pour seconder vos desseins.

Nous sommes heureux aussi, Très Saint-Père, de renouveler ici, au nom de l'Eglise de France tout entière, l'expression de

notre vive et profonde gratitude pour les marques incessantes d'affection que Votre Sainteté a prodiguées à notre pays ; car rien ne nous console autant, au milieu des tribulations de l'heure présente, rien ne nous soutient davantage que se sentir, toujours vigilante, toujours paternelle, Votre sollicitude pour la France ; et nous voudrions pouvoir Vous donner l'assurance que demain, ayant repris conscience du rôle glorieux que la Providence lui a assigné dans le monde, la France saura répondre aux avances du Saint-Siège et faire encore les Œuvres de Dieu parmi les nations.

Enfin, Très Saint Père, ce désir de pacification, cet espoir d'un relèvement prochain et d'un avenir fécond pour notre pays nous pressent de confier à Votre cœur, en la circonstance solennelle de Votre Jubilé pontifical, le vœu qui est la prière instante de l'Eglise de France, de voir bientôt-sur les autels notre Jeanne d'Arc, cette *Fille de Dieu*, comme disaient ses voix, en qui s'incara, au XV^e siècle, l'âme de la patrie française et qui a passé dans notre histoire comme une radieuse apparition de l'ameur du Christ pour les Francs. Que du moins cette année jubilaire ne s'achève point sans que la cause ait fait le pas décisif si impatiemment attendu !

Et nous ne craignons pas, Très Saint Père, que ces instant ces de l'Episcopat français paraissent à Votre Sainteté, ni téméraires, ni indiscrets ; car pour en avoir recueilli si souvent l'aveu sur vos lèvres, nous savons qu'elles sont l'écho de votre propre sentiment, à tel point qu'il nous semble, au contraire, entrer dans vos vues en sollicitant cette insigne faveur.

19 Juillet 1902.

CERTAIN RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF CARDINALS

DECRETUM. CIRCA JURA ET HONORES PP. CARDINALIBUS ADSERENDA IN NONNULLIS CIRCUMSTANTIIS

De iuribus et honoribus purpuratis Patribus adserendis in actis quibusdam, quae ad ipsorum munus ac dignitatem spectant, R. P. D. Franciscus Riggi, apostolicis caeremoniis praefectus, S. Congregationi Caeremoniali dubia proposuit quae sequuntur :

Dub. I.—Utrum purpurati Patres ad ordinem diaconorum vel presbyterorum pertinentes, sed episcopali consecratione non aucti, crucem ante pectus, more episcoporum, deferre possint,

sive domi intra romanam Curiam, sive ubique locorum extra ipsam Curiam.

Dub. II.—Haud semel accidit ut Patres Cardinales electi Protectores, in solemnibus possessionis, pro simplici aulaeo, duobus a solo gradibus, usi sint throno proprie dicto, tribus a pavimento gradibus elevato, superimposita umbella, seu peristromate. Contigit etiam ut, Cardinali Protectore templum subeunte, decantata fuerit, quemadmodum in possessu Tituli, antiphona: ‘*Ecce sacerdos magnus*’; vel ‘*Fidelis namque.*’ Denique ut idem Cardinalis Protector, in ecclesia publica confraternitatis aut religiosi ordinis, palliolum, seu *mantelletum*, deposuerit.

Ad certam normam pro variis casibus constituendam quaeritur:

1°. Utrum Patribus Cardinalibus, qui alicuius ecclesiae Protectores a Summo Pontifice fuerint renunciati, cum plena in ipsam iurisdictione, memorata signa honoris, in solemnibus possessionis ritu, competant.

2°. Utrum purpurati Patres electi Protectores ordinum regularium, monasteriorum, confraternitatum, aliorumve institutorum, possint, dum possessionem ineunt, in horum aedis aula maiori, vel in interiore sacello; aut ad ianuam templi vel adnexi publici oratorii excipi cum cantu antiphonae: ‘*Ecce sacerdos magnus,*’ vel: ‘*Fidelis namque.*’

3°. Utrum iisdem Cardinales Protectores ordinum regularium, monasteriorum, confraternitatum, aliorumve institutorum, possint in interiore aula religiosae domus vel confraternitatis vel instituti; aut etiam in ecclesia vel publico oratorio, thronum, adhibere triplici cum gradu, superimposita umbella, seu peristromate.

4°. Utrum liceat iisdem palliolum deponere et, relecto supari, seu *rocheto* et *mozzeta*, adstare in ecclesia vel in publico oratorio, si in alterutro locum habeat actus possessionis.

5°. Purpuratis Patribus, qui a Summo Pontifice fuerint dati Protectores regnis, civitatibus, academiis, aliisve, competantne peculiaris honoris aliqua signa.

Dub. III.—Si contigua ecclesiae aedes propria sit Cardinalis Titularis, eademque inhabitetur a religiosa familia vel instituto subiecto alteri Cardinali utpote Protectori, utri purpurato liceat intra aedem ipsam incedere cum *mozzeta* tantum.

Dub. IV.—1°. Utrum Cardinalis Protectoris collocari insignia, seu stemmata, possint super ianua domus aut templi ad

religiosam familiam, ad confraternitatem aliudve institutum pertinentium.

2°. Item probandane sit consuetudo in Urbe recepta, ponendi super ianuis templorum ad confraternitates pertinentium insignia seu *stemmata* Primicerii una cum *stemma* Cardinalis Protectoris.

Super proposita dubia, auditis tribus S. Congregationis Caeremonialis consultoribus, Eminentissimi Patres, in comitiis habitis die xiii mensis Maii an. MCMII in Aedibus Vaticanis, ita respondendum censuerunt :

Ad I^{um}. *Nihil innovetur.*

Ad. II^{um}, 1°. *Affirmative.*

2°. *Negative*, i. e. excluso cuiusvis antiphonae cantu.

3°. Ad primam partem *affirmative* : ad secundam *negative*.

4°. *Negative.*

5°. *Negative.*

Ad III^{um}. Competit utrique.

Ad IV^{um}, 1°. Insignia, seu *stemmata* Cardinalis Protectoris super ianuas domus rite apponuntur.

— Id ubi fieri nequeat, poterunt apponi super ianuas ecclesiae, sed una cum *stemma* Romani Pontificis, et nisi ratio habenda sit potioris iurisdictionis aut patronatus.

2°. *Negative.*

Facta de his, per me infrascriptum Cardinalem S. Congregationi Caeremoniali Praefectum, relatione SSmo D. N. Leoni XIII Pont. Max., Sanctitas Sua omnia adprobavit et confirmavit, die xxx eiusdem mensis et anni.

ALOISIUS Card OREGLIA A S. STEPHANO,
S. Congr. Caerem. Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

LUDOVICUS GRABINSKI, *Secretarius.*

SODALITY OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM. URBIS ET ORBIS—
DECRETUM. DE ERIGENDIS SODALITATIBUS VIAE CRUCIS
VIVENTIS

Pietati Christifidelium fovendae nihil est tam aptum, nihil tam efficax, quam frequens Dominicae Passionis meditatio, in qua dum ipsi recolunt quanta Verbum Dei Caro factum pro nobis pati dignatum est, eorum corda ad poenitentiam

excitantur, et ad redamandum Christum Iesum vehementer inflammantur.

Iam vero inter plura quae id praestant pia exercitia, illud procul dubio prae ceteris eminet, quod a *Via Crucis* nuncupatur, a S. Leonardo e Portu Mauritio primitus inventum, et in universa catholica Ecclesia tam salubriter propagatum.

Quoniam vero plures vel occupationibus distenti, vel valetudine laborantes, prohibentur quominus integro huiusmodi pio Exercitio vacent, nonnulli pietatis zelo praestantes viri, ne spiritualium fructum ex eodem Exercitio manantium copia deperdatur, Sodalitates quasdam instituere excogitarunt ex quatuordecim sociis constantes, qui singuli unam quotidie sibi attributam ex quatuordecim stationibus meditando peragent, ad instar Sodalitatum *Rosarii Viventis*.

Hinc Ssmo. Dno. Nostro Leoni PP. XIII preces humiliter sunt delatae, ut praedictas Sodalitates, earumque leges approbare, et nonnullas sociis indulgentias tribuere dignaretur.

Has porro preces, relatas in audientia habita die 16 Augusti 1901 ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, Eadem Sanctitas Sua peramanter excepit, Sodalitatesque Viae Crucis *Viventis* summopere commendans approbavit, earumdemque leges, prout in subiecto schemate prostant, auctoritate sua sancivit, servandasque mandavit, simulque indulgentias omnes in indice huic Decreto inserto contentas in perpetuum benigne concessit, defunctis quoque applicabiles.

LEGES SERVANDAE IN ERIGENDIS SODALITATIBUS VIAE CRUCIS VIVENTIS

I. Exercitium *Viae Crucis Viventis* instituitur, ad instar *Rosarii Viventis*.

II. *Via Crucis vivens* nihil aliud est, quam invitamentum atque tyrocinium ad completam Viam Crucis, iuxta formam in Ecclesia catholica adhiberi solitam, uberiori aedificationis fructu, atque indulgentiarum ac privilegiorum a SS. Pontificibus concessorum thesauro multo locupletiore ditatam.

III. Quaelibet Sodalitas ex quatuordecim sociis constat, et nonnisi in Ecclesiis, vel Oratoriis publicis sive semipublicis vel etiam in Communitatibus, ubi Stationes Viae Crucis rite erectae existunt, constitui debet.

IV. Ius constituendi Sodalitates in toto Ordine, seu ubique locorum, residet in Ministro Generali Ordinis Minorum

S. Francisci ; inter limites propriae Provinciae, in Provincialibus ; in respectivo districtu, in Guardianis eorumque vices gerentibus, sive per se, sive per suos subditos ad id deputatos.

V. Spectat iure primario ad Ministrum Generalem ubique locorum deputare Directorem Sodalitatum religiosum eiusdem Ordinis, et ubi hic desit, sacerdotem sive saecularem, sive regularem, qui personarum ad novam sodalitatem pertinere cupientium catalogum conficiat, atque custodiat. Idem possunt Provinciales, nisi auctoritas Ministri Generalis obstet, intra limites propriae Provinciae, et etiam Superiores locales, dependenter tamen a Ministro Provinciali.

VI. Ad Directorem spectat nominare Zelatores et Zelatrices, qui vel quae personas inscribendas prudenter quaerant, eidemque Directori proponant.

VII. Ad exercitium Viae Crucis viventis rite peragendum et ad indulgentias eidem adnexas lucrandas requiritur meditatio Stationis unicuique per sortem adsignatae, et recitatio trium *Pater, Ave et Gloria*, manu tenendo Crucifixum ex materia solida confectum, et ad hoc benedictum sive a Ministro Generali, sive a Ministro Provinciali in respectiva Provincia, vel a Superiore locali, aut etiam ab ipso Directore, vel alio Sacerdote a Ministro Generali delegato.

INDEX INDULGENTIARUM SODALITATIBUS VIAE CRUCIS VIVENTIS TRIBUTARUM

Omnes Christifideles ab aliquo Directore in Sodalitatem admissi, sequentes Indulgentias lucrari possunt :

I. Primo die festo postquam Sodalitatem adiverint *plenariam indulgentiam*, si eodem die vere poenitentes, confessi, S. Synaxim susceperint.

II. Festis Nativitatis Domini, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, Paschatis, Ascentionis, Corporis Christi, Pentecostes, SSmae. Trinitatis ; item singulis feriis Sextis mensis Martii, nec non festis Inventionis et Exaltationis S. Crucis, SS. Stigmatum S. P. Francisci, et eiusdem die natali, *plenariam indulgentiam*, dummodo quisque sodalium quotidie sibi adsignatam Stationem sedulo sancteque peregerit mense integro, simulque contritus et confessus S. Synaxim sumpserit, et aliquam Ecclesiam diebus supra statutis visitaverit, et inibi aliquamdiu ad mentem Summi Pontificis preces effuderit.

III. Die semel quotannis eligenda item *plenariam*, si quilibet e Sodalibus per annum integrum quotidie stationem sibi propriam

peregerit, simulque memorata die vere contritus, confessus et sacra Synaxi reffectus, uti supra oraverit.

IV. Pro quotidiano exercitio *centum dies* diebus ferialibus; *septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum* diebus dominicis aliisque per annum festis, nec non per totam maiorem Hebdomadam.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 16 Augusti 1901.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANC. Archiep. Amiden., *Secretario*.

JOSEPHUS M. CANONICUS COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

POWER OF CONFERRING DEGREES IN THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY GRANTED TO THE SEMINARY OF ROCHESTER

CONCEDITUR EPO. ROFFENSI UT ALUMNIS DIOECESANI SEMINARII
CONFERRE VALEAT GRADUS ACADEMICOS IN FACULT. THEOL.
ET PHILOS

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Romani Pontifices Sacrarum Disciplinarum custodes et vindices, quae in ipsarum bonum evadant atque incrementum paterno studio comparant. Cum itaque venerabilis Frater Bernardus Mac-Quaid, Episcopus Roffensis in Statibus Foederatis Americae Septentrionalis, instanter a Nobis petierit per tramitem Congregationis de Propaganda Fide pro Dioecetano S. Bernardi Seminario facultatem conferendi gradus Academicos in facultate tum Theologica, tum Philosophica, Nos, collatis consiliis cum venerabilibus Frat. Nris S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis ut supra Propagandae Fedei praepositis, attentisque expositis, ac singulari commendatione tum Metropolitani Archiepiscopi Neo-Eboracensis tum aliorum Episcoporum, Antistitis memorati preces benigne excipiendas existimavimus. Quae cum ita sint, omnes ac singulos, quibus hae litterae Nostrae favent, peculiari benevolentia complectentes et a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis, si quas forte incurrerint, huius tantum rei gratia, absolventes et absolutos fore censes, Motuproprio atque ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione Nostris, de apostolicae potestatis plenitudine praesentium vi

perpetuumque in modum nunc et pro tempore existenti Ordenario Roffensi facultatem facimus conferendi gradus Academicos in Sacra Theologia et in Philosophia alumni Seminarii Dioecessani S. Bernardi qui de sua probitate et doctrina experimenta praeberint, his servatis adamussim conditionibus et legibus. I. Ut unusquisque ex candidatis in supradicto Seminario, si de Philosophia agatur, saltem per unum annum pro baccalaureatu, per duos annos pro prolytatu, per tres annos pro Doctoratus laurea Philosophicis doctrinis vacaverit; si vero de Theologia sermo sit, saltem per duos annos pro baccalaureatu, per tres pro prolytatu, per quator pro Doctoratus laurea huic sacrae disciplinae operam dederit. II. Ut opportunum subierit examen in rebus philosophicis ac theologicis orale tantum pro gradibus inferioribus, orale et scriptum pro Doctoratu, praeside Episcopo aut eius Vicario Generali vel alio sacerdote ab eodem Ordinario deputando, et coram tribus saltem professoribus. III. Ut postquam candidatorum quisque dignus habitus fuerit qui laurea decoretur, is in manibus Episcopi vel eius ut supra Delegati fidei professionem iuxta formam a fe: re: Pio PP. IV Praed. Nos. praescriptam, iis additis quae in exemplari edito in vim decreti Congregationis Tridentini Concilii decretis interpretandis praepositae sub die XX Ianuarii anno MDCCCLXXVII atque heic adiecto continentur, rite emittere teneatur. His rite persolutis studiorumque curriculo emenso candidatus ab Episcopo vel eius vices-genente apostolica Nostra auctoritate creabitur declarabitur in Philosophica, aut respective in Theologica facultate Doctor et Magister, collatis illi omnibus et singulis iuribus ac privilegiis quibus alii sic promoti tam in athenaeo almae huius Urbis Nostrae quam in totius Orbis studiorum Universitatibus de iure vel consuetudine aut alias quomodolibet potiuntur et gaudent. Decernentes praesentes litteras semper firmas, validas et efficaces existere ac fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri atque obtinere, ac illis ad quos spectat et pro tempore quandocumque spectabit in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragrari sicque in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos iudicari ac definiri debere, ac irritum et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XX Martii MDCCCCI Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo quarto.

ALOIS Card. MACCHI.

**POWER OF CONFERRING DEGREES GRANTED TO DR. M'QUAID
FOR HIS SEMINARY OF ROCHESTER**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI. NUNTIIUM DATUR DE
PRIVILEGIO CONCEDENDI GRADUS ACADEMICOS IN SEMINARIO
ROFFENSI

Illme ac Rme Domine,

Dum Amplitudo Tua Romae nuper versaretur pro visitatione SS. Liminum App. amplam relationem huic S. Congregationi praesentavit circa statum sui Seminarii S. Bernardi in ista dioecesi Roffensi, enixe rogans ut eidem a Sanctitate Sua privilegium concederetur conferendi gradus academicos in Theologica et Philosophica facultate.

Sanctitas Sua, cui haec petitio oblata fuit. valde gavisus est de florenti statu praedicti Seminarii et jucundissimum mihi est tibi significare eandem Sanctitatem Suam, attenta etiam singulari commendatione tum Metropolitanus Archiepiscopus Neo-Eboracensis, tum aliorum Episcoporum, tuas supplices preces benigne accepisse et imploratum privilegium praefato Seminario auctoritate sua concessisse. Hisce adnexum Amplitudini Tuae transmittitur Breve Pontificium, et interim Deum rogo ut Te diu sospitem servet.

A. T. addictissimus Servus,

M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius.*

Romae die 23 Aprilis 1901.

R. P. D. BERNARDO MACQUAID,

Episcopo Roffensi.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE OLDEST CODE OF LAWS IN THE WORLD. By C. H. Johns, M.A. Cambridge: T. and T. Clark.

THIS is the legislation of Hammurabi. The liveliest interest now attaches to everything belonging to this great king, who is the Amraphel mentioned in Genesis xiv. Till a few years ago Amraphel was to Biblical students little more than a name, but more recent discoveries have justified Schrader's identification of him with Hammurabi, the sixth king of the first so-called 'Babylonian dynasty.' Then in January, 1902, a *stele* was discovered at Susa (Persepolis, in Elam) which contained the laws of the famous monarch. The laws were published, with an accompanying translation in October of the same year by Père Scheil, the distinguished Assyriologist, who has made a special study of Elamite history. As, however, his rendering here and there was a paraphrase, the Cambridge lecturer on Assyriology, C. H. Johns, who is already well known by his editions of Assyrian legal documents, has now issued an exactly literal translation. Besides being a boon to students, this publication brings Hammurabi's laws within reach of a much wider circle of readers. As regards the intrinsic nature of the legislation, suffice it here to say that its high moral tone is remarkable. It may be interesting in connection with this to know that such was the veneration in which this code was held, that it was still studied in Babylonia two thousand years after Hammurabi's reign.

R. W.

EINLEITUNG IN DAS N. TESTAMENT. Dr. Belser. Herder.
852 pp., 8vo. Price, 12s.

THERE is a marked improvement in the Introductions to the New Testament published in recent years as compared with their predecessors. Valroger and Reithmayr were indeed excellent in their day, but that day is long past. Even Schäfer's excellent little work (1898) does not contain all the information a student needs. This, of course, applies with still more reason to the general Introductions

by Kaulen, Cornely, Trichon, etc. The very nature of these works precluded any detailed and satisfactory treatment of many important questions. It was indeed, he tells us in his preface, the want of such a book that induced the Tübingen Professor of Scripture to publish his 'Einleitung.' Here we have all the problems of the present day discussed at full length. Great attention is paid to what may be called the historical environment of the composition of the Gospels and Epistles. Every reader must be struck by the unusually large number of passages and references that are quoted and explained for the purpose of delimiting the date, scope, etc., of these inspired writings. They really give the Introduction the appearance of an historical commentary. This feature of Dr. Belser's work is evidently due to the necessity of refuting the theories of Harnack, Holtzmann, Weiss, etc. The refutation is thorough-going. The Synoptic problem is ably handled. We should, though, like to see more space than from page 233 to page 259 devoted to it. However, we must say that the 'problem' has always seemed to be a fictitious one. Tradition is a safe guide, but when *soi-disant* critics attempt, by counting words and phrases, to account for the mutual relations between Gospels, there will be no end to theories. The hypothesis of the double recension of the Acts, based on the remarkable variants of codex D. is equally well treated of. But this was only what was to be expected in a work by the author of the well-known *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte*. The section on the history of the Canon is especially good. It may be said in a word that on everything appertaining to the New Testament the reader is put in possession of the results of the best and most recent criticism. No more useful book could be put into the hands of students. Dr. Belser writes in a truly Catholic spirit which cannot but have a beneficial effect on his readers.

J. C. D.

DER BIBLISCHE SCHÖPFUNGSBERICHT. Dr. Kaulen. Herder.
Price, 1s.

Any work from the pen of the celebrated professor of theology in Bonn University is sure to be good. Throughout his long career Dr. Kaulen has been conspicuous for the breadth of his views, the accuracy of his knowledge, and the intensity of his orthodoxy. Among Catholic scholars of the present day he

occupies a prominent place, and his nomination as a member of the Biblical Commission has given universal satisfaction. Works such as Dr. Kaulen's *Assyrien u. Babylonien, Einleitung in das N. T.*, and many others—the articles in the *Kirchenlexicon* included—are quite sufficient to establish his reputation. The latest contribution which he has made to exegesis, namely, this Commentary on the Hexaemeron, will be found very useful, especially to students of Hebrew. It has a character of its own that distinguishes it from the recent commentaries on the same subject by Hummelauer and Zapletal.

J. C. D.

HANDBOOK OF THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By Dr. Albert Stöckl. Part II. Scholastic Philosophy. Translated by the Rev. T. A. Finlay, S.J., M.A. Dublin: Fallon and Co. Price 5s. net.

STUDENTS of Philosophy will have a warm welcome for this long-expected publication. The first part of Father Finlay's translation of Dr. Stöckl's admirable work was published in 1887. A note on the fly-leaf of the present volume says: 'This part is issued separately for the convenience of those who have already procured Part I. The arrangement of the pages is continuous with that of Part I. Both parts form one volume, which can now be had complete from the publishers.'

Outside the Catholic schools, Scholastic Philosophy has been neglected and unknown, if not despised, in modern times. Hence the pressing need for a fair and clear historical presentation that may attract the English reader. The intrinsic merits of the present handbook give us grounds for hoping that it will satisfy this want. Amongst present day philosophers a juster and fairer appreciation than heretofore of the value of mediæval Philosophy, is beginning to prevail. Dr. Stöckl's historical survey of the period is concise and attractive, as well as being sympathetic and reliable, and comes out at an opportune time for the stranger to Scholasticism.

In our Catholic schools, also, the want of some such historical handbook in English was keenly felt. The teaching of Philosophy nowadays is said to have developed into a mere critical and historical exposition of the subject. That is a natural development which makes up for the absence of any

sound, comprehensive system of Philosophy in all those places where Kantism has wrought ruin and desolation. But it is a charge which certainly cannot be urged against us. Rather do we err in the other extreme. Philosophy would have an altogether new interest for students—a living human interest—if they gave a little more attention to its most attractive aspect—its history. Father Finlay's handbook will surely be an invaluable help to them in this direction. Needless to say, the translation is excellent, and will be found to be wonderfully clear, although the subject itself is not always so.

P. C.

SCRIPTOR SACER, SUB DIVINA INSPIRATIONE. Fr. Zanecchia, O.P. Pustet. 1903.

THE author of this brochure was for a time professor in the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem. He is well known to students through his work on Palestine, and through another on the Inspiration of Scripture, which appeared about four years ago. In it he gave a very useful explanation of the relevant passages in the Biblical Encyclical, and he also reviewed the opinions of several theologians who had written on Inspiration before the publication of the *Providentissimus Deus*. Among these theologians was Cardinal Franzelin, whose classic treatise, *De Scriptura et Traditione*, is known to all. The view taken of the Cardinal's teaching did not meet the approval of Father Van Kasteren, S.J., whose article, *Franzelin en Zanecchia*, appeared in the *Studien*. The present brochure is a rejoinder.

L. T.

CURSUS PHILOSOPHICUS IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctoribus Pluribus Philosophiae Professoribus in Collegiis Valkenbergensi et Stonyhurstensi, S.J.

PARS I. LOGICA. Auctore Carolo Frick, S.J. Editio Tertia Emendata.

THIS treatise was first published in 1893, and it now reaches its third edition. We are not sure if it is well known or very popular, but we believe it deserves to be. It devotes about 100 pages to formal and about 200 to material logic. The author does well to bestow special care on that department of Philosophy which deals with the foundations of Truth and Certainty that are so much questioned in modern systems.

A course of study that is amply wide for any student of Logic is ably and admirably condensed into the handy dimensions of this volume. Of course it supposes the assistance of a teacher. The first part especially could not be mastered by the beginner without such assistance. With his aid it will be found most satisfactory. The power and clearness of thought are striking throughout. The terseness and crispness and accuracy of expression are very attractive features. They remind us of the valuable *notulæ*, or notes, in which the teacher of experience often crystallizes his lectures for his students. We wish it a wide circulation in the schools.

PARS VI. (Ejusdem Cursus), PHILOSOPHIA MORALIS.
Auctore Victore Cathrein, S.J. Editio Quarta ab Auctore recognita.

This volume forms the sixth and last of the same 'Cursus Philosophicus,' the four intermediate volumes being Ontology (Frick), Natural Philosophy (Haan), Psychology, and Natural Theology (Boedder). Father Cathrein's Moral Philosophy extends to close on 500 pages, and will be found to be a good, useful class-book. It contains ample matter for the ordinary reader, and abundant references to the scholastic masters for those who may be stimulated by the author's suggestive treatment to search more deeply into the difficult questions in which Moral Philosophy abounds. It is perhaps scarcely to be expected that a text-book would attempt a full and adequate solution of those problems. We are satisfied at finding questions clearly stated, lines of argument plainly indicated, objections fairly proposed, and principles of solutions suggested. On all these points the text-book before us is satisfactory; and when we remember the great labour involved in compiling such a treatise, especially in view of the many modern errors to be dealt with, we must congratulate the author on having achieved his share in the important work of furnishing the Catholic student with a new Course of Philosophy.

Students are often disheartened at finding obscure terms and loose reasoning in the exposition and proofs of some of the most fundamental *theses* dealt with in their text-books. This usually arises from the requirements of brevity, but sometimes, one is tempted to think, from a want of original thought or a failure to grasp the thoughts of the great masters on the part

of the authors. The present volume is an improvement on any we have met in this respect, and some very excellent pieces of clear exposition and proof are to be found in its pages. Still, in places, we have looked for light, and failed to find it. A clear distinction is rightly drawn between what natural reason can do for us in Ethics, and what Revelation has added regarding the Supernatural. It is very difficult to meet directly, in the Science of Ethics itself, the position and teaching of modern secular moralists—as we may call them—for it is in their *presuppositions* that they differ fundamentally from us, in their outlook on man's nature, life, and destiny, leaving out of the whole question, as they do, God, immortality, a future life, the fall of man, and the consequent struggle between higher and lower appetites; and Moral Philosophy is not the place to deal directly with these conceptions. They entail, however, on the moral philosopher the duty of being very clear and explicit in his treatment of the 'Finis Ultimus,' the 'Natura Moralitatis,' and the 'Norma Moralitatis.' It is in these, precisely, we could wish for something more and something better than our author has given us. We are told (not, however, in the present book alone) that the '*objectum beatitudinis humane necessarium et sufficiens*' cannot be '*voluptas*' nor '*ipsa substantia anime*.' We have never heard or read of anyone who said they were. How could the soul itself be the '*objectum beatificans*'—beatifying the soul itself? '*Voluptas*' may have been claimed by some as the '*beatitudo subjectiva*,' which is a different thing altogether; and we have always thought that the true relations between that same '*voluptas*' and '*beatitudo*' still need to be more fully and fairly explained than they have hitherto been in our hand-books of Philosophy. To us, at least, it seems that an exaggerated opposition has been placed between them, as also between the '*bonum honestum*' and the '*bonum delectabile*.' The statement that a thing is '*bonum honestum*' '*inquantum est appetibile per se et praescindendo a delectatione quam affert (bonum honestum)*,' leaves much to be desired. The opinion which says that the moral goodness of an action is its '*utilitas ad finem ultimum*,' is refuted as erroneous by inconclusive reasoning, instead of being examined with a view to see if there be any truth in it or wherein it differs from the author's own opinion. According to the latter, morality consists in '*actus dependentia a voluntate libere operante et ratione advertente ad honestatem vel*

turpitudinem objecti.' In establishing this *thesis* he asserts that morality cannot consist in 'relatione conformitatis vel difformitatis cum regula morum,' for the extraordinary reason that morality is something common to both the good and the bad act, while with conformity and difformity there can be nothing in common! Have not both this at least in common that both belong to the category of 'relation'? The meaning of the above *thesis* entirely depends on the meaning of the 'honestas vel turpitude objecti.' Hence we inquire what is it that *makes* one object morally good, another morally bad? which is a different question from this: *How* is it that we know, *by what means* are we to judge, that this object (and consequently, of course, this act which is specified by it) is morally good, and that morally bad? Is it the same objective thing that formally constitutes the moral goodness of the object (the *essentiale constitutivum intrinsecum bonitatis objecti*), and is the 'norma' or 'regula' by which we are able to discern that goodness in the object? Here, where clearness of treatment is evidently of the first importance, we find in many textbooks only confusion. In addition to avoiding the latter we would wish to see in Father Cathrein's treatment of the matter a higher degree of the former. We are rightly told in a thesis that the 'norma proxima' is 'man's rational nature,' and the 'norma ultima' the Divine Essence; and a few pages farther on, in a corollary, that the 'honitas objectiva' can be rightly defined as the 'convenientia objecti per se ipsum ad naturam rationalem ut talem.'

But, then, the question arises: How does man's natural inclination towards what is 'bonum' or 'conveniens suae naturae rationali' become a *duty*, give rise to a *moral obligation*? Is that natural necessity by which every created nature tends towards its own 'good' the only moral obligation, the only constraining law of which natural reason is or can be cognisant? This, at once, brings us face to face with the godless and religionless Ethics of Modern Philosophy, with Utilitarianism and its 'good' without 'duty,' with Kantism and its 'duty' without 'good'; our task in Christian Ethics being to show that 'duty,' by implying a Superior Will and a Future Life, is thus *ultimately* identical with the 'good.' It is a disregard of those two implied truths that has doomed Utilitarianism to failure. We regret that the actual truth that is in Utilitarianism is not more candidly recognised by Catholic moralists in general. Utilitarian Ethics, if illogical, inoperative,

devoid of sanction, cannot, at 'all events, be attacked on the score of want of disinterestedness; nor does it serve any good purpose to condemn the dark gropings of our less favoured adversaries after 'happiness' as an epicurean pursuit of 'pleasure,' while we ourselves have the eye of faith (and *hope* as well as love) fixed firmly on our All-Good, All-Satisfying Father in Heaven. The reconciliation of 'happiness' with 'duty,' of the 'good' with the 'ought,' can be effected, and is effected, in Christian Ethics; and there alone are Epicurianism and Kantism successfully avoided. Father Cathrein's *Moral Philosophy* is an able and effectual presentation of the Christian System of Ethics.

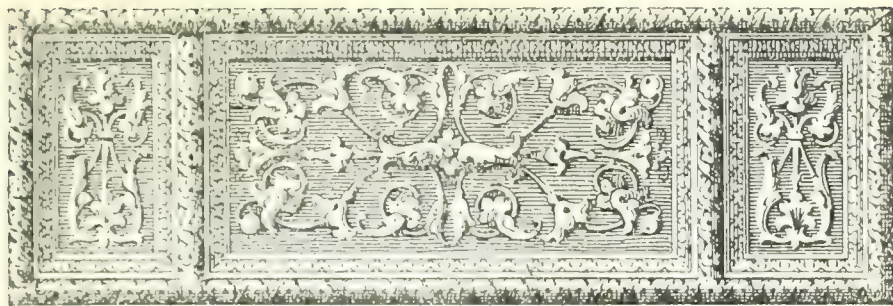
P. C.

THE LIFE OF ST. FLANNAN, PATRON OF KILLALOE. Translated and Annotated by Very Rev. S. Malone, V.G., M.R.I.A. Dublin: James Duffy and Co. 1902.

DR. MALONE has done valuable service to Irish ecclesiastical literature by his translation, and particularly by his annotation, of this life of St. Flannan. It is well that the life should be available for popular use; but it is of still greater importance that Dr. Malone should have given young ecclesiastical students of history an object lesson as to how these ancient lives should be read and appraised. Dr. Malone is not only well versed in Irish history, particularly of the period in which St. Flannan lived, but he is gifted with the critical eye which makes his great store of knowledge so much more useful than it would otherwise be.

We are glad to notice that Dr. Malone has endeavoured to make some sense out of the old Irish sentences quoted in the Life. Such sentences are common enough in the biographies of Irish saints; but until quite recently one had to go to the German Zeuss for anything like an intelligible interpretation of the principal ones. We do not know whether Dr. Malone's reconstruction of the sentences would pass all the critics, but, at all events, we are glad to have his version. There are few of our native scholars more capable of giving a correct rendering of those lines.

Dr. Malone has worked steadily and fruitfully in the field of Irish sacred literature for many years. This pamphlet, and his recent article on Dr. Zimmer's book, prove that his powers are as fresh and vigorous as ever. Long may they continue so.



ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS

THE doctrine of Association occupies a premier place in modern philosophy. Systems have been built upon it. Controversies have raged round it. Outside the domain of philosophy strictly so called its influence has been felt far and wide. Educationists cannot afford to ignore it ; the students of linguistic science must take cognisance of it ; and it enters largely into the deliberations of art and literary criticism. In Father Maher's *Psychology*¹ I find the following :—

Suggestions by contiguity, whether in space or time, is the most important and far-reaching form of association. It is not confined to cognitive acts, but includes emotions, volitions, and external movements as well. It is the principle upon which every system of education, both mental and physical, is based ; and by the sensationalist school in this country (*i.e.*, England) it has been erected into an important agency, through which all knowledge and belief regarding space and time, mind and matter, have been created. We have pointed out in treating of sense-perception how the taste, smell, touch, and sight of objects mutually suggest one another. Contiguous association is also a leading source of our pleasures and pains. The process of learning to walk, to speak, and to write, and the acquisition of the various manual arts, rest upon the tendency of acts which are repeated in succession to become so united that each impels to the production of the rest. Language is possible because auditory signs grow to be associated on the one side with the visual image of the object, and on the other with the complex cluster of motor or muscular impulses involved in the utterance of the name ; and literature is intelligible only through the

¹ Fourth Edition, p. 183.

marvellous command which repeated associations have given us over the innumerable combinations of individual letters which cover the page of a book.

In reference to education Locke points out that great care should be taken to prevent undue connexions of ideas in the minds of young people.² But his graphic statement of the general facts of association suggests a wider application of the principle. He says³ :—

Some of our ideas have a *natural*⁴ correspondence and connexion one with another ; it is the office and excellency of our reason to trace these and hold them together in that union and correspondence which is founded in their peculiar beings. Besides this there is another connexion of ideas wholly owing to chance or custom : ideas that in themselves are not at all of kin come to be so united in some men's minds that it is very hard to separate them ; they always keep in company, and the one no sooner at any time comes into the understanding but its associate appears with it, and if they are more than two which are thus united, the whole gang, always inseparable, show themselves together.

The expression 'whole gang' is typical of Locke's view of the subject according to which association of ideas is a prolific source of error and sin. He failed like many other writers to note the subtle association of unconscious or natural logic, so accurately described in Newman's *Grammar of Assent*—this on the intellectual side ; and on the moral side he failed to note that it is an association of ideas established by God's grace and man's own efforts that enabled the saints to

Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stone, and good in everything.

Shakespeare paraphrases St. Paul, 'Diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum.' Masters of the spiritual life advise us to connect in our minds the things of time with the things of eternity, so that the fleeting shadow may ever remind us of the unchanging reality. If Wordsworth in spiritual insight stands next to Shakespeare among English

² *Essay etc.* 2, 23, § 2.

⁴ *I.e.*, *logical*, apparently.

³ *Ibid.*, § 5.

poets (and eminent critics say so) it is because he can say of himself:—

To me the mearest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

To Locke, however, associated thoughts, like associated tastes to a well known county court judge, seemed no better than a 'gang' of robbers. And this view, though partial and limited, is true as far as it goes. The important ethical principles about occasions of sin are based upon the power which external things have to stir up evil thoughts and desires in us. We must remember also the at least equally important doctrines about evil thoughts that have their origin in our own corrupt nature when all external stimuli are absent. A notion perfectly harmless in itself has the power of bringing before our minds other notions that cannot be entertained without violation of God's law. Would it not be worth while to inquire, at least in a general way, how these and other notions in our minds are linked together, so that we may break or weaken, or at least for the future try to prevent such linking of ideas as may prove detrimental to our spiritual welfare? Of course evil spirits do their own part in tempting us to sin; but the world and the flesh are sources of temptation also; and, indeed, if I mistake not, the principal way in which the demons excite evil thoughts is by setting in motion trains of association that already existed in our own minds.

Again, if language depends upon the association by which signs, vocal or written, sounds or letters, recall to our minds ideas, feelings, images, phantom and vivid remembrance of external object, the science of language has to inquire into the origin of this association, its bases in human nature; and, of course, a knowledge of the general doctrine of association would prove useful here. Similarly, in criticism we have to account for the phenomena of æsthetic pleasure; we have to try to follow out the plan, the scope, the trains of ideas of great artists, the connexion between that plan and those ideas, and the symbols that are used to give them outward expression. This effort to understand, to sympathise with the artist,

to know the end he aimed at, and the means he chose, rather than the attempt to measure him by the antiquated two-foot rule of cut and dry formulæ, is the distinguishing characteristic of modern criticism; and it is generally ascribed to the diffusion of psychological knowledge, and especially of the doctrine of association. The movement can be traced from Addison's *Essays on Imagination*, down to Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, and the *Causeries du Lundi* of Sainte-Beuve.

An agency that subtly ramifies through every department of human thought and conduct is worthy of attention. And so we find that Sir William Hamilton says, 'The importance of this subject has in modern times been fully recognised—sometimes, perhaps, exaggerated. The history of an idea or a doctrine, an account of its origin and growth in the minds of men from Thales to Spencer, is, perhaps, the best way to get a vital grasp of the doctrine itself. But when we come to review the history of the doctrine of association from the standpoint of most modern writers, an interesting and amusing phenomenon at once presents itself. It is nothing else than a further sample of modern arrogance, having its roots not in modern excellence, but in modern degeneracy. In Macaulay's Essay on Bacon Plato and Aristotle are scouted and routed with great success. Everybody is familiar with the everlasting chorus about scholastic word-splitting and cobweb spinning. We all know that the Stagirite and the schoolmen—the master of those who know and his aptest pupils—gave themselves up to silly disputes and frantic speculation and all manner of intellectual tomfoolery. Alexander Pope, Catholic as he was, rejoiced with the children of the Protestant tradition that

Scotist and Thomist now in peace remain,
Among their kindred cobwebs of Duck lane.

The *Instauratio Magna* was the light that first detected and then banished those spiders and their cobwebs. Patient questioning of nature, exhaustive observation, cautious generalising—this is the *novum organum*. Applied to the phenomena of mind, we are told it brought truths to light that the schoolmen never dreamed of, among them being the laws of association. So let us sing the praises of Locke and Hobbes, of Hartley,

and above all, of Hume. They were wise in their generation. They made better use of their time than the superstitious scholastics, who, like the German pedants of *Sartor Resartius* 'employed themselves vigorously enough in threshing mere straw.'

Yet, after all, perhaps we may say to the moderns, 'De te mutato nomine fabula narratur.' Perhaps you too have threshed some little straw now and then, not merely in the sense of looking for the grains of ultimate philosophic truth in the straw of materialism, but also in the sense of glorying in the demolition of a grain of straw of your own imagination.

In a recent number of the *Review of Reviews* Mr. Stead reproduces a Canadian caricature in which 'Uncle Sam dreams that he has licked creation, and throws bouquets at himself.' Herein Uncle Sam is a type of the age he lives in—the most up to date of moderns. In the *Sail Journal* John Mitchel hits off this characteristic of our times in his own inimitable fashion. He says (page 3):—

Reading for want of something better Macaulay's Essays. He is a born Edinburgh Reviewer this Macaulay; and indeed a type-reviewer—an authentic specimen page of nineteenth century 'literature.' He has the right omniscient tone and air, and the true knack of administering reverential flattery to British civilisation, British powers, human enlightenment, and all that, especially to the great nineteenth century and its astounding civilisation—that is to his readers. It is altogether a new thing in the history of mankind this triumphant glorification of a current century upon being the century it is. No former age before Christ or after ever took pride in itself or sneered at the wisdom of its ancestors; and the new phenomenon indicates, I believe, not higher wisdom, but deeper stupidity.

A Mullingar scalesman saw no good in putting up the street names in Irish; whereupon a brother councillor suggested that it was brains, not argument, he stood in need of. So, too, when we find Bacon, Locke, Hume, etc., beginning their philosophies by showing that all philosophy is unattainable, we begin to doubt their philosophic genius, not to speak of their common sense. Bacon's is the only genuine philosophy: quoth Macaulay, because he proposes as his end no 'unattainable frames of mind' in this world or in the next, but fruit, videlicet, bread and butter, on which basis modern philosophy,

like modern jingoism, is built. Mitchel says that Bacon's discovery of the new method 'is the most genuine piece of mare's nesting recorded in the history of letters'; and this is so for two reasons, first because of the folly-towers of pseudo-philosophy, which have been erected on its basis, and secondly, because the method was already old before Bacon was born. The case of association of ideas will be found somewhat similar.

It is not my purpose in the present article to discuss what is known as the associationist philosophy. It would appear that $2+2=4$ simply because we always found it so, and so our constant experience has tied the two ideas together in our minds; and it is possible that $2+2=5$ or 3 or 1 in Mars or Jupiter. So, too, if we could consult the Man in the Moon or some other individual far away from sublunary or even lunar influences, it might possibly turn out that Hume and Mill and Bain are equivalent to only one middling philosopher instead of being three uncommonly clever ones, as they fondly imagine.

But the most genuine phase of the mare's nesting process consists in the notions that used to prevail about the history of the doctrine. The history of philosophy, as told by non-Catholics, is part and parcel of the great Protestant tradition. Cardinal Newman gives a striking and somewhat humorous account of the construction of such history. The process is as follows: Dip into old annalists, old theologians, old writers generally; pick out what will suit you; if you think it valuable present it to the world as your own, as in the case of Jeremy Taylor's plagiarism from St. Francis de Sales and the *Imitation of Christ*. Dr. Murray had read a good deal of Protestant theology; but he said that he never found anything worth a $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\nu$ that was not stolen from Catholic authors. Again, pick out the petty, the doubtful, the irrelevant side-issues; set them in strong relief so as to suit the book market of the hour; omit what is essential and important, and so you make up a beautiful picture of St. Elói and the Dark Ages when Popery ruled mankind like some huge nightmare, and good Protestants will pay their pennies to see the show and go home duly edified.

The matter in hand supplies an admirable illustration of the process. Hume and his followers had not words to express their utter scorn for the schoolmen. Mr. Hume says also, 'I do not find that any philosopher has attempted to enumerate or class all the principles of association'; and, he adds with all the seeming naiveté of the genuine searcher after truth, 'it is a subject, however, that seems to me very worthy of curiosity.'⁵ And as Sir W. Hamilton points out, he modestly claims for himself the glory of first generalising those laws.⁶ What, now, if we got a peep into Mr. Hume's study and found him industriously and with commendable docility copying out his St. Thomas?

Coleridge⁷ says :--

In consulting the excellent commentary of St. Thomas Aquinas, on the 'Parva Naturalia' of Aristotle, I was struck at once with its close resemblance to Hume's Essay on Association. The main thoughts were the same in both, the *order* of the thoughts was the same, and even the illustrations differed only by Hume's occasional substitution of more modern examples. I mentioned the circumstance to several of my literary acquaintances, who admitted the closeness of the resemblance, and that it seemed to be too great to be explained by mere coincidence; but they thought it improbable that Hume should have held the pages of the Angelic Doctor worth turning over. But some time after Mr. Payton, of the King's Mews, showed Sir James Mackintosh some odd volumes of St. Thomas Aquinas', partly perhaps from having heard that Sir James had in his lectures passed a high encomium on this canonised philosopher, but chiefly from the fact that the volumes had belonged to Mr. Hume, and had here and there marginal marks and notes of reference in his own handwriting. Among those volumes was that which contains the 'Parva Naturalia' in the old Latin versions, swathed and swaddled in the commentary aforementioned!

Hamilton⁸ tries to throw discredit upon this story which is a plain statement of fact; and he refers us to a Life of Hume by a Mr. Burton. Not having access to that work, I cannot say how the very serious charge of plagiarism is met by Mr. Burton. Perhaps some reader of the I. E. RECORD could throw light on the subject?

⁵ *Enquiry*, sect. iii.

⁷ *Biographia Literaria*, chap. iv.

⁶ Hamilton's Reid, note D**

⁸ Hamilton's Reid, note D**

In any case, whether Hume was an unscrupulous and dishonest plagiarist or not, Sir W. Hamilton gives abundant proof that Hume's vaunted discovery was familiar to Aristotle and the schoolmen.⁹ Aristotle was the real and original discoverer of the laws of association; 'and for this,' says Hamilton, 'but not alone for this, he stands the Copernicus and Keple and Newton of the intellectual world.' Some writers claimed the honour for Hobbes, 'but he was simply a silent follower of the Stagirite.' Sir William makes good his statement by copious extracts from Aristotle and his disciples. Father Maher,¹⁰ after quoting a short passage from St. Thomas on the question, says:—

Accordingly, notwithstanding the contempt which writers of the Associationist School have invariably exhibited towards the schoolmen, we find in these terse remarks of St. Thomas, now over six hundred years old, a statement and analysis of the laws of Association, virtually as complete and exhaustive as that given by any psychologist from Hobbes to Spencer.

In reference to Hamilton's extract from Vives he says:—

A very little study of even those extracts will show how familiar to scholastic philosophers were many of the supposed discoveries of Hobbes, Hume, and later associationalist writers.

We may conclude with the remark that here as elsewhere the Catholic principle holds good that we may always learn from the past—a principle that is daily extending its influence in Ireland, and the vivid realising of which has inspired all the most hopeful movements of the day.

P. FORDE, C.C.

⁹ Hamilton's Reid, Note D **

¹⁰ *Psychology*, pp. 202-3, 4th edition.

EMPLOYMENT v. EMIGRATION

Over-population has no existence. There is no over-population, but enough of under cultivation.'

'Our population is not too great for the productive powers of the soil.'

'At present a gulf seems placed in many places between the people and the soil—there are people able to work, and land able to produce and they are not brought in contact.'

'It should be our effort to hold out some inducement to our people to remain at home, and devote to the cultivation of our own neglected soil those energies which are now enriching the Transatlantic world.'—JUDGE LAWSON, Statistical Society of Ireland, 1849.

THE continuous torrent of emigration from Ireland, especially to the United States, has, every decade during the last fifty years, attracted the attention and aroused the indignation of all interested in the prosperity of the country. An eminent authority has said: 'Where the people of a country leave that country *en masse*, the government of that country is judged and condemned.' Not only political economists pronounce this condemnation, but very recently a distinguished Cabinet Minister, Lord George Hamilton, in his speech on 16th August, 1901, on Indian affairs, said: 'I admit at once that if it could be shown that India has retrograded in material prosperity under our rule *et stand self condemned*, and we ought no longer to be entrusted with the control of that country.' Whatever may be said of India, of the retrogression of Ireland in material prosperity there is no question; and will this English minister make the same admission as to the responsibility of the Government as he has done in the case of India.

On the publication of the last census, which showed a drain of 40,000 per annum, the Bishops of Ireland in a joint resolution deplored this awful state of things. They pointed out that, in addition to material misery and starvation, there awaited the emigrants to the big American cities many dangers to faith and nationality. In short, they recommended the people to stay at home. This advice raises many questions. When first the people emigrated, though their country was injured, they were benefitted. Swift has said, 'People are the

riches of a nation.' Statisticians compute that the value to a country of a healthy adult male is £200, and of every adult female £100. If we take an average of £150, the 40,000 a year who left Ireland in the last ten years in the prime of life, represent an annual drain of £6,000,000, or £60,000,000 in the decade. It is unnecessary to prove that emigration has impoverished the country, the statistics of its poverty are everywhere in black and white, for in a country not to progress is to retrograde. Judge Lawson, quoted above, saw this fifty-four years ago, 'Over population,' he said, 'furnishes to the indolent a ready solution of all our difficulties—but I am persuaded we ought to look more deeply into the matter and view emigration, not as a remedy for our distress, *which it never can be, but as the effect of a system at home* which prevents land from being and furnishing a safe and profitable investment for capital.'

Not only, however, are the evil results at home continued and increased, but the advantages to the Irish emigrant abroad, especially in America, are much decreased, if not entirely vanished. Since emigration first began the whole situation is changed. Statisticians, correspondents, prelates, priests and laymen have lately placed figures before us to demonstrate this fact. In the first place it is difficult to obtain employment, and in the second case hard and slavish is the lot of many who obtain it. Owing to the influx into the States of other nationalities, labour is at a discount. The Chinese and the Italian—the latter driven from a fertile country by the crushing taxation of a military government, work for the barest living—a living the humblest Irishman would disdain.

Few skilled workers, unfortunately, go from Ireland; Germans, Swiss, and other European nations as a rule furnish these. A recent correspondent in an Irish paper draws the following picture of the state of things which he found in New York:—

Many a young Irishman becomes a wreck here simply because he is too proud to return home and have to tell the people that he could not make out a living in America. It is to be regretted that the average Irishman coming to our shores has no commodity to place on the market save that of manual labour, and of that there is more than enough; it is supplied by the Chinese

and the Italians. The Italians can actually live on the scantiest fare, and under conditions repugnant to any other race.

In the *Bulletin* of the Department of Labour in the State of New York, dated March, 1903, I find the following figures: 'In the quarter ending 31st December, 1902, the increase in Italian immigrants from Southern Italy numbered 7,129, and from Northern Italy, 2,191.

In one of his latest utterances the late lamented Sir Charles Gavan Duffy thus spoke on this very subject in his address on the Revival of Irish Literature, published in 1804 (page 22):—

I lived for a quarter of a century in Australia, and there rarely came an English ship into the port of Melbourne that did not bring me letters of introduction with young Irishmen who hoped to make their home in the new country. Some of them were as bright and intelligent young fellows as I ever met in the world, but they were wholly untrained in any business. They had no profession and no trade. The man who had a trade prospered in a wonderful manner, the man who had a profession prospered according to his capacity, but the man who was ready 'to do anything' generally found nothing to do.

Why the young Irishmen of the middle and upper classes went out so unfitted for life's battle we shall see from the remarks I shall presently quote; but why skilled workmen, who had served their apprenticeship to a trade, did not go out from a country where they seemed too numerous at home rather surprises me. Just now the advance of machinery and monopolies in American and colonial cities has narrowed the area of skilled as well as unskilled labour. But the fact that the classes referred to by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy go abroad unskilled in practical knowledge is obviously not due to the Irish people themselves. To whom, then, is it due? In answer I shall quote a high and unimpeachable authority, that of the late Professor Fitzgerald, F.R.C.D. In a lecture delivered before the Industrial League on the 7th May, 1866, he says on page 13: 'Why are we so far behind in Ireland? Is it the fault of the farmers or the Industrial classes? No, it is the fault of our educational system. The Intermediate Board won't allow boys in an agricultural country to learn botany. Trinity

College won't allow students in their first year to learn experimental science, for fear it might encourage the schools to teach children scientific methods. It is all very well,' he continues, 'to complain that the industrial classes are not industrious. This may be all true, but who is it that sets them the example of being content with what their fathers did? It is the authorities of Trinity College, Dublin. It is the Board of Intermediate Education. It is the Board of National Education.' However, though late, a change has come. Principally by the exertions of his Grace Archbishop Walsh, an improvement has been made in the National system. Drawing, manual instruction, and the training of eye and brain now form an obligatory part of the curriculum.

The labours of the Right Hon. Horace Plunkett and his Department (though compared with less rich nations very poorly aided by the State), is doing something at last to spread technical and scientific methods amongst the ordinary youth of the country, male and female.

But if the Government of the country and the University of Dublin, and the various educational Boards were deaf to the claims and necessities of the people, there was one class of men and one institution in Ireland quite alive to the importance of practical science. In *My Campaign in Ireland*, the late Cardinal Newman says: 'Dr. Moriarty (Bishop of Kerry) directed my attention to the formation of an institution for *practical science as was to be found in Paris*.' Such a school indeed existed in the Catholic University under the guidance of that eminent scientist Dr. William K. Sullivan. Had it been fully furnished and in an endowed University and teaching practical science for the last five and thirty years, what a change would have been wrought in the fortunes of those who remained at home or whom misgovernment had driven from their native country.

The question, however, now, is not one of the past but of the present and the future. If emigration is to be checked either of two consequences follow: the people kept at home must be fed, clothed, and housed at the cost of the ratepayers, or they must be employed. To the Poor House I prefer

employment. As the greatest, nearest at hand, and least developed source of employment I shall take first

THE LAND.

'Under cultivation,' as Judge Lawson said in 1849, 'is the greatest evil of Ireland.' It exists to-day even to a greater extent than it did at that time. The first step is undoubtedly to abolish the present system of dual ownership. This has been long since done on the Continent of Europe. Great Britain is the only country in it which preserves a system where the owner does not till, and where the tiller does not own. Between the two the land and its resources get no fair play. In fact, as rents depreciate with less profit from the land the occupier is tempted to let it deteriorate rather than improve it. But I shall assume that this iniquitous system is about to be abandoned and occupying proprietorship to ensue on terms not too heavy for the purchaser, not unfair to the seller, and not unjust to the rest of the nation which has an interest in the land, the common inheritance of the whole Irish people.

Under those happy circumstances one of the first things to be done will be to break up the large grazing farms which employ only a couple of herds, where hundreds of happy peasant proprietors could earn an honest living.

But some one, ignorant of agricultural statistics in other countries, may ask, What will you do for fat sheep and cattle? This question has long ago been solved abroad. In Belgium, for instance, cattle and sheep are raised, not only sufficient for its own farming population, but for export to Great Britain. The cattle and sheep are stall-fed. The dual system is carried on by an industrious population instead of the single system here by the few left behind after emigration. When the grazing prairies are replaced by small handy farms, and when agricultural banks replace the usurious financial system in agricultural districts, then will abundant employment be found for millions of people in this country. The admirable report of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, 1901, draws special attention to the necessity of improved banking facilities for the Irish farmer.

The German farmer, it says (page 11), can obtain from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on any money they do not require for use, even for short periods, and *they can borrow at from 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for short periods up to two or three years.* In Ireland 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is the usual interest on deposits; while the interest on loans varies from 5 to 10 per cent.

If, then, new land legislation is not accompanied by some reform in the financial system of the country it will be shorn of much of its benefits. Why should not the Irish Post Office Savings, now amounting to about £10,000,000 be applied to help farming and other small industries on safe conditions. Mr. Long, an authority on agricultural matters, wrote a few days ago as follows:—

From every county in Ireland comes the dread statements of land going out of cultivation and the decrease of the population. In no country in Europe except the British dominions is there a system of grazing and landlordship. Tillage, stall-feeding, and peasant proprietary make the wealth and happiness of the rural population.

Describing such a population in Germany Mr. Tetley, a well known and experienced observer thus writes in his pamphlet published in 1867:—

There is nothing which brings the industry of the peasants to the notice of the stranger more than to see them at their work, clinging on, as it were, to the rocky sides of the steep hills, where it would have been scarcely possible to stand, and hoeing up the land between the roots of trees so that a rye crop could be put in where no one but a Moselle peasant proprietor would think of putting in one at all.

Why are not our Dublin hills and Irish mountain sides cultivated (as well as the Moselle hills) by Irish peasant proprietors? Why are not 'owners' of rocks in the words of Arthur Young a hundred years ago, turning these 'rocks into gardens'? The answer is that of Judge Lawson: 'A gulf seems placed between the people and the soil.' God grant it were bridged over; no matter at what cost. And what are the consequences of this system in Germany? I should like to quote here instances of the social and financial benefits arising from tillage as opposed to grazing, even in

Ireland itself. In his report on the Downpatrick district, Mr. P. J. Kelly, Inspector of National Schools, says:

Another striking feature is the universal prevalence of tillage, presenting a strong and pleasing contrast to the vistas of moor, pasture, or meadow land in other parts of Ireland. Whatever may be the relative merits of pasture and tillage, it is to be said for the latter that by making individuals industrious, it has a healthy influence on the character of a nation. As to the financial contrast, the standard poor rate of the Co. Limerick ranges from 1s. 5¹/₂d. to 2s. 9¹/₂d. In Co. Down from 7¹/₄d. to rs. 1¹/₂d.¹

Mr. Teddy says: 'We find the Moselle peasant happy and contented, proud of the little property he owns, and of the life he leads, and in every way a credit to the fatherland.'

Is not this a result worth paying for, no matter where the money comes from? This is a different picture of a peasant proprietary from that drawn by Sir Antony MacDonnell a few days ago. He referred, however, principally to the peasantry of Italy. But their misery and enforced emigration proceed not from any faults in proprietorship, but from the crushing taxation for the support of armies and fleets which an extravagant ambition has rendered necessary. These consequences had been pointed out by Mr. Lecky in his chapter on Italy in his work on Democracy, and by many Italian writers of the present day. Mr. Lecky says (page 413): 'Most of the Italian States before the war of independence were among the most lightly taxed in Europe. No other European country in proportion to its means is now so heavily taxed as Italy.'

In addition to the increased employment which the mere tillage of the soil would afford, let us look to these unexplored mines of wealth and sources of employment which are to be found in planting, peat, fishing, quarries and minerals of Ireland.

PLANTING.

During the proceedings of Sir Eardley Wilmot's Committee in 1886, the late Dr. Wm. K. Sullivan gave evidence as to the

¹ Sixty-fourth Report of Commissioners, 1898-9, p. 142.

effects of planting in Ireland. He said that about thirty years before, when the Government had determined to establish those expensive but useless model farms, he recommended the reclamation and planting of the mountain sides. Had that been done he said 'Ireland would that day be richer by thirty millions sterling.' The Government contented itself with sending over a forest expert from Denmark, Conservator Howitz, to inquire into and report on the subject. He reported that the country was most suitable for planting, and said 'I think the question of planting Ireland is one of vital importance to that country, and that instead of having five millions of people there ought to be twenty-five.'

What an answer in one sentence to the problem of the day, Emigration! And yet since then twenty more precious years have passed away and nothing has been done. Contrast this with the action of the French Government. The planting of the Landes districts has added in thirty years £50,000,000 to the wealth of France. Referring to this the French Forest Department says: 'This is one of the most beautiful pages in the history of civilization and progress in a region which thirty years ago was one of the poorest and most miserable in France, but which now must be reckoned the most wealthy and prosperous.'

In Ireland, for many years, not only was there nothing done to promote planting but everything was done to prevent it. The landlord could not plant without permission of the tenant; the tenant did not allow him, nor did he plant himself, for the trees became the property of the landlord. Hence, modern Ireland is almost destitute of trees and of the countless industries which their existence tends to promote. Then as for the

FISHING.

Sea, lakes, and rivers are teeming with fish, which means wealth and employment. Into our coast and deep-sea fishing come the well-equipped fleets of the Cornishmen, the Manxmen, and even the Frenchmen. Their governments look after them, and it is well known that the Lenten fish for France is mainly caught along the Irish coast.

From the Board of Trade the following figures appear as regards Sea Fisheries in Scotland and Ireland for the year 1900:—Scotland, cwts., 5,369,141; value, £2,225,742. Ireland, cwts., 603,788; value, £278,946!

As for our inland fisheries, they are regarded more as sources of private rights and of sport than as sources of national wealth.

But we also have the vast wealth of 'peat,' which is practically undeveloped in Ireland. Arthur Young spoke of it; Sir Robert Kane wrote scores of pages about it; Dr. Wm. K. Sullivan gave days of evidence upon it. Holland and Bavaria to-day furnish existing examples of its numberless advantages for manufactures, locomotives, etc.

But what does all this end in in this country? Committee and commissioners' reports and recommendations; but as Mr. Lucy says frequently in *Punch* or Parliament: 'Business done—nothing.' So it is with Ireland. No matter what the subject of inquiry, there are lots of reports, but the result is nothing.

MINERALS AND STONE.

There was much in the womb of the earth of Ireland lying hidden stores of wealth requiring but the labour of man to reveal and realise them. In every county of Ireland stone, marble, porphyry, slate, coal, etc., abound, and with the exception of what the Church has done in erecting temple and buildings all over the land, these resources are mostly undeveloped. I remember well how on that Committee or Sir Eardley Wilmot, to which I have before referred, Dr. Sullivan, on the subject of stones and marbles was asked by an English member, 'Are you aware that the altar to St. Patrick at the Brompton Oratory is made of Irish marble?' 'I don't know,' he replied, 'how that may be, but I know that all the stone used in the Albert Memorial, within a stone's throw of it, is Irish.'

In the church of the Catholic University, Stephen's Green, one can see how Irish marble and stone can be used for church purposes with great and beautiful effect.

Clays and sands abound for pottery and glass. In fact

there is nothing which we daily use and import from foreign countries that could not be produced at home ; but we lack the institutions of foreign countries to which I shall presently refer.

TOWN INDUSTRIES.

These being matters more for creation than development, and depending on the number of consumers, come naturally for consideration after that development of the land and consequent increase of the population to which I have referred. In fact, in most countries, but in Ireland most especially, the prosperity of the towns depends upon that of the rural districts. Our economic condition, especially in three provinces, are quite exceptional and different from those in other countries and even of a great portion of the North of Ireland. In the North the linen trade was fostered, in the South the woollen trade was crushed ; in the North there was the security given by tenant-right, in the South the insecurity entailed by landlord wrong, critics seem to forget or ignore these facts. However, I do not quite agree with the statement in the report of the Recess Committee when they say, 'we have in Ireland a poor country, practically without manufactures except for the linen and shipbuilding of the North and the brewing and distilling of Dublin.' Now, I beg leave to question the accuracy of this statement. At the National Exhibition in 1882, referred to a few days ago by the Chairman of Arnott and Co., as giving a great start to industries, there was exhibited almost every article of consumption that a people could require. Not, perhaps, as an equivalent to the linen of the North, but as a most important item of manufacture, I may point out the woollen manufacture now spread all over the country. It does not deserve to be ignored. At the opening of the Exhibition of 1882, there were, I believe, not more than a dozen manufactories, there are now, I believe, about one hundred. Before the Exhibition Irish tweeds could not be sold in Ireland except they were marked Cheviot ; now they are sold in Scotland marked Irish.

But we have a more recent instance of the multitude of things manufactured in Ireland at the present moment. In

the Cork Exhibition over three hundred manufacturers exhibited goods of every kind including clothing, food, furniture, household requirements of every kind, including glass, china, soap, matches, etc.

The problem is, why have we not more of these factories? Why do not the Irish people, crying out for employment and the stemming of emigration, buy these products and multiply these factories? At Cork, during the Exhibition of last year a circumstance struck me which places this matter in a very strong light. At the Exhibition I had been admiring the very beautiful furniture made in Cork and Dublin and other parts of Ireland, and yet to the very hotel in which I was staying in the very city of Cork, furniture from America was coming. Why is this? These imported goods had to pay the artisan and labourer in America, the manufacturer, the exporter, all the export charges, the freight, the charges and railway carriage in Ireland, the importer and all his profits, and yet they can be sold cheaper in the very streets of Cork than the goods subject almost to none of these charges. Is it that our manufacturers will not or cannot produce goods at home as good and cheap? or is it that our own Irish people give preference to foreign goods? or is it that the Irish producer or distributor wants more profit? or is it that the foreign producer gives the Irish distributor better and easier terms than the native manufacturers? or is it that the immense large output enables the foreign producer to sell cheaper than the Irish one whose output is restricted? or is it a question of higher cost of production in Ireland than elsewhere? Wherever it comes from I cannot blame the people with narrow means for looking for what will best suit these means.

From a long acquaintance with neighbourhoods such as Camden Street and Henry Street in Dublin, and similar streets in other towns, I am aware that into these streets pour on a Saturday night, not English people, not fashionable people, but the wives and daughters of the working classes. They are the real purchasers. Why do not they buy Irish boots and shoes, and clothes, and household requirements? I will tell you why.

No Chancellor of the Exchequer looks more anxiously into

how he can economise his millions than does the Irish housekeeper into the disposition of her few shillings, ranging between fifteen, twenty, or thirty shillings. She has to provide clothes and food and lodging and other matters for husband, self, and children. All the patriotism in the world will not expand five shillings into ten shillings, or ten shillings into twenty shillings. It is no use saying if she wants two pairs of children's boots for five shillings that she must give eight or ten shillings because they are Irish. No doubt they may be better, but she must pass on and make the payment suit the purse. No one wants dear goods for cheap money; but why do not Irish producers as well as foreign, offer cheap goods for small money as well as dear goods for large money. The retail character of the manufacture in Ireland, no doubt, enhances the cost of production. How is that to be met? By increased demand. And from whence is that to come? Surely from an increased population.

In this way the towns and their industries depend on the population; but if that dwindles year by year the manufacturing difficulty becomes more acute. The connection between the population of the agricultural districts and the population of towns is obvious and close, and the first must take place before the latter can be achieved. Even ratepayers should remember this fact, if the people do not emigrate and if they remain at home employment must be found for them, or they must be housed and fed and clothed at the cost of the ratepayers at the standard poor rate of 1s. 9¼d. in Dublin, in Cork at 2s. 6¼d., and in Limerick at 2s. 9½d., instead of 1s. 1½d. in Belfast, and 7d. in Derry, where employment is abundant.

I have endeavoured to show the industries we have even in our depressed condition, and I should like to point out the industries which might be extended or created. The Report of the Recess Committee deals with these in Part II, page 10 to page 43.

Beetroot sugar could be made a profitable manufacture if properly handled. Professor Wm. K. Sullivan thus humorously but graphically describes the cause of the failure at Mountinellick. He said 'the beetroot should be kept dry' it

was left steeped in water. It required a new boiler to economise fuel; an old, worn-out one was employed that wasted tons of coal. The manager never saw a ton of sugar made in his life, his only qualification was that he was an old soldier of Garibaldi. And if that does not account for the failure at Mountmellick I have no more to say.'

'As for tobacco,' says the Report, 'it is successfully grown in the Pas de Calais where the soil and climate are harsher than those of many parts of Ireland.' 'And the next question, Whether this crop is suitable to Ireland? is precisely one of those which it would be the function of a Department of Agriculture to settle by means of its experiment stations' In answer to the queries of the Department, who sent them samples, the Irish manufacturers report: 'We consider the experiment a success in many ways, and a very great improvement on previous efforts in England.' The matter is now receiving parliamentary attention.

Flax could be produced of better quality. 'Belgium flax realises £71 and £61 per ton as against £50 and £54 for Irish flax.' One of the reasons for the decline of flax growing quoted by the Report is significant. 'Mr. J. D. Barbour, at the meeting of the Flax Supply Association in 1894, said, "the real stumbling block ahead (to the Ulster linen trade) was that they could not get enough Irish flax"; he added that he did not believe the reluctance of the farmers to grow more flax arose from unwillingness on their part, "but because there was difficulty in getting hands to steep the flax and attend to it at the critical moment." ' The Report continues, 'The scarcity of labour here referred to is plainly one of the results of emigration, and it is an indication that emigration from non-congested districts of Ireland has reached a point beyond which it cannot go without serious detriment to the country.'

This is a grave remark in view of the fact that since the Report was presented in 1890, according to the last census the population since that time has lessened by 240,000 persons and this apparently whilst hands are wanted at home.

There is evidently a bureau of labour wanted, such as exists in the United States, where the labour is brought to places where it is required.

It is thus described in a leaflet sent me lately from New York :—

Just a word or two about the state of New York Free Employment Bureau. What is the Bureau? The Bureau is a labour exchange conducted by the State of New York and is free to employer and employed, the State paying the running expenses of the same.

The Recess Committee point out the necessity of having 'a dead meat trade in substitution for the present wasteful and cruel method of shipping cattle to Great Britain.' The benefit of a dead-meat trade to Ireland would be two-fold. 'The first and less important would consist in the avoidance of the loss through deterioration of the cattle in transit; the second in the transference to Ireland of all the industries connected with or arising out of the slaughter of their cattle.' The Committee point out amongst these the tanning trade and the making of leather, now almost lost industries to Ireland.

I remember reading lately of a comb manufactory near Lyons where the material used was mainly the horns of Irish cattle imported from England. But it would be wearisome to go in detail into the wealth of opportunities which Ireland affords. Before I come to the conclusion as to how these can not only be talked about but practically developed, I wish to refer to another aid which Providence is sending in addition to land reform to help on the manufactures and productines of town and country. I refer to the diffusion of

ELECTRIC POWER.

At the beginning of the last century after the discovery of steam and its concentration in the hands of capitalists in big factories, the individual worker was annihilated. Coal was its chief producer, and in the huge factories human beings lost their personality and were not much more than parts of the vast machinery around them.

Now, the electric current being cheaply produced and diffused, the new century is opening with another revolution destined to restore in a great measure the individual worker to his home. The new force cannot be cornered—it can be, and is being spread all over the

face of the earth. Far more profusely, however, on the Continent of Europe and America than in England or Ireland. But it is bound to come. The economic, industrial, and social effects of its development it would be hard to exaggerate. The English people are becoming alive to the progress of the new agent. Writing lately of its development in Newcastle-on-Tyne, the *Daily Telegraph* says, 'The current is supplied to small manufacturers, such as printers, cabinet makers, organ builders, cutlers, etc.' The writer, I am glad to say, can also refer to Ireland. 'Of still greater interest,' he says, 'is the experiment made in the city of Cork. There are 110 motors connected with the Cork Company's mains, and they aggregate 930 horse power. They range from $\frac{1}{4}$ horse-power up to 50. Thus intelligently does Cork get the better of dear fuel in the unequal struggle.'

The same paper thus refers to the Shannon Scheme :—

The Shannon Scheme is particularly interesting. It purposes to derive the electrical energy from the falls of that river; and there be those who think that the waters of the Shannon, now running waste, would not only supply Limerick but all Dublin with light and power; and some enthusiasts dream of a time when great towns will be decentralised, when smoke will no longer defile, and when village industries will spring up all round, thanks to this Electric Talisman.

Touching this scheme it is a matter of regret that on its being floated the other day the necessary capital could not be raised. With millions in the Savings Bank at 4½ per cent., and millions ready for some wild speculation in some distant land, the sum of £300,000 could not be raised in the three kingdoms for the promotion of a scheme calculated to give immediate employment and to be the source of a revived industry in a district now almost destitute of employment.

As a matter of fact on a mountain called La Croix Rouge, near Lyons, the sides are full of cottages where the motors of the weaver, the carpenter, the riband maker, etc., can be heard in their healthy suburban dwellings.

Before I try to develop the several agencies which can practically deal with the development of Ireland I should like to refer to another oracle which might be much better worked for the enriching of the country; I refer to

THE TOURIST DEVELOPMENT.

The essential points for working this oracle well are first the advertisement of places of beauty and interest. The Irish Tourist Association and their active representative, Mr. Crossley, have done much to make known and exploit these scenes. But much yet requires to be done. Full many a lovely spot blooms unseen and unheard of. Similar places on the Continent, in England, Scotland, and the Isle of Man are better advertised in Ireland than places of equal beauty at home.

The next essential is comfortable, clean, and moderate hotels. With as yet restricted patronage one cannot expect them all, especially in new and unfrequented districts, to be elegant or provided with the luxuries of fashionable resorts. But we can at any rate expect, and tourists from other countries will demand, cleanliness, good food, and fair cooking. Now, it is undoubted that with some few exceptions these necessary conditions are not to be found. Some couple of years ago I got out at a station *en route* to the West. The exterior of the hotel looked imposing. At the door were a few strong girls who took slight notice of the visitors. The tiles of the hall were covered with the remains of cigarettes, burnt matches, and evidently unswept for days; the coffee room was untidy, the clock was down, and all things were slipshod. A remark ventured in good humour was received with derisive laughter. The dinner was of the plainest and the vegetables ill-cooked. Now, tourists, either Irish or English, will not seek such places again. Surely these things can be reformed. Another passing need in Ireland for touring is

BETTER ROADS

The *Irish Cyclist* of 27th December, 1899, wrote:—

Some caustic politician once said that Ireland had received most of her injustices from the hands of Irishmen. Whilst not prepared to follow this argument to its full length, we must admit that it allows of application to many affairs in the hands of the Irish people which are suffered to deteriorate till they cause injury to the country. The Roads Question is a fine example. Our highways are wretched, yet very little is done to improve them.

The writer drew special attention to the roads of Kerry, 'which of all counties in Ireland can ill afford to have bad roads.'

Whilst on this subject it may be interesting to describe how this question of road up-keep is managed in France. The roads are divided into three categories--the national roads, the departmental roads, and the village roads. The national highways form the links of communication with the most important towns. These are kept up at the national expense. The departmental are from one town in a department to another, and are kept up by the department. The village roads connect village with village. These are under the superintendence of the Prefect of the Department. The system adopted is admirable. Each portion of a road is under the care of a 'cantonnier' who passes his life in the portion allotted to him. He has a book in which is written his name, the length of the road in his charge, with the rules and instructions from his superintendent. The result of the system is that in France one never comes across lengths of roads covered with three-cornered stones as in this country. Nor does he meet with roads full of holes. In France roads are never allowed to get into bad order; the moment the least inequality, not to say a hole, is visible, the cantonnier goes to work. He scoops out the gravel to the depth of four to six inches, and the hollow he fills up to the level of the road. He then rains a flood of water over the stones, and covers them with a layer of soil. Then with a heavy hammer he presses the stones into the ground made soft by the water. Save for a very slight elevation in the path of new ground nothing betrays the operation which has taken place. Now, what I must admire in this system, and what I think leads to its success, is the division of labour and of responsibility. Each man has charge of, and must account for, his own length, each department for its own district, and the Government for the national roads.

In Ireland we want in many matters beside road maintenance, for instance in our development of our resources, defined responsibility and control. Always of importance,

this question of roads is now, in this age of touring, cycling, and motor traffic, of supreme importance for the benefit of the country.

My concluding remarks will deal with the three great factors in the regeneration of the country and the employment of its present and future population—they are the responsible Government, the Local bodies, and the People themselves. What can each do?

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Without in the least degree desirous of harping upon past grievances or of shutting my eyes to the many manifestations of the sympathetic attitude which has been assumed towards this country by the present rulers from the head of the State, the King, and the present Chief Secretary, Mr. Wyndham, still I cannot refrain from saying that owing to the neglect in the past of the development of the country's resources, and, in some cases, of the direct destruction of the chief trade of the middle and south of Ireland, when the woollen trade was sacrificed to the demands of the Bristol merchants, a great work of restitution devolves on the Government. It should undo the wrong it has done, and do the right it has failed to do.

Now, what should it do? In the Report of the Recess Committee, pp. 44 and 45, we find the sums voted by the State in other countries for agricultural and industrial purposes, and after stating them the Report says:—

If Ireland spent the same proportion as Denmark, France, or Switzerland on the promotion of agriculture, namely, 1s. per inhabitant, her State expenditure—apart from local—for agricultural purposes would be £230,000 annually.

If she spent as much per inhabitant as Switzerland on technical education and the promotion of industries, her annual expenditure, State and local, under this head would be £2,314,000.

Well, up to the establishment of the Board of Agriculture, the State spent practically nothing, and now it only gives about £160,000, a wholly inadequate sum for a rich country as compared with Denmark or Switzerland. The example of

Württemberg quoted in the Report, page 57, is very interesting and applicable to this country.

Forty years ago Württemberg, in the words of the man who had most to do with its uplifting, was purely agricultural and impoverished by over-population. Its condition was described as 'deplorable.' To-day it is one of the most thriving hives of manufacturing industry on the Continent. 'To-day,' as the director of the Royal Bank of Stuttgart told Mr. Mulhall, 'there is not a pauper in the Kingdom of Württemberg.' The King sent Dr. Von Steinleis, President of the Board of Trade, on a mission of investigation through Europe. On his return there was founded in Stuttgart, in connexion with the Ministry of Commerce, a Board of Industries, to which was entrusted the task of introducing and developing crafts and industries, and devising and carrying out a system of technical instruction.

Never was there a time when practical aid would be more useful. It should foster electrical development in the towns and villages and at once assist in the reclaiming of the 6,000,000 acres of waste lands which might be reclaimed for agriculture or planted.

For all this work of development, reclamation, and starting of industries, the State should liberally help the various local bodies through the means of a Government Department like the Central Stelle in Württemberg, which, says the Recess Report, 'keeps in close touch with the trade organisations of the country, with the merchants and manufacturers, and with the municipalities and local authorities. Volunteers and amateurs, no matter how high ranked or wealthy, will not do. Experts well paid by Government must be employed as in Württemberg.' And this brings me to the next factor in the national industrial revival,

THE COUNTY, BOROUGH, AND URBAN COUNCILS.

Their function should be, *each in its own district*, to inquire into its own resources of every kind, making known the industries and advantages of energy, etc., existing, and of the resources of every kind which might be developed for the benefit of their district and the employment of the people. No source should be neglected. General and abstract resolutions about industries will not do: each locality should develop

its own district. Let country districts take up the agricultural land first, its division into handy farms; the stall-feeding of cattle; the reclamation of marsh and bog; the planting of mountains; the development of fishing; inland and deep sea fishing; the development of minerals, stones, clays, and sands. In many counties, in fact nearly in all, there are many beauty spots and sporting centres; these can be developed by advertising, by the good up-keep of roads, and the cleanliness and comfort of hotels and lodgings. In fact there are mines of unexplored wealth and employment in all these resources if those responsible for the imperial and local governments will only do their share.

As far as the councils of large towns and urban districts are concerned, their duty is first to inquire into the state of existing industries. There is not a town in which many manufactories do not exist. The point is, can they be increased? It has been said he is the best patriot who makes two blades of grass grow where one only grew. They are the best town and urban authorities who start a second factory where only one exists, and they are still better who succeed in creating a new industry.

In progressive countries like Denmark they have not only associations for promoting manufactures for home consumption but they have export associations to dispose of the surplus. When towns have ascertained their condition as regards existing industries and the possibility of future ones, they should establish depots for the exhibition of their productions and for the raw materials of their neighbourhood. Such depots are to be found in many towns abroad.

And now I come to the last, but all-important consideration of

THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

When advocating the intervention of the Government I referred to the exceptional economic conditions of at least three-fourths of the country warranting exceptional treatment. These very same conditions require from the working people exertions and self-sacrifice. I fear these qualities have been forgotten. When industries

are started in a country with little capital every man and woman must assist. The Irish producer has not the back behind him which centuries of prosperity have placed at the back of the employers in England and other countries. Is the man, or are the men who venture capital to run the risk of ruin, and the other element of production, labour, to make no sacrifice but at once to kill the producer of the golden eggs? Will they insist from the employers investing their hundred or their thousand, the same terms as those which can be given by men who count their capital by thousands and by millions? The makers of Ireland's future industry, capitalists, and workers, are more like partners in a joint concern than mere employers and employed. The one cannot indulge in the tyranny of the trusts and combines, nor can the employed indulge in the luxury of capricious strikes. Things must be brought by combined efforts to a level first with other countries.

We know, as a fact, that when Irishmen go to America they must work well and frequently even when ill-paid. Will they not work to build up the future of their own country as we have seen the people of Württemberg do, and as they have done themselves in the olden days to build up the industrial supremacy of transatlantic countries?

On the responsible government or the local authorities, therefore, rural and urban, and on the people of Ireland, each of them in their own sphere, devolves the duty to develop the resources which God has spread around on every side, and thus, instead of fruitless bemoaning, about emigration, to raise up the only barrier to its tide in the shape of increased Employment of the people in developing the resources of this country.

But who will get the local bodies to rise to the situation, who can wield the people to co-operate in the great work of regeneration by doing their part by honest work, who can do this so well as that mighty organisation of the priesthood of Ireland, whose influence permeates the homes of the Irish people of every grade, and to whom I humbly dedicate the foregoing remarks.

CHARLES DAWSON.

WHAT IS A REASONABLE FAITH?

IF we consider the attitude they assume in practice in regard to the question of the ultimate ground of Religious Belief, Catholics may, roughly speaking, be divided into two classes. There are those 'who live and die in a simple, full, firm belief in all that the Church teaches, because she teaches it—in the belief of the irreversible truth of whatever she defines and declares—but who, as being far removed from Protestant and other dissentients, and having but little intellectual training, have never had the temptation to doubt, and never the opportunity to be certain.'¹ On the other hand, there exists a large and constantly increasing class of persons, who, from one cause or another, have been driven to doubt, to speculate, or at least to enquire, concerning the content of the 'material object' of divine faith, and the nature and weight of the 'evidences' of Catholic Christianity, upon which, in the last analysis, our beliefs in matters of religion are commonly thought to repose. Among the causes which operate in this direction may be reckoned contact with the great world, the enquiring spirit of the age, the multitudinous influences of books, and of current scientific and philosophical ideas; the extraordinary diversity of religious convictions as disclosed by the comparative study of religions and the ascertained erroneousness of some of which cannot fail to suggest to the philosophic mind the possible erroneousness of all; the exigencies of theological or philosophical training; and finally that inborn propension towards doubt and disbelief which constitutes at once the glory and the bane of a certain type of mind.

With the former of these classes I have here nothing to do. Theologians endeavour—with what success I do not now enquire—to explain how such an interpretative certitude as alone its members are possessed of, can be regarded as in any real sense reasonable; though, to be sure, all are agreed that such persons can and do elicit genuine acts of divine faith. But since, by hypothesis, they never undertake formally to

¹ Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, chap. vii., § 1, p. 204 (second edition.)

examine into the ultimate grounds of credibility, and are thus never called upon to appraise the weight of conflicting lines of evidence, the difficulty to the discussion of which the present paper is intended as a contribution is not one that in any way concerns them. Again, it behoves me to state at once and emphatically that I am not now engaged in arguing any point of theology. I lay no claim to special theological knowledge, and I have no desire to enter into the complex and difficult technical questions which are inevitably broached by the attempt to subject to analysis the internal constitution of the act of divine faith itself. How, for example, the 'formal' object of faith stands related to its 'material' object; whether the so-called 'principles' of faith—the authority of God and the existence of a divine revelation in such and such definite terms—are apprehended in a single complex act of assent, or must be assented to separately in two distinct acts; whether the *virtualis discursus* involved in belief of a specified dogma on the sole ground of (*propter*) its revelation by divine authority is or is not a strictly logical process; whether assent to the 'formal object' of faith is mediate or immediate, and how we are to remove the paradoxes which both these alternatives seem superficially to imply—these, with hundreds of others of a like nature, are matters which lie entirely beyond my province, nor has the discussion of these any bearing whatever upon the problem I am about to take in hand. I am concerned solely with the mode of formation of the *judicium credentitatis* (i.e., the practical conclusion that certain truths, viz., the existence and veracity of God and the fact of a divine revelation in such and such terms, are credible in themselves, and further, that they ought to be believed), and its existence before the operation of divine grace, consequent upon the individual's free determination to embrace the truths that God has revealed, has invested it with a supernatural character. In other words, I purpose investigating the motives which lead up to the judgment that the truths already specified are to be believed—motives of credibility as distinguished from motives of faith. As to the latter, it is beyond controversy that the sole motive of divine faith is and must be the authority of God as the

revealer of the specific truths believed, and I mention it merely to put it aside as foreign to the present issue. No doubt, too, belief in the authority of God and the existence of divine revelation somehow enter as factors into the complete formal act of faith, but it is no part of my business here to treat of them in that aspect.

On the other hand, it is universally allowed, and is indeed self-evident, that a reasonable faith presupposes and depends upon some kind of 'natural' (as distinguished from 'supernatural') knowledge of, or rather belief in, three grand facts, often spoken of as the *praeambula fidei*. These facts are (a) the existence of God, (b) His absolute veracity, and (c) the fact that the truths proposed for our belief have actually been revealed by Him. It is frequently claimed for these facts that they are provable by 'evidence,'—whether historical evidence or philosophic argument—of course, through the exercise of our natural unassisted powers. As will appear more fully in a moment, I am very far indeed from thinking that the available evidence in favour of these facts is in itself, objectively considered, conclusive. And my immediate object in the following pages is to delineate, and, if possible, to recommend, a particular way of looking at this available evidence—one such as may in some degree compensate for its inconclusiveness and render belief in 'unprovable' verities not merely possible and legitimate, but in the best sense reasonable as well. In a word, I desire to shew, that we have a right to believe, if we will, in the existence and veracity of God, and the genuineness of revelation in the sense understood by Catholics, even though our merely logical intellect should not have been coerced into such belief; and further, that such voluntary assent to the credibility of its necessary antecedents is sufficient to enable the will, with the co-operation of divine grace, to elicit a genuine act of divine faith. Further determination of the nature and inherent constitution of the latter act must be left, as before observed, to professed theologians.

I.

I will begin by considering in some detail the position of one who from whatsoever motive is led to reflect upon the ulti-

mate grounds of religious certitude, and who seeks to justify, or, at least, to give some reason for, the faith that is in him. In connexion with this I shall have to review the actual conditions under which our hypothetical enquirer must be presumed to enter upon his self-imposed task, and to exhibit the bearing of these conditions on the nature of the conclusions at which it is possible for him to arrive. Once in a moment of rhetorical enthusiasm, St. Paul saw fit to exhort his disciples to 'prove all things'; and Catholic theologians have most unfortunately interpreted his injunction in the most literal sense, thereby obscuring the perception of the nature of the 'evidence' upon which faith must ultimately be grounded, and inducing a false conception of the relation of the human intellect to truths of the practical order. The question is not whether a creature of unlimited intelligence, occupying a world where doubt and error had no place, could succeed in proving the existence of God (and other necessary pre-suppositions of a rational faith) in such a way that not to be convinced of their reality would be for him a downright impossibility; but whether, given that men are men, and given that the facts which bear upon the problems in question, and upon which our human conclusions concerning them must perforce be based, are what they are—whether, I say, in this case it is reasonable to talk of 'real proof' at all. We may apply to the matter in hand the words which Browning, in one of his most philosophical poems, puts into the mouth of Bishop Blougram:—

The common problem, yours, mine, everyone's,
Is—not to fancy what were fair in life
Provided it could be—but finding first
What may be, then, find how to make it fair
Up to our means; a very different thing!
No abstract intellectual plan of life
Quite irrespective of life's plainest laws,
But one a man, who is man and nothing more,
May live within a world, which (by your leave)
Is Rome or London, not Fools' Paradise.

Bearing all this in mind, let us now see how far the individual enquirer, whom I will suppose to be in no way deficient in regard to intellectual capacity, and furthermore to be

actuated by an honest desire to get at the truth, can seriously pretend to set about proving the necessary facts as defined above. Now, the causes which co-operate to prevent his reason from coming to a positive conclusion may, I apprehend, be grouped under two main headings, subjective and objective. We so often hear of those who, like St. Thomas and other great doctors of the Church, are able to discuss doubt without doubting, and to hold converse with sceptics of every school without yielding one jot of their faith. But such intellects will always, I suppose, be rare, and with the great majority of us investigation and reasoning will almost inevitably issue in a wavering assent, if not in absolute scepticism. It is Newman who says:—

Introspection of our intellectual operations is not the best of means for preserving us from intellectual hesitations. To meddle with the springs of thought and action is really to weaken them; and, as to that argumentation which is the preliminary to certitude, it may indeed be unavoidable, but, as in the case of other serviceable allies, it is not so easy to discard it, after it has done its work, as it was in the first instance to obtain its assistance. Questioning, when encouraged on any subject-matter, readily becomes a habit, and leads the mind to substitute exercises of inference for assent, whether simple or complex. Reasons for assenting suggest reasons for not assenting, and what were realities to our imagination, while our assent was simple, may become little more than notions, when we have attained to certitude. Objections and difficulties tell upon the mind; it may lose its elasticity and be unable to throw them off. And thus, even as regards things which it may be absurd to doubt, we may, in consequence of some past suggestion of the possibility of error, or of some chance association to their disadvantage, be teased from time to time and hampered by involuntary questionings, as if we were not certain, when we are. Nay, there are those who are visited with these even permanently as a sort of *muscæ volitantes* of their mental vision, ever flitting to and fro, and dimming its clearness and completeness—visitants for which they are not responsible, and which they know to be unreal, still so seriously interfering with their comfort and even with their energy that they may be tempted to complain that even blind prejudice has more of quiet and of durability than certitude.²

All this is unquestionably true; to my mind, in fact, New-

² *Ob. cit.*, pp. 200-10

man rather understates the influence of such obstinate questionings. I conceive it would be difficult for anyone who had once come, I do not say to falter in his belief, but really to doubt concerning the cogency of the evidences in favour of revealed religion, ever to regain the feeling of absolute security and repose in 'truth' which is so remarkable a characteristic of the religious faith of unreflecting persons. Nor must we allow ourselves to forget that for minds in which this critical intellect holds undisputed sway - and they are, perhaps, more numerous than is often thought to be the case - the construction of a system of dogmatic beliefs is literally an impossibility. Howbeit, the influence exerted by such subjective factors, though undoubtedly real, is necessarily hard to estimate, and so I pass at once to consider exactly what kind of evidence is forthcoming, and how far the nest of problems raised by the attempt to enquire into the foundations of faith can possibly be approached at first hand by any one man.

To speak first of the latter point: It is plain that the first business of any one who sets about 'rationalising' his religious convictions in the old-fashioned orthodox way will be to 'demonstrate' the existence of a personal God. That is to say, his first concern will be with Philosophy, with the most abstract and difficult department of metaphysical speculation. In order to appreciate at their worth, nay, in order even to understand, most of the technical 'proofs of the existence of God,' he will require to familiarise himself at the outset with the language and methods of metaphysics, and will be compelled - if he genuinely desires to accomplish even so much as this - to master at first hand the writings of the philosophers, from Plato and Aristotle to Comte and Hegel. Even to ask intelligently, 'Does God exist?' is possible only to one who has already made up his mind upon the most fundamental problems of Philosophy, and consequently upon those concerning which it is hard to come to any conclusion. What does it mean to 'exist'? What is the significance of the ontological predicate? This question must obviously be answered, yet it can be answered only by constructing a theory of reality. What then is reality? Shall we say it is to be 'independent of my finite consciousness,' or shall we interpret it with the

mystics in terms of feeling? Shall we agree with Kant that the real is what is valid for all possible experience, or must we go on to say with Berkeley that only spirits and their ideas are real? Are we to seek reality with the materialists in brute matter, or is Hegel right when he declares that the more a thing is spiritual so much the more is it veritably real? Are we to be realists or idealists, empiricists or transcendentalists?

Not only so; the last question confronts us with the problem of knowledge, in my opinion the ultimate problem of Philosophy. What is knowledge? What can I know? Again, these questions must be solved before we go on to enquire: What is? What is real? and few will care to quarrel with the assertion that these are questions which cannot be lightly set aside or lightly answered.

Next, supposing these questions solved, it remains to determine what we understand by God, and especially what we understand by a personal God. I have been engaged now for some years upon the study of Philosophy and philosophers, and I think I know what I am talking about when I express my personal belief that the question of personality, and in particular that of the personality of the Infinite is one of the hardest nuts the metaphysician has to crack. But, again, the further progress of our searcher after truth is absolutely blocked so long as he is unable to decide upon this point, for assuredly the corner-stone of Christianity is belief (and we are now speaking of beliefs that can be 'proved') in the existence of a personal Deity.

All this is surely, as Aristotle puts it, a tolerably large order; yet it is a mere fragment of the work our supposed investigator must accomplish. Having got his personal Deity, he has next to shew that such a Deity must be veracious in his alleged communications with mankind. This may seem an easy matter; and so, to be sure, it is, so long as one has to do merely with the abstract deduction of divine veracity from some of the more fundamental among the divine attributes. But the case is otherwise when you seek to explain in the concrete how and through what channels the thought and will of the Infinite can be made manifest in a way comprehensible to finite minds like ours. Then, there is the question of

the alleged fact, or more accurately the alleged facts, of his torical revelation. I say 'facts,' for it must be remembered that Christianity is very far from standing alone as a claimant to be the actual depository of divine revelation. Buddha reckoned himself a mediator between God and man, and professed to be inspired from on high; and, if numbers go for anything, his claim has been accepted by the vast majority of the human race. So, too, Zoroaster, and, at a later period, Mahomet, to mention no others; while it is notorious that sacred books (or inspired writings) form part of the stock-in-trade of almost every religion that has ever stirred the heart, or even a small fragment of humanity. Now, *a priori*, so to say, and apart from any pre-conception or personal bias, the claim of each of these revealers or 'prophets' stands on an equal footing. Christ and Buddha are both, in the first instance, and as it were most obviously *men*—there is no presumption either of law or of fact in favour of the divinity of either. Our unfortunate enquirer is therefore driven to scrutinise the merits of each of the known claimants to supernatural endowments, that is, supposing him to have first succeeded in satisfying himself of the inherent reasonableness of a revelation, which, by hypothesis, is addressed only to a 'chosen people,' i.e. to a comparatively insignificant section of the human race.

To decide upon these and similar issues he must next determine what are the 'marks' or tokens of a genuine revelation. At this point he finds himself confronted by questions concerning miracle, their import, possibility, and significance questions which, notwithstanding the complacency of certain well-meaning persons in high quarters, are presumably of a kind to give him pause. Here, too, he must face the complex historical, critical, and antiquarian problems presented by the Old and New Testaments, and the vast and daily increasing literature that has grown up around them. This involves (among other things) an acquaintance with Hebrew and other Semitic tongues to say nothing of Greek and Latin. Further, he must settle exactly what is meant by 'inspiration,' and open up the subject of 'prophecies' and their fulfilment. I pass over the difficulties he will encounter in

endeavouring to free these ancient texts from the glosses which, after centuries of study and exegesis, have come to encircle them like a halo, shedding rays which cannot but distort their original signification, and the influence of which it is next to impossible for a modern critic to shake off. And finally, after he has disposed of these preliminaries and convinced himself of the divine character of Christian revelation, he will still have to discover in which of the Churches which seemingly have rent the garment of the Master and divided it amongst themselves the original teaching of Christ has been most faithfully preserved. To do this he must study ecclesiastical history in detail, and add to his already ample store the whole vast array of dogmatic, patristic, and controversial learning.

In this rough sketch of the road our enquirer must travel if he is to reach his appointed goal, I have been compelled to omit all mention of the numerous by-paths and *culs-de-sac* into which his manifold studies must inevitably lead him: but I think I have said enough to convince the reader that it is, to say the least, extremely doubtful whether any one man (even giving him robust health, indefatigable industry, and length of years), could be competent to acquire and successfully to manipulate such a formidable apparatus of learning.

I must now hark back to my former point, and consider briefly the intrinsic nature of the available evidence for Christianity, or rather for Theism, since it is manifestly impossible to enter minutely into the details of all the questions suggested above. I will accordingly confine myself to reviewing the more important of the so-called 'proofs of the existence of God' (not indeed with the intention of shewing them to be illusory—for after all, they are, I suppose, as valid, and, so far as mere logic goes, as stringent, as we can decently require proofs to be anywhere, in Philosophy—but), in order to make plain their practical insufficiency, when taken by themselves, to bring about the desired result, viz., certitude that a personal Deity exists.

It is almost a commonplace of Hebraism that we cannot 'by searching find out God.' This distrust of the 'meddling intellect' with its lust for analysis is re-echoed by a great

modern poet, who contrasts with the miserable failure of such intellectual scrutiny the real disclosure of the Infinite which is consecrated to the exercise of a 'wise passiveness' and to a heart that is content to 'watch and receive.' Something of the same spirit breathes through the *Grammar of Assent*, and doubtless to many minds besides Newman's the fullest revelation and manifestation of God is given in the sphere of moral experience. But, however valuable as poetry, however consoling to the world-wearied spirit, such 'emotional theology' is hopelessly insecure as a basis on which to found a reasonable faith. Religion is, on this view, less a doctrine to be proved or disproved than a kind of consciousness whose justification lies in its rank among the various inner impulses of human nature. On its essence such a subjective illumination is flickering and intermittent. Wordsworth himself allows that it is

The most difficult of tasks to keep
Heights which the soul is competent to gain.

Not all of us are possessed of 'the inward eye,' and even admitting that a man may have

Faculties within
Which he has never used,

it is clearly impossible always to remain on the mountaintops of such intuitional evidence. It is palpable, in a word, that to base a conviction of such transcendent importance as that of the existence of a God on the evidence of transient moods is to base it on 'ecstasy,' and, therefore, not on the Rock, but on the shifting sand. To the philosopher, at all events, the haze of abstract thought is preferable to the coloured clouds and distorting lights of metaphor and symbolism, or the *ignis fatuus* of emotion, be it kindled by never so vivid a moral or æsthetic experience. For the object-matter of Philosophy is the nature of things viewed in the light of the most critical examination of reason, and unless he be permitted to *think* things 'all the way through,' the philosopher must perforce retire from business altogether. And as we are here professedly dealing with the case of a thorough-

going critic of the foundations of faith, it is to the celebrated modes of proof by which philosophers have sought to establish the existence of a personal Deity that we must now give our attention.

Our enquirer being then supposed to enter on the task of establishing the inference of Theism by means of ratiocination or argumentative deduction, I must beg leave to make one or two remarks before I proceed to tax the respective values of some of the more important among the modes of proof he will be constrained to adopt. It was a rancy of the schoolmen, as it was of Rousseau's, that the intellectual evidence in favour of Theism is so strong that it cannot be resisted by any who are not wilfully blind; or that, as Jean-Jacques pointedly expresses it, if a child were placed on an uninhabited island he would grow up in the unsophisticated knowledge of one Supreme Being. The experiment has never, I believe, been made; but it is easy to foresee its inevitable result. 'Unassisted reason,' we are frequently told—though the sages in Palestine thought otherwise—'suffices to lead men to God.' Well, unassisted reason is—to put it bluntly—a fiction. No single mind could by any possibility construct for itself a theodicy or doctrine of God. Modern psychology and anthropology have made it abundantly clear that what we are pleased to call reason is the very breath of sociality. All that we are as rational creatures, we are in the give and take of society. Society is τὸ ὡς ὅλη λεγόμενον ἀναγκαῖον, or the condition to which our rational φύσις must conform, if it is to realise its end. Works of human intelligence are produced only under definite conditions or limitations imposed by the social *milieu*. Our intellectual world, or morality, art, and religion, are built up—built up to a certain extent by each of us individually—but always by an act which is collective and social. Shakespeare, in a passage of extraordinary psychological insight, has told us,

That man, how dearly ever parted,
How much in having, or without or in,
Cannot make boast to have that which he hath,
Nor feels not what he owes but by reflexion;

As when his virtues, shining upon others,
Heat them, and they return that heat again
To the first giver.

And again,

That no man is the lord of anything,
Though in and of him there be much consisting,
Till he communicates his parts to others ;
Nor doth he of himself know them for aught
Till he behold them formed in the applause
Where they're extended ; who, like an arch, reverberates
The voice again ; or, like a gate of steel
Fronting the sun, receives and renders back
His figure and his heat.

So far this, perhaps, will be accepted. But I must press it further home. We have all grown into the beliefs we now entertain through the myriad influences of civilization, by education, and no less by inheritance. Our certitude of the existence of a personal God has been, if not created, certainly elicited and evolved by tradition and training. It has not been built up, in the case of any individual of the human race, by the sole labour of his own understanding, but has been at the same time communicated *ab extra* and evolved *ab intra* ; and this double process has gone on through countless ages, so that the notions which now form part of our common heritage have literally been enriched and expanded by the thought of all our predecessors.

To return from this digression to the ratiocinative 'evidence' of Theism. The schoolmen are in the habit of ranking the 'arguments for the existence of God' in three main classes, metaphysical, physical, and moral; and though it is possible to bring objections against such a classification, no great harm can come of our adapting it for convenience' sake here. The order of enumeration may be suitable as regards speculative dignity, but it is *worth* noting that as regards simplicity and historical priority this arrangement may be *exactly reversed*.

(a) Under the first heading come the ontological and the

cosmological arguments.³ The former seeks to prove the objective existence of the Deity from the subjective existence of the notion of God in the human mind. The notion, it is said, implies the reality: the ideal carries the actual with it, or in it. This argument need not detain us long. The representative philosophy of the greater scholastic period abandoned it, along with that of St. Augustine, as invalid; and Kant thought he had sufficiently refuted it by the notorious remark that a hundred real dollars differ in no nameable essential or logical character from a hundred ideal or possible dollars. No doubt this particularly baffling argument will always possess a singular fascination for speculative minds; it promises so much and would accomplish so much, if only it were valid! And its refutation may possibly be a more difficult matter than some of its critics seem to imagine. Nevertheless, it will be allowed, that, as a piece of 'evidence,' the onthological argument, whether in the form in which it was originally cast by St. Anselm, or as presented in the more elaborate theories of Descartes and Leibnitz, and in the bulky treatises of English Platonising theologians, or finally as rehabilitated by Hegel, is of little weight—even supposing it can be successfully defended from the charge of *petitio principii*.

The cosmological proof is at least as old as Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and was a great favourite with the schoolmen. It is the argument *a contingentia mundi*, and may be briefly stated thus: If the contingent exists, the necessary also exists. We ourselves, the world, and all objects of sense are contingent existencies, but there must be a cause of these, which cause must also be an effect. If we try to go back to the cause of that cause, and to its cause again, we must at length pause in our regress; but by rising to a first (uncaused, cause, we escape from the contingent and reach the necessary. From our observation of the manifold series of natural effects, we ascend at length to a causal fountain-head, since we cannot travel back for ever along an infinite line of dependent

³ Of the abstruse *argumentum ideologicum* of St. Augustine, or the so-called *argumentum henologicum*—the fourth of St. Thomas's famous Five Proofs—I prefer not to speak in this place. Their import and validity are much disputed among scholastic writers.

sequences. This argument depends upon the admission that a *regressus infinitus* is impossible. That is to say, the cosmological argument requires us to admit that an actually infinite number of secondary causes, a series of causes which never had a beginning, is an intrinsically impossible chimera. Now, I have no wish to dispute its impossibility. Aristotle thought he saw something contradictory in the idea of such a series, and I should be the last to set up my opinion against that of the philosopher except for the gravest reasons. Not everyone, however, will be of the same way of thinking as Aristotle on this point. Recently there appeared, in a German periodical devoted to the discussion of philosophical questions from the scholastic point of view, an able article in which the writer maintains, in opposition to the majority of the schoolmen, the possibility of an actually infinite number, both as a philosophical concept and as existing in nature; and after refuting various objections he goes on to affirm this possibility by means of a series of indirect proofs.¹ Among mathematicians the question is still, I understand, an open one; there is nothing to prevent an investigator from taking the affirmative side in the controversy; with the result, I take it, that he must abandon the most venerable of all the arguments for the existence of God. Again, to many minds, there appears something illegitimate in the sudden leap by which we pass from the series of phenomenal antecedents to the existence of an *ἀρχή* or uncaused cause. One cannot (it will be said) thus 'suddenly scale the height' of necessary being—from contingent to necessary there is no road. All who have learnt the lesson of Kant's earlier *Kritik* will refuse to take such a step. And because imagination boggles at the thought of an endless regress of infinite antecedents, that of itself affords no ground for supposing that the world must have had a beginning, a *we* illogically phrase it, in time. Contrariwise, Aristotle held the world to be eternal, though he rejected the thought of an actually infinite series.

¹ J. Baur *Die actuelle unendliche zahl in der Philosophie und in der Natur*. (Philosophisches Jahrbuch. Bd. xiii., Heft 4). There is a very full discussion of the whole subject, with special reference to recent mathematical investigations concerning the concept of the Infinite, in the Supplementary Essay to Prof. Royce's Lectures on *The World and the Individual* (First Series).

But granted the validity of the cosmological argument, it nevertheless remains practically worthless as a premiss for the establishment of Theism. For, as Sir William Hamilton has somewhere said, the notion of a God is not contained in that of a mere first cause, since in the admission of a first cause atheist and theist are at one—an admission, therefore, of no account theologically. Indeed, it is hardly probable that these metaphysical arguments, which are all of a highly abstract character, would ever prove, either singly or in conjunction, of much service in converting an enquirer from atheism to theism. Abstract reasoning is usually inefficacious in such cases; you cannot, as Newman has it, make converts at the point of the syllogism. So much in general, and assuming the cogency of the reasoning employed to be admitted. But it is by no means certain that its cogency will always be admitted. As we have already seen, and as might be shewn on a much larger scale, if space permitted and the exigencies of the present argument required it, there are proofs and counter-proofs. It were by no means too much to say that there is not one among the numerous arguments advanced by theologians in proof of the existence of a personal Deity but has been rejected at one time or another by some equally learned theologian in favour of proofs which the former in his turn repudiates with scorn.

(b) The teleological argument, or argument from design (*argumentum physicum*) seeks, as its name implies, a way 'through nature up to nature's God.' As Kant has justly remarked, 'it is the oldest, the clearest, and the most agreeable to ordinary human reason, and deserves to be spoken of in terms of the utmost respect.' Though never popular in the school, it has carried conviction to many minds who have been unable to stomach the arid reasonings of the pure metaphysician. This idea of 'making the book of nature a commentary on the book of revelation' has specially commended itself to the English mind. Speaking of the literature of the subject, Bacon remarks, in the *Advancement of Learning*, that 'so far from noting any deficiency, I note rather an excess'; and what the French call the *vulgarisation* of this topic has gone on ever since, at all events up to the time of Paley and the Bridgewater Treatises. The substance of the argument

may be very shortly stated. Intelligence is a condition precedent of the world of which we have experience. So striking is the evidence of design or adjustment in the correlations of phenomena, and so manifold the appearances of wise arrangement, moulding everywhere materials for the use of humanity, that it is impossible to suppose these to be the result of chance or the undesigned consilience of independent agents. The validity of the suggested inference of a contriving mind has been often impugned, but I am here concerned only to point out the impossibility of establishing absolute monotheism by means of an argument of this nature—an impossibility which remains entirely unaffected by the particular form (and there are, of course, many such forms) in which the argument is stated. We are dealing with an inductive, or more accurately, an analogical proof; but inductive enquiry can only yield conclusions which are valid within a finite field. The field of experience is always finite, and so can yield no conclusions which must govern the infinite. Or put it thus: Every inductive enquiry starts with the assumption of the unity of nature within the field of inquiry; if it contemplate a universal conclusion it must contemplate an absolute unity of nature. It seems, therefore, that to seek to establish monotheism by a process of inductive enquiry is to reason in a circle, for such an enquiry directed to such an end involves the assumption of an absolute law of universal causation, and such a law implies monotheism. Should it be supposed that the intelligence which is a condition precedent of the world in which we dwell is one of many co-ordinate intelligences, each ruling in a different region; or even that such intelligence is in conflict with such other intelligences; the argument from design does not disprove the hypothesis, but even offers not a few considerations which might be thought to strengthen it. For we must remember that monotheism is an absolutely universal proposition, while the argument from design is an inductive argument, and it is against the nature of an inductive argument to support a universal proposition.

(c) Theism has been supposed by some to rest solely on an ethical basis, and to have no other root. Kant was one of

those who thought so. But his reading of the ethical argument is scarcely likely to commend itself to many, depending as it does upon the recognition of the 'categorical imperative' and the necessity of immortality—which can only be guaranteed by Theism—in order to bring about the ultimate union of virtue and felicity. Stripped of the dross with which Kant has encrusted it, the ethical argument seeks to interpret the hints of conscience as the suggestions of an *alter ego* within the individual, or as the subjective echo of an objective voice beyond and without him. The existence of God, the moral Governor, is thus viewed as a 'suppressed premiss' of morality, an implicate of the practical reason. Newman has stated this argument in his admirable manner in a chapter of the *Grammar of Assent*, from which I cannot forebear quoting a few passages. His words are these:—

Now certainly the thought of God, as Theists entertain it, is not gained by an instinctive association of His presence with any sensible phenomena; but the office which the senses directly fulfil as regards the external world, that office devolves indirectly on certain of our mental phenomena as regards its Maker. Those phenomena are found in the sense of moral obligation. As from a multitude of instinctive perceptions, acting in particular instances, of something beyond the senses, we generalise the notion of an external world, and then picture that world in and according to those particular phenomena from which we started, so from the perceptive power which identifies the intimations of conscience with the reverberations or echoes (so to say) of an external admonition, we proceed on to the notion of a Supreme Ruler and Judge, and then again we image Him and His attributes in those recurring intimations, out of which, as mental phenomena, our recognition of His existence was originally gained.⁵

Again:—

The feeling of conscience being, I repeat, a certain keen sensibility, pleasant or painful—self approval and hope, or compunction and fear—attendant on certain of our actions, which in consequence we call right or wrong, is two-fold:—it is a moral sense, and a sense of duty; a judgment of the reason and a magisterial dictate. Of course its act is indivisible; still it has these two aspects, distinct from each other, and admitting of a separate consideration. Though I lost my sense of the

⁵ *Op cit.*, chap v., § 1., pp. 100-1.

obligation which I lie under to abstain from acts of dishonesty, I should not in consequence lose my sense that such actions were an outrage offered to my moral nature. Again, though I lost my sense of their moral deformity, I should not therefore lose my sense that they were forbidden to me. Thus conscience has both a critical and a prejudicial office, and though its promptings, in the breasts of the millions of human beings to whom it is given, are not in all cases correct, that does not necessarily interfere with the force of its testimony and of its sanction: its testimony that there is a right and a wrong, and its sanction to that testimony conveyed in the feelings which attend on right or wrong conduct. Here I have to speak of conscience in the latter point of view, not as supplying us, by means of its various acts, with the elements of morals, which may be developed by the intellect into an ethical code, but simply as the dictate of an authoritative monitor bearing upon the details of conduct as they come before us, and complete in its several acts, one by one.⁶

Once more:—

So much for the characteristic phenomena which conscience presents, nor is it difficult to determine what they imply. I refer once more to our sense of the beautiful. The sense is attended by an intellectual enjoyment, and is free from whatever is of the nature of emotion, except in one case, viz., when it is excited by personal objects; then it is that the tranquil feeling of admiration is exchanged for the excitement of affection and passion. Conscience, too, considered as a moral sense, an intellectual sentiment, is a sense of admiration and disgust, of approbation and blame: but it is something more than a moral sense; it is always what the sense of the beautiful is only in certain cases—it is always emotional. No wonder, then, that it always implies what that sense only sometimes implies; that it always involves the recognition of a living object, towards which it is directed. Inanimate things cannot stir our affections; these are correlative with persons. If, as is the case, we feel responsibility, are ashamed, are frightened, at transgressing the voice of conscience, this implies that there is One to whom we are responsible, before whom we are ashamed, whose claims upon us we fear. If, on doing wrong, we feel the same tearful, broken-hearted sorrow which overwhelms us on hurting a mother; if, on doing right, we enjoy the same sunny serenity of mind, the same soothing, satisfactory delight which follows on our receiving praise from a father, we certainly have within us the image of some person to whom our

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

love and veneration look, in whose smile we find our happiness, for whom we yearn, towards whom we direct our pleadings, in whose anger we are troubled and waste away. These feelings in us are such as require for their exciting cause an intelligent being ; we are not affectionate towards a stone, nor do we feel shame before a horse or a dog ; we have no remorse or compunction on breaking mere human law : yet, so it is, conscience excites all these painful emotions, confusion, foreboding, self-condemnation ; and on the other hand it sheds upon us a deep peace, a sense of security, a resignation, and a hope, which there is no sensible, no earthly object to elicit. ' The wicked flees, when no one pursueth ' ; then why does he flee, whence his terror ? Who is it that he sees in solitude, in darkness, in the hidden chambers of his heart ? If the cause of these emotions does not belong to this visible world, the object to which his perception is directed must be Supernatural and Divine ; and thus the phenomena of conscience, as a dictate, avail to impress the imagination with the picture of a Supreme Governor, a Judge, holy, just, powerful, all-seeing, retributive, and is the creative principle of religion, as the moral sense is the principle of ethics.⁷

These be brave words ; but what of the logic of the argument which they embody ? For this after all is our sole concern here. I have no doubt whatever that the argument in question differs from those we have hitherto been considering in that it is wholly illusory. Let us see what it amounts to. Conscience is a ' feeling,' a ' certain keen sensibility attendant on certain of our actions.' It is a ' moral sense,' an ' intellectual sentiment.' Again, ' it is emotional.' That is to say, it is something subjective, personal, human ; not something objective, transcendent, divine. It is a psychological fact, whose genesis may be explained by means of psychological causes. As subjective, it cannot serve as a bridge over which we may pass to an objective conclusion, nor can it legitimately be invoked as a witness to aught beyond itself. To be of any real service, our ethical analysis would require to be more minute. To say that the moral world is under moral law means properly no more than that it is moral. That it is presided over and pervaded by a moral governor is not an obvious fact on the surface of experience. In plain terms, the

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-7.

'law of conscience,' as the phrase is ordinarily understood, is a chimera. It must mean either that conscience enacts and issues, or that it discloses and receives, the law. The former alternative is easily disposed of. Martineau puts the case against it as well as anyone:—

Idealism reduces moral obligation, as well as everything else, to a mere modification of self; in making the mind universal lawgiver, makes it also *its own*; and thus dissipates the very essence of imperative authority, which ever implies a law above and beyond the nature summoned to obey it. Without objective conditions, the idea of *duty* involves a contradiction, and its phraseology passes into an unmeaning figure of speech. Nothing can be *binding* to us that is not higher than we; and to speak of *one part of self imposing obligation on another part*—of one impulse or affection playing, as it were, *the god* to another—is to trifle with the real significance of the sentiments that speak within us. Conscience does not *frame* the law, it simply reveals the law that holds us; and to make everything of the *disclosure* and nothing of the *thing disclosed*, is to affirm and to deny the revelation in the same breath.⁸

This was well understood by Kant, who was led by a consideration of the fact that one and the same entity cannot at once issue and receive law to hold that the noumenal self gives to the phenomenal self the idea of an unconditional moral law. And Kant's own introduction of God at the end of his ethical system is in itself sufficient proof that the imperative of duty cannot stand wholly in the human conscience. Moreover, as the 'romantic' development of Kant's thought (with its negation of the double character of the soul of man, which, in effect, it simplified into a kind of *anima mundi*) soon shewed, no monistic system, be it idealist, materialist, or evolutionary, can succeed in setting up an absolute standard of duty. But to say that conscience merely *reveals* the law is, in my opinion, equally futile. I have elsewhere argued that there can be no such 'intuitive' knowledge of moral law, for the simple reason that knowledge of law implies knowledge of, or at least belief in, the existence of an authoritative lawgiver, so that to begin with the moral law and

⁸ *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii., pp. 4, 5 (third edition).

conclude to the existence of a moral governor is to be guilty of a *ὑστερον πρότερον*, or rather is a mischievous perversion of the method which the mind spontaneously follows in such cases.⁹

To designate 'ethical laws' as the will of God is possible and legitimate only after it has been shewn, or after one has elected to believe, that God exists and that His will, as righteous and holy, commands just such conduct as is reasonable, or, in other words, that the content of the divine moral law is identical with the content of the ethical consciousness of man. The so-called moral proof is consequently not merely inadequate, but radically fallacious.

So far I have been considering only the futility of the speculative argument for Theism. I am equally convinced of the breakdown of the historical proofs of Christian revelation, or to say it better, of the utter incompetency of a procedure which, as Mr. Balfour neatly expresses it, seeks to treat Christianity as a mere 'foot-note to history.' There must still, however, be a motive for holding fast to religious convictions. One such motive I have already dealt with. It is of no avail to appeal as is often done to an 'immediate inner experience,' which attests the truth of the content of religion, 'as directly and as independently of logic as sense perception attests the reality of external objects' (as if sense-perception could possibly attest any such thing!) Even if their existence be conceded—and I have no desire to contest this—such influences can consist immediately in nothing more than certain modes of *our* being affected, certain phases of *our* experience, or of *our* feeling. Just as a sensation as such is something quite subjective, a mere mood of ourselves (and no cognition, but only the material for cognition); so these supersensible impressions being mere feelings, moods or movements of our own minds, can never be employed as evidence of any truth of religion whatsoever. They do not, in fact, even admit of expression in a definite communicable proposition.¹⁰

⁹ See my articles, 'Wanted: a Philosophy of Duty,' in the *New Ireland Review*, vol. xviii., No. 6, vol. xix., No. 2.

¹⁰ Similar objections may be levelled against Prof. James's attempt, in his brilliant *Lectures on The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), to extract some sort of proof of the reality of the object of religious belief out of that

In what follows I shall proceed to expound my own views on this great subject. The substance of these is contained in the assertion that religion is never a demonstrable theorem in all, but that conviction of its truth is an act, a *deed*, the outcome of character, that is to say, of a completely-fashioned will.

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(To be continued.)

twilight, semi-conscious experience of the future, and by possible research. Certainly Prof. James has, by sympathy, thrown himself into any opening that offers into the infinite, when all the doors of our human being closed are open in his face. But it is still a question whether this is not again, though he has set his foot actually leads, some will think it is not to the cellar. Moreover, the results of psychical research do not readily give him what he seeks. We must refuse to accept the subliminal as evidence for, or as substitute for, the sublime. As James elsewhere says, 'It weakens religion to hear it argued on such a basis.'

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF HIGHER CRITICISM

JEHOVA AND EL-SHADDAI

IT has often been asserted that the name Jehova was not known to anyone before the time of Moses. Taken in itself the assertion, though erroneous, cannot be regarded as savouring of higher criticism, for it has been made by those who, in holding it, would consistently have been opposed to the vagaries of Astruc and his followers. That Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob never heard the name Jehova has been stated by such eminent personages as Josephus, Theodoret, St. Basil, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Diodorus of Tarsus, Procopius, St. Gregory the Great, and in later times by Abulensis, Marius, Nierenberg, Capellus, Cornelius a Lapide, and Tirinus, and by Calmet, Sylvius, and Hummelauer, etc.¹ It was, however, in the case of some scarcely more than an *obiter dictum*. But it has since been raised to the rank and power of a first principle by the critics, and now as if it were an incontrovertible truth it is commonly employed in the explanation and defence of their various systems, and has in fact become one of their battle-cries.

We do not say that every higher critic denies that the sacred name was known before the son of Amram received his mission to deliver the Hebrews from the Egyptian bondage. For instance, the late Professor Davidson, of Edinburgh, in a painfully rationalistic article on 'God' in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* admits as probable that the tribe of Levi was acquainted with it before the birth of Moses. Of course this paltry admission will not satisfy believers in Scripture; it is in fact utterly insufficient, but we mention it in order to guard against a possible misconception.

What we say is this. There is a plain mark by means of which in our own day those who are infected with higher criticism may be known. It is the affirmation, whether

¹ See Reinke, *Beiträge*, iii., p. 112.

explicitly or implicitly made, that the word 'Jehova,' which Moses heard uttered from the burning bush, was then spoken for the first time. We, of course, do not mean that this is the only mark; though indeed by the general reader it is, perhaps, the one most easily recognised, but what we would respectfully invite attention to is, that it is a useful sign. Suppose we happen to take up an anonymous writer's article in a review, or a modern book by some unknown author, and when we have read a page or two still remain uncertain about his Biblical orthodoxy or heterodoxy, and then at length come on a sentence in which he not casually, but of set purpose makes the assertion referred to—at that instant all doubt vanishes, and *apparent dirae facies*.

Only a higher critic will take what may be called a *delectatio morosa* in consenting to this thought, in expressing it, and in emphasizing it. Only a higher critic will maintain as an essential part of his system, that Exodus iii. 15—'And God said unto Moses: thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, "Jehova, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you,"' is the first passage in which the name legitimately appears. Only a higher critic will quote as self-evident proof of this, Exodus vi. 2, 3—'And God spoke unto Moses and said to him: I am Jehova. And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac and unto Jacob, as God Almighty (El-Shaddai), but by my name Jehova I was not known to them,' and then assert that this latter passage is in direct contradiction to all the passages in Genesis where Jehova occurs in the history of these patriarchs. As Professor Green, of Princeton, remarks:—

The critics interpret Exodus vi. 3 to mean that the name Jehova was then first revealed to Moses, and had not been in use in the time of the patriarchs. They hence regard all prior sections containing the name Jehova as in conflict with this statement, especially as Jehova is used not only in the language of the writer himself, but when he is reporting the words of those who lived long before Moses' time.²

Here we may observe in passing that even if it could be

² *Hebraica*, 1880, January number, p. 112.

shown that the three patriarchs never heard the name, this would not prove that it was unknown to others. It might have been quite familiar to their ancestors, to their contemporaries, and to their descendants before Moses. In fact it was so. But we shall not take up this matter here, we shall confine ourselves to the Jehova-passages in the history of the patriarchs, for it is the genuineness of these that is denied. The question is an all-important one at the present day. Those who believe in Scripture maintain, because it teaches so, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob knew the name, and they hold that the statements in Genesis regarding these patriarchs are and must be in complete harmony with Exodus vi. 3. On the other hand, the critics who do not believe in Scripture say that the passages in Genesis and in Exodus are incompatible as they stand, and that those sections in Genesis have been interpolated, in other words—that the name Jehova was inserted by a Redactor. We can easily see why some of the critics decide in favour of Exodus; it is because they hope thereby to get a pretext for asserting that monotheism, of which Jehova is the characteristic formula, was not the primitive religion of the Hebrews. But as it is enough to allude to this here, we pass on. What we would direct our readers' attention to at present is, that so far as the document theory is concerned, on the alleged contradiction between Genesis and Exodus the whole structure of Pentateuchal higher criticism rests.

The *Oxford Hexateuch* may fairly be taken as representative of the views now current among a party in England. It states that ³ :—

The real key to the composition of the Pentateuch may be said to lie in Exodus vi. 2-8. The passages which are gradually found to be allied with it confront us in turn with all the complicated questions concerning the constituents of the Five Books. It opens with the solemn declaration of Elohim to Moses :—‘ 2b. I am Yahweh; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty (H., *El Shuddai*), but by my name Yahweh I was not known to them. 4. And I have also established my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their sojournings, wherein they

sojourned. 5. And moreover I have heard the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant.' Two facts of the utmost importance are here definitely asserted. In revealing himself as Yahweh, God affirms that He had not been known by that name to the forefathers of Israel; but He had appeared to them as El Shaddai. On the basis of these words it would be reasonable to look for traces in Genesis of Divine manifestations to the patriarchs under the title El Shaddai, and their discovery would afford presumption that they belonged to the same document. On the other hand, the occurrence of similar manifestations in the character of Yahweh would directly contradict the express words of the text, and could not be ascribed to the same author. The distinction which Astruc adopted has thus the direct sanction of the Pentateuch itself, and its immediate application is simple and easy. Does the Book of Genesis contain revelations of God to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as El Shaddai? To Abraham and Jacob, certainly: 'I am El Shaddai,' Genesis xvii. 1 and xxxv. 11; but the corresponding announcement to Isaac is missing. Mingled with these, however, are other passages of a different nature, such as the Divine utterance to Abraham, xv. 7: 'I am Yahweh, that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees'; or to Jacob, xxviii. 13: 'I am Yahweh, the God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac.' Side by side with these stand many others describing the recognition of Yahweh by the patriarchs and their contemporaries. 'Between Bethel and Ai, Abraham builded an altar unto Yahweh, and called upon the name of Yahweh,' xii. 8, *cp.* xiii. 4-18, xxi. 33. To the king of Sodom, Abraham declared that he had sworn to Yahweh to take none of the goods recovered from the Mesopotamian invaders, xiv. 22. Sarai complained to her husband, 'Yahweh hath restrained me from bearing,' xvi. 2. When the mysterious visitor rebuked her for her incredulity, he asks, 'Is anything too hard for Yahweh,' xviii. 14. Lot is warned by the men whom he has entertained, 'Yahweh hath sent us to destroy this place,' xix. 13. But it is not needful to accumulate further instances. The name is known beyond the confines of Canaan. The man in search of a bride for his master's son is welcomed with it at the city of Nahor by Laban, 'Come in, thou blessed of Yahweh,' xxiv. 31. And it is of such ancient use, that it can be said of the family of Adam, 'Then began men to call upon the name of Yahweh,' iv. 26. But unless the writer of Exodus vi. 2 contradicts himself, not one of these passages can have issued from his hand. (It does not, however, follow that he would never have employed the name in narrative.)

Everyone knows that the name *Jehova* occurs frequently

in the history of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In some passages emphasis is evidently laid upon it. We read, for instance, in Genesis xv. 7, 8: 'I am Jehova who brought thee out from Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land that thou might possess it. And he said, O Lord Jehova, whereby may I know that I shall possess it?' Afterwards, with explicit reference to this promise Abraham says: 'Jehova, the God of Heaven, who took me out of my father's house' (xxiv. 17).⁴

⁴ And another instance of special interest may be mentioned. In the most solemn act of his whole life, in the supreme exercise of his virtue, Abraham utters the sacred name. We read in xxii. 2, that God commanded the patriarch to take with him the son he loved, Isaac, into the land of Moria, and there to offer him as a holocaust upon one of the mountains which He would show him. Then in verse 14 we read:—'And Abraham called the name of that place '*Jehova-jire*'=the Lord sees; *i.e.*, provides. Cf. verse 8, 'God will provide (*jire*) a lamb for a holocaust, my son:' as it is said to this day, on the mountain of Jehova, it is seen, *jirae*, *i.e.*, 'it is provided.' Vulgate:—'Appellavitque nomen loci illius, Dominus videt. Unde usque hodie dicitur: in monte Dominus videbit.' The place mentioned in both these verses, 2 and 14, is, of course, the same; and there appears, moreover, to be a close etymological connection between its two names, Jehova-jire and Moria. If we suppose that the latter was given on account of God's having provided a victim, verse 8, then it seems to be used proleptically in verse 2, but such usage is not uncommon in Scripture. The meaning of the word is 'shown by Jehova' (Cheyne): according to König, however, the meaning is 'established by Jehova.' König supposes that Morijah is an abbreviation for Moriath-ja. It is at all events regarded by many as certain that the last syllable *ja* is the short form of Jehova.

In the only other passage where the word Moria occurs (2 Par. iii. 1.) it is the name of the place where the temple was built. 'And Solomon began to build the house of the Lord in Jerusalem, on mount Moria, which had been shown to David, his father, in the place which David had prepared.' Josephus, who was so learned in the traditions of his race, says expressly that it was on that spot the sacrifice mentioned in our chapter of Genesis was offered. 'Accordingly He commanded him (*Abraham*) to carry him (*Isaac*) to mount Moria. It was that mountain on which king David (*sic*) afterwards built the temple.'—*Antiquities* 1. 13. (Josephus means that David pointed out the spot on which the temple was to be erected.) The Jerusalem Targum and Pseudo-Jonathan's version, agree with Josephus. Dillmann, who was a great scholar, in spite of his critical aberrations, accepts the statement. In his Commentary on Genesis, he says—'Ha-Moria, with the article, is the name of the temple-hill in Jerusalem, from the time of Solomon the most important place of worship in the country. In spite of the objections raised, this is the place we must suppose to be intended here, for no other place of the name is found, and Abraham's greatest deed of faith was best localized in a sacred spot of importance. Besides, the indications of verse 14 point to it at least not less plainly than the play on the word in 2 Chron. iii. 1.' What he alludes to, is fully stated by Gesenius, *Thesaurus Ling. Hebr.*, p. 819: 'Ad originem quod attinet, non dubium est, quin sacri scriptores Moria acceperint pro Mori-ja, vel secundum Genesim ductus a *Jehova*: vel secundum Paralipomena, l. c. monstratus a *Jehova*, quod idem, spectarunt Symm. *της της οπτασιως Aqu. εις την γην την καταφανη Hieron. 'terra visionis.'*

Abraham uses the name also in xiv. 22, xv. 2-8, xxii. 14, xxiv. 3. And Isaac uses it in xxvi. 22, and xxvii. 27; see also verse 7 of this last chapter. And Jacob uses it, xxviii. 16-21. Other instances might be given, but these it is hoped will be thought sufficient. It should be observed that we do not mean to prove from Scripture, against those who do not admit its authority, that the name was known to the three patriarchs. In the first part of our discussion with them we intend solely to call attention to the fact that Scripture states that the name was known. This has been done; and now we shall call attention to the way in which the critics who say there is a contradiction in Scripture, offer to solve it.

In spite of all the evidence, the critics will not admit that

quodque scriptura adeo mutata commendare volebat cod. Sam. Neque linguæ rationibus contrarium est hoc etymon: nihilominus primum et nativum non videtur, sed eo demum tempore excogitatum, quo templum jam in hoc colle extructum erat.' Driver does not accept the derivation. In his article on Moria (*Hastings' Dictionary*), he remarks that 'Hebrew proper names when accompanied by the article have the presumption of possessing, or at least of having once possessed an appellative force; but the meaning of Moria is obscure: and the etymologies that have been proposed are far from satisfactory. It is at least certain that it does not mean shown of Jah, or vision of Jah, neither of which forms could pass into Moriah.' Nevertheless we will keep the etymology indicated in Scripture, even though it be a popular one. The Hebrews must be supposed to know their own language best. Many expressions are good English, even though a foreign grammarian might not see his way to approve of them. But enough of philology. The following explanation, however, deserves to be quoted:—'This derivation forms the basis of the passage in Gen. xxii. 14. "And Abraham called the name of that place JEHOVAH-JIRE, *the Lord will see*, as it is said to this day, in the mount of Jehovah, *he will appear*.' The name of the place, in its peculiar form, occurs in verse 2, and is assumed to be universally known. For this reason an explanatory paraphrase is substituted for it in JEHOVA JIREH; and in such a case, throughout Genesis, it is usual to give not a strict etymological derivation, but only an allusion to the etymology. That *God's seeing* here, where it is mentioned with a reference to verse 8, is only so far noticed as it is inseparably connected with His *being seen*, His *appearing*, the following words prove: "As it is said to this day," etc. The hope of the future appearing rests on the certainty of the present appearing. On Moria, the place of God's appearing, He has appeared, and there faith hopes that He will manifest Himself in the future. Thus, the expression "as it is said to this day," etc., is to be regarded as a prophetic anticipation on account of Exod. xv. 17, where this anticipation, the hope of a future and more glorious revelation of God upon the site of the former, is yet more clearly expressed, "Thou shalt bring them in and plant them in the mountain of Thy inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which Thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, in the sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have established." Hengstenberg, *On the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, Eng. tr., vol. i., p. 276.

To those who believe in the all-guiding providence of God, especially in what has direct reference to the Exemption, to those who regard the chief events in the Old Testament as connected and still present ones in the New, the

these three patriarchs knew the sacred name. Scripture may affirm the acquaintance, but higher criticism knows more about these things than Scripture. Wellhausen and his associates attempt to get rid of all the troublesome texts referred to above, by boldly asserting that wherever the name 'Jehova' occurs, it is an interpolation. The Jehovist did not write it, therefore the Redactor inserted it. We may once more take the *Oxford Hexateuch* as an expression of critical views. It blandly states in its note on Genesis xv. 2-8, that 'the title, Lord Jahweh, does not necessarily make for J, as it may be redactional.' So, too, in reference to xxii. 14, Abraham's alleged use of the name is 'an editorial insertion,

appropriateness and the significance of the spot chosen is quite evident. It was fitting that the sacrifice of Isaac which foreshadowed that of Christ should be offered near Calvary, and that the temple which was a figure of Christ's body (St. John ii. 19) should be near Calvary too.

There are, however, we willingly acknowledge, some ancient versions of great authority, which give a very different meaning to the word that the Masorets, the Vulgate (Paralipomenon), the Jerusalem Targum, and Aquila pronounced as Moria. In both passages (Genesis and Paralipomenon) the Peshitta has 'the land of the *Amorites*.' In Paralipomenon the Septuagint also has *Amoria*, but in Genesis *την υψηλην*. And the newly discovered Palestinian Lectionary (published by Mrs. Lewis, Cambridge, 1897) containing a translation from the Septuagint has '*arha ramtha*'=the high country. In Genesis, the Septuagint presumably derived the word in the Hebrew text from the verb '*amar*'=to be high. And it has been thought that the gentile name 'Amorites' had a connection with this. However, the following remark of Sayce's seems to be true, viz. :—'The name Amorite has been supposed to signify "mountainer"; but the two Hebrew words "*emer*" and "*amir*" by which the signification is supported mean "summit" and "tower," not "mountain."' Then, as we learned from Gesenius, Symmachus has 'the bright land,' and Aquila 'the land of vision.' The last explanation is certainly that of the Samaritan Version, and probably that of the Samaritan Pentateuch. For the word found here in it may mean 'vision,' though judging from Gen. xii. 6, it may be the name of a place near Sichem. Calmet says the Samaritans asserted that the sacrifice of Isaac was offered near Sichem. This is of a piece with their 'tradition' that Abraham met Melchisedech, and Jacob had his vision, on Mount Gerizim. If they were able to put Salem and Bethel there, there could have been no difficulty about transferring Moria. Hummelauer, from whom a great deal of information is taken, thinks that the land 'of the Amorites' is the original meaning, though he does not deny that the name of the particular mount in question may have been Moria. We, however, see no reason for doubting the explicit statement of Josephus. In conclusion, we may observe that the authors of versions mentioned above seem not to have read Moria. The Septuagint (Paralipomenon) apparently presupposes Haamir; Symmachus presupposes Hammare; Aquila and the Samaritan version, Mare; Septuagint (Genesis), Haamir; and Onkelos and Samaritan Pentateuch, Hammore, (See Hoberg's Genesis, p. 198). We suspect, therefore, that the explanations they respectively give may not unfairly be regarded as guesses.

but whether by Rⁿ or R^h cannot be determined.' (N.B.—Rⁿ is the symbol for the editor of E, R^h that of the editorial hands which united and revised J and E.) Again when Isaac is said to utter it, xxvii. 7, the *Oxford Hexateuch* evidently thinks that statement to be unworthy of serious consideration. Isaac could not have done so by any possibility, so the only question the Oxford editors condescend to treat is, whether J or E is accountable for its presence in the text. They explain that 'the words "before Yahweh" involve a serious difficulty in the ascription to E. They may have been introduced accidentally from J through the similarity of the word "before (my death)" contrasted with "before" in 2b. Other unexpected occurrences of *Yahweh*, due to various causes, have been noted in xvii. 1, xxi. 1b, xxii. 11.'⁵ This deliberate

⁵ These three passages are part of the narrative itself, not alleged reproductions of the patriarchs' words. The seventeenth chapter of Genesis, which treats of the covenant and of circumcision, is on that very account ascribed to the priestly writer (P) by the critics. They assume that a priest is the author of all those sections in Genesis, etc., that have reference to subjects connected with religion. It needs hardly be said that neither this hypothetical writer, nor the other equally shadowy creations J and E, ever existed in reality. But to return to the first of our passages xvii. 1. In the note on this verse, the *Oxford Hexateuch* takes care to remind its readers that 'the name *Yahweh* is assigned here to a redactor or copyist as it is contrary to the usage of P before Ex. vi. 2.' The critics who published this work either will not admit, or fail to see that they are begging the question. The same perverse ingenuity, or blissful ignorance, is shown in its treatment of xxi. 1b. 'And Jehova visited Sara as he had said; and Jehova did unto Sara as he had spoken.' This is obviously nothing more than an instance of the synonymous parallelism so characteristic of Hebrew literature. But the critics are quite sure that it presents traces of double authorship; the first part must belong to J (because Jehova occurs in it); and the second part may be given to P. But Jehova occurs there, too. That does not matter, says the *Oxford Hexateuch*, 'the name *Yahweh* being due to a copyist or redactor as in xvii. 1.' First, the critics say that there is a contradiction in the traditional text of Scripture, and then they show how it may be got rid of, by eliminating or altering one set of passages! With regard, moreover, to this verse, xxi. 1, they considerably explain that 'all three sources, J, and E, and P, seem to have contained the account of the birth of Isaac.' And so they do not oblige us to regard the second half of the verse as written by P. They say 'it is possible, however, that 1b belongs to E (*cf.* the formula "to do" . . . which P does not use in Genesis.)' This is the veriest trifling. So, too, in regard of xxii. 11. The text is 'the angel of Jehova called unto him'; but the critics dismiss it summarily, with this remark: 'The angel in the original story was no doubt the angel of Elohim, xxi. 17; the name has been editorially changed to *Yahweh* in preparation for the important ascription 15-18.' What can be hoped for from people who wantonly alter the text of Scripture in order to make it suit their own fancies, and who not content with this deed of libertinism deliberately invent what they are pleased to call 'the original story'!

manipulation of the sacred text is carried out with unblushing consistency also in the history of Jacob's vision and the vow he took in consequence, xxviii. 11-21. The name may occur in verses 13 (*twice*; used once by the inspired narrator, and once by God when speaking to Jacob), 16 and 21 (both times by Jacob), but that matters nothing to the critics, who have recourse to their customary subterfuge. After some flippant remarks about 'editorial expansions,' the Oxford commentary complacently observes that 'Kuenen and Cornill accordingly propose to attribute the theophany to R. The opening words, however, "And behold Jahve stood beside him," do not sound like a harmonist's combination with verse 12; they belong rather to an independent narrative.' Then it confidentially informs us that J and E had at one time different accounts of the origin of the sacred pillar at Bethel, and concludes with the lucid explanation that 'in that case, however, verse 15 will be an editorial reflex of verse 17, due probably to the same combining hand which added the words, "And Yahweh shall be my God," 21b.'

Enough has now been quoted to show how some of the modern rationalists treat the history of these great patriarchs. Even were that history not sacred, these unbelievers could not be excused for violating one of the fundamental laws of textual criticism. No one may alter the words of an author at will. Now, as regards the Pentateuch, we know that its text is one of the best certified in existence. Besides hundreds of Hebrew MSS. and those of the Samaritan transcript, there are ancient versions in several languages. They all testify to the presence of the word *Jehova* in the passages quoted above, but in defiance of their unanimous testimony the rationalists will have it that at some indefinitely early period the word was foisted into the text. And for this statement there is not a particle of evidence! 'Stat pro ratione voluntas.' When, where, and by whom was the alleged insertion made? The rationalists have no answer to give. One cannot fail to perceive the family likeness which exists between them and Luther. He deliberately mistranslated Scripture in the texts

that did not suit his ideas, they go further and put such texts out.

And now we come to the most interesting part of our subject—namely, to the explanation of Exodus vi. 2, 3, that famous passage in which God declares that he was known to the three patriarchs as El-Shaddai, but not as Jehova. Here we are confronted with one of the test-questions in exegesis at the present day. It is, as we said already, between this passage and those we have quoted above in order to show that the patriarchs knew the name, that the apparent contradiction exists (*critics call it a real one*), on which rests the whole structure of the document theory in the higher criticism of the Pentateuch.

The words in Exodus vi. 2, 3, may be thus translated:—‘And God spoke unto Moses and said to him, I am JEHOVA. (3.) And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as EL-SHADDAI, but by my name JEHOVA I was not known to them.’ The significant antithesis which is so striking in the Hebrew text is not preserved so well as usual in the Vulgate, though its translation there is substantially correct. ‘Locutusque est Dominus ad Moysen dicen, Ego Dominus. (3.) Qui apparui Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, in Deo omnipotente et nomen meum Adonai non indicavi eis.’⁶

The Vulgate has been influenced here by the Septuagint, but is nevertheless superior to it, as appears from this:—‘Ἐλάλησεν δὲ ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς Μωϋσῆν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἐγώ Κύριος (3) καὶ ὤφθην πρὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, Θεὸς ὁν αὐτοὶ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου Κύριος οὐκ ὠμύλησα αὐτοῖς.

The immediate context states that God promised the patriarchs that He would bestow on their posterity the land of Chanaan. ‘Pepigique foedus cum eis, ut darem eis terram Chanaan, terram peregrinationis eorum, in qua fuerint advenae,’ Exodus vi. 4. He gave his word to Abraham (Genesis xvii. 8), to Isaac (xxvi. 3), to Jacob (xxviii. 13). It is in consequence of this that Chanaan is called the promised land (‘terra repromissionum,’ Hebrews xi. 9). But Abraham,

⁶ See on Adonai, I. E. RECORD, March, 1903, p. 233.

Isaac, and Jacob themselves were only sojourners in the country, sheltered for the time as nomads under tents. They moved up and down in search of pasture, and where they found a suitable spot they pitched their camp. The reason is explained by St. Stephen in his address to the Sanhedrim (Acts vii. 5). Speaking of God's dealings with Abraham he says:—'*Et non dedit illi hereditatem in ea, nec passum pedis, sed repromisit dare illi eam in possessionem, et⁷ semini ejus post ipsum, cum non haberet filium.*' And the verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews just referred to directs our attention to the faith of Abraham and its significance. '*Fide demoratus est in terra repromissionis, tanquam in aliena, in casulis habitando, cum Isaac et Jacob coheredibus repromissionis ejusdem.*' Abraham, though certain of his own '*jus ad rem,*' his by right divine, neither had, nor desired to have, nor wished to be regarded as having, any '*jus in re.*' That was reserved for distant posterity. Even in time of urgent need his action bears witness to his submission to this divine arrangement. When Sara died he said to the Hethites:—'*I am a stranger and sojourner among you; give me the right of a burying place among you that I may bury my dead.*' And for the double grave in which, when his own time came, he was to be laid to rest by his wife's side, he paid the full price to Ephron the Hethite. And afterwards, when the Philistines repeatedly drove Isaac's shepherds from the wells in the desert that his father's men had dug, his only course was to go on further and to dig a well for which the Philistines contended not. So, too, when Jacob came to Sichem, and wished to settle there for a time, he had to buy a field. '*All these,*' as the Epistle to the Hebrews goes on

⁷ '*Et*' here is not conjunctive, but explanatory. There are several examples of this Hebraism; e.g., '*Si peccaverit anima et audierit vocem jurantis,*' Lev. v. 1. '*Reddidi consolationes ipsi, et lugentibus ejus,*' Isaias lvii. 18. '*Dabo in manus inimicorum suorum, et in manus quaerentium animas eorum,*' Jeremias xxxiv. 21. In these passages '*et*' is equivalent to '*scilicet.*' It is to be understood as the particle of closer definition. As the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon explains very well, '*such particles as namely, &c., were reserved for cases in which special emphasis or distinctness was desired; their frequent use was felt instinctively to be inconsistent with that lightness and grace of movement which the Hebrew ear loved.*' For examples of the same usage in the New Testament, see St. Matthew i. 24, xiii. 41, and St. John i. 16, x. 53.

to say, *ib.* v. 13, 'died according to faith, not having received the promises, but beholding them afar off and saluting them, and confessing that they are pilgrims and strangers on the earth.' It was not until long after their own time that their descendants were to obtain actual possession of the promised land, as God declared to Abraham (Genesis xv. 13-16): 'Know thou beforehand that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land not their own, and they shall afflict them four hundred years. But in the fourth generation they shall return hither.'

The three patriarchs were pre-eminently men of faith, so much so that by their lives St. Paul illustrates the meaning of his definition of faith—viz., the conviction regarding things unseen, the virtual possession of things unattained. They themselves were never to behold the fulfilment of the promises, but the patriarchs were absolutely certain that their posterity would one day own Chanaan. To them God had revealed Himself as the All Powerful and the Ever-Faithful, and they believed that He could and would keep His word. What St. Paul says of Abraham applies to Isaac and Jacob also. 'Plenissime sciens quia quaecumque promisit, potens est et facere' (Romans iv. 21). Chapters of Genesis and passages of the Epistles have been written to show that the guiding principle of their lives was unbounded confidence in the Divine Omnipotence.

This apparently is the reason why God says that to them He had revealed Himself as El-Shaddai. This name is fifteen times out of thirty-one translated by *παντοκράτωρ* in the Septuagint Job, and generally by 'Omnipotens' in the Vulgate (and in Genesis always). Its meaning is partly conveyed by *ισχυρος* in the Septuagint Job, by 'hesina' in the Peshitta Job, and by 'hali' in the Syriac (both Syriac words mean *strong*), by *αλκιμος* occasionally in Aquila's version, and by *κραταιος* in the Graecus Venetus. In all probability *Ανταρκης*, which is sometimes found in the Septuagint as well as in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and *ικανος*, which occurs in Hesychius and also six times in the Septuagint, may be safely dismissed as not being specific enough; but, nevertheless, they all point in the same direction. On the other hand, however, it must be observed that in all

the six passages of Genesis where 'El-Shaddai' occurs, the Septuagint has simply *o theos εμος, σου, κ.τ.λ.*, and that the Peshitta only transliterates or reproduces in Syriac characters the mysterious Hebrew name. Nor will the proposed etymologies enable one to arrive at greater probability regarding its meaning. The *Encyclopædia Biblica* says :— 'It is incorrect to appeal in support of the common explanation Almighty to the Arabic root *sadda*, to be strong, firm ; for the Hebrew equivalent for this would be not Shaddad, but Saddad.' In *Hastings' Bible Dictionary* Dr. Davidson, who reviews and rejects quite a number of etymologies, evidently regards the origin and meaning of the word as an unsolved philological problem. He, however, refers with some consideration to an interpretation put forward by Delitsch and recommended by Hommel. As it has been quite recently recommended by Pinches also, his words may be quoted :—

It is to be noted [he says] that there is in Semitic Babylonian a word *Shadu*, often applied to deities, and expressed in the old language of Akkad by means of the same ideograph (Kura) as is used for mountain (*Shadu* or *Shaddu* in Semitic Babylonian). This word *Shadu*, applied to divinities, Professor Friedrich Delitsch regards as being distinct from the word for mountain notwithstanding that they are both expressed by the same word in Akkadian, and renders it by the words, 'lord,' 'commander.' Have we here in this word an Assyro-Babylonian form of the Hebrew Shaddai? We do not know ; but the likeness between the two is worth referring to. That the idea of almightiness should be expressed by means of the borrowed Akkadian idiomatic use of the word *kura*, 'mountain,' as that which towers up commandingly, a mighty mass, would seem to offer an acceptable explanation of what has long been felt as a difficulty.⁸

It seems, therefore, that the case for the interpretation omnipotent, strong, may be summed up thus. It has partly in its favour the authority of the ancient versions, it suits the context, it commends itself to almost all commentators, and the last-mentioned etymology of the Hebrew word may be the true one.

⁸ *The Old Testament, in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1902, p. 248.

But another and a very ingenious derivation and interpretation has been proposed which deserves notice here. Oleaster, O.P., surmises that the word Shaddai comes from *Shad*, a breast, and remarks:—‘*Si a shad, significabit Deum quatenus præbet ubertatem, seu boni sui in nos effundit; quemadmodum ab ubere lac effunditur.*’ This tentative explanation has been independently maintained by the learned Oratorian, Abbé Robert, in a very able article which appeared in the *Revue Biblique*, April, 1894. He says:—‘*Sous ce titre, El Shaddai, Dieu s’est manifesté comme la source de tous les biens temporels, c’est à dire comme la cause de l’accroissement et de la prospérité des familles, de la fécondité des troupeaux et de la fertilité des champs. En un mot, El Shaddai, c’est Dieu fécondateur.*’ It must be said that this interpretation suits the context better even than the one given above does, for it indicates in what way precisely omnipotence was exercised. It is therefore a supplementary, not an adversative interpretation. L’Abbé Robert refers in proof to all the six texts in Genesis where the appellation occurs. They are the following:—

(God speaking to Abraham.) I am El-Shaddai; walk before me, and be perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly. Gen. xvii. 1.

(Isaac to Jacob.) And may El-Shaddai bless thee, and make thee to increase, and multiply thee. xxviii. 3.

(God to Jacob.) I am El-Shaddai; increase thou and be thou multiplied. Nations and peoples of nations shall be from thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins. xxxv. 11.

(Jacob to nine of his sons.) And may my El-Shaddai make him favourable to you. xliii. 14.

(Jacob to Joseph.) El-Shaddai appeared to me at Luz, which is in the land of Chanaan, and he blessed me and he said: I will cause thee to increase and multiply, and I will make of thee a multitude of people; and I will give this land to thee and to thy seed after thee for an everlasting possession. xlviii. 3, 4.

(Jacob’s blessing of Joseph.) The God (El)^a of thy father

^a *Comm. in Pent.* 1569.

^b According to Roeliger in Gen. xliii. The name, *one* Hebrew *El*, and the Samaritan Pentateuch have *El-Shaddai* here. It is also used here in the Peshitta (Lee’s ed.). These are passages of Genesis, and Exech. xlviii. are the only ones in which the compound appellation occurs. Elsewhere

shall be thy helper, and the Almighty (Shaddai) shall bless thee, with the blessings of Heaven above, with the blessings of the deep that lieth beneath, with the blessings of the breast and of the womb. xlix. 25.

And l'Abbé Robert gives the correct explanation of the last passage :—

Les 'bénédictions de cieux en haut,' c'est la rosée des cieux qui, en Orient, tombe chaque matin, et de laquelle dépend la fertilité des champs. (Gen. xxvii. 28; Deut. xxxiii. 13, 28.) Les 'bénédictions de l'abîme en bas,' ce sont les sources, les puits, qui, comme on constate dans la Genèse, sont d'une importance majeure pour les tribus des pasteurs. (xxi. 25, xxvi. 15-22.) Enfin, par 'bénédictions des mamelles et de la matrice' il faut entendre l'abondance des enfants et des troupeaux. (Il est intéressant de remarquer dans ce verset le rapprochement du mot Shaddaim 'mamelles' avec le nom divin Shaddai. On reconnaît aussitôt la parenté des deux mots qui évidemment découlent l'un et l'autre, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, du radical *Shadah*, lequel indique la profusion, l'abondance, et par conséquent la fécondité.)

L'examen est complet et concluant, croyons nous. Lorsque Dieu dit : 'Je me suis manifesté à Abraham, à Isaac et à Jacob, en tant que El-Shaddai,' il faut donc traduire que Dieu a donné une grande fécondité aux patriarches, à leurs champs et à leurs troupeaux.¹¹

From all these passages one conclusion appears to follow.

Shaddai alone is used; twice in Numbers, twice in Ruth, thirty-one times in Job, twice in the Psalter, once in Isaias, twice in Ezechiel, and once in Joel. In Job it has the same meaning as it has in Genesis, in Numbers and Ruth its use affords no clue to its import, but in the Psalms and the Prophets it signifies 'the destroyer.' But here it is evidently derived from another root, viz.: *Shadad*, 'to devastate, ruin.' The primitive meaning of the word appears to have become obsolete, a phenomenon which in the opinion of some affords indirect proof of the antiquity of Genesis.

¹¹ Whatever may be the true derivation of the word, and even supposing for the moment that Robert's proposed etymology is wrong, still there can be no doubt of the correctness of his explanation of the meaning and purport of the name Shaddai in Genesis. This is not surprising. We may know the meaning of a word yet be unable to tell its derivation, or, on the other hand, we might be well acquainted with it, and nevertheless find that the etymology was no clue to the signification. Take, for instance, the word 'Alma' in the prophecy of Isaias (vii. 14):—'Behold a Virgin (Alma) shall conceive,' etc. It denotes a Virgin, this is absolutely certain: but its etymology only informs us that it is a name for a young woman. It is the usage and the context that determine the meaning, here and elsewhere. So, too, even though readers were found to disapprove of Robert's derivation of Shaddai, at least they must accept his explanation of it, and this is the point about which we are concerned.

God was called El-Shaddai, in order to signify His bounteous benevolence in bestowing on the patriarchs a numerous offspring and vast wealth. Abraham was exceedingly rich. Scripture, not a word of which is without deep purpose and meaning, lays emphasis on the fact. Genesis xiii. 2-6: *ch.* xxiv. 35. So, too, with regard to Isaac (xvvi. 13, 14, 16) and to Jacob (xxx. 43). If these statements have been made with a view to indicate that opulence was the correlative result of El-Shaddai's action, they must be regarded as furnishing us with an authentic explanation of the import of that name. It may be noticed also that as appears from some of these passages, in time of trouble and distress both Isaac and Jacob invoked God as El-Shaddai. They must have known the nature of the attribute which it denoted. And on the other hand, it should be observed that in Genesis whatever the reason may be, the fact is, that so long there is no reference to tranquillity and abundance, this divine name is not used. Hence it would seem, so far as we may understand Scripture, that while El-Shaddai is well translated by 'Almighty,' nevertheless this word does not exhaust its meaning. The name connotes as the specific name of the exercise of omnipotence in regard to these patriarchs, the extraordinary favours alluded to, and, therefore, 'All-Bountiful' is included in its signification.

Still all this was but a faint foreshadowing of the future glory and greatness of their race. The patriarchs communed with God in secret, they received revelations in private; and by the world their quiet lives passed unnoticed. Later on there was an amazing change. The world was forced to attend. A countless multitude of Israelites, enriched with spoils, irresistible in might, went forth from Egypt. Their purpose was nothing less than to take possession of that fertile land, occupied hitherto by powerful tribes, in which their forefathers had dwelt as timid foreigners. And never before or since did a nation march on, so visibly protected by heaven, as did that chosen people. God had already wrought in Egypt unheard-of miracles for Israel's deliverance, the miracle of each day being successively surpassed by that of the next, till at length He could say

to the obdurate monarch:—‘Therefore, I upheld thee, that while showing thee My power, I might make My name known throughout the whole earth.’ The culmination of wonders was reached when Pharaoh and all his proud host perished, and the Israelites crossed over safely. Never before had God so shown His almighty power. In the history of such miracles there is nothing equal to that of the exodus. Yet new and still greater manifestations of power and of tenderest love were in store, nor did they cease till the Israelites entered into their inheritance, and God’s word was fulfilled to the letter. Hence He could say to Moses that He would presently reveal Himself as he had never done to the patriarchs.

When God says that He did not manifest Himself to the patriarchs as Jehova, we are not to take His words as if they meant that the patriarchs were unacquainted with the material name: the revelation signifies that they had not experience of its import such as fell to the lot of their descendants. This is shown by the parallelism that exists between the second part of the divine statement and the first, which regards the manifestation of Himself as El-Shaddai. In that one, as we have seen, there is reference not to mere verbal knowledge, but to an intimate, personal friendship with Him Whom it designated, so that the meaning of the word was to them a reality which profoundly influenced the whole course of their lives. It is the same here, there is question only of *real* knowledge. This is the interpretation given by Cajetan, Lyranus, Sixtus Senensis, Tostatus, Eugubinus, Vatable, Estius, Burgensis, Sonciet, Calmet, Jahn, Allioli, Welte, Bergier, Dereser, Du Clot, Michaelis, Dathe, Rosenmüller, Havernik, Hengstenberg, and others, in Reinke’s *Beiträge*, iii., pages 116, etc., and Reinke himself is of the same view.

There is in Ezechiel a passage which contains a direct allusion to this verse. Almighty God explains to the prophet as clearly as language can convey it, the meaning of what He revealed to Moses. He says (Ezechiel xx. 5): ‘In the day when I chose Israel, and lifted up My hand for the race of Jacob, and appeared to them

in the land of Egypt, and lifted up My hand for them, saying: I am the Lord (*i.e.*, *Jehova*) your God. In that day I lifted up My hand for them, to bring them out of the land of Egypt, into a land flowing with milk and honey,' etc. The following points of resemblance should be noticed:—(1) In this chapter, from verse 5 to verse 28, God is speaking to Ezechiel about the exodus. Then for the first time did God call Israel His firstborn.¹² Speaking now to Ezechiel God refers to His gracious adoption of Israel as His own: the verb *bachar* used here (in the day when *I chose*) is the very word used in Deuteronomy iv. 37, vii. 6, 7, x. 15, xiv. 2, etc.; the consecrated term to express that Israel was the chosen people. (2) 'To raise the hand' has, in almost every other one of the thirteen places where it occurs, the meaning of *to swear*, and according to Knabenbauer, Schmalzl, etc., it has that meaning here. But with all deference to these commentators it may be thought that another meaning which the same phrase has in Psalm x. 12, *viz.*, *to exert one's power* (Vulg., *Exaltetur manus tua*) is more appropriate here. The deliverance from Egypt, etc., is styled *par excellence* the work of God's strong hand.¹³ Where is the oath to deliver, and to give the land of Chanaan, was taken not at the time of the exodus, but long before it, *viz.*, to the patriarchs.¹⁴ We do not remember that there is even one text to show that God took an oath about this matter to anybody else. And in this chapter of Ezechiel, where the phrase in question occurs seven times, it seems in verses 15, 23, to imply the exercise of power, in account of the antithesis between these verses and verse 22, in which there evidently is an allusion to the exodus. But I turned away my hand, and wrought for my name's sake, that it might not be violated before the nations, out of which I brought them forth in their sight.' (3) For the word, 'I appeared,' which occur in Ezechiel and in Exodus, the original texts have the

¹² See Exod. iv. 22, 23: Osee xi. 1; Ps. cxiii. 1, 2.

¹³ Exod. iii. 19, xiii. 3, 9, 14, 16; Deut. v. 15, vi. 21, vii. 8, ix. 26, xxvi. 8; Dan. ix. 15.

¹⁴ Exod. vi. 8 (where 'I raised my hand' occurs), xiii. 5; Deut. i. 8, vi. 10, vii. 13, xviii. 23, etc.

much more significant expression, *nodati*='I made Myself known.' This use of the reflexive or middle voice precludes the attempt to make the name JEHOVA¹⁵ in the second half of the verse in Exodus, the object of the revelation. As Reinke well says:—

Hätte Jehova sagen wollen, dass er den Ervätern seinen Namen nicht bekannt gemacht habe und denselben selbst dem Namen nach unbekannt gewesen sei, so hätte er nicht '*Ich bin nicht bekannt geworden*' in Niphal, sondern '*Ich habe nicht anezeigt, belchrt, bekannt gemacht*,' in Hiphil sagen müssen (page 117).

It is also worthy of notice that the Hebrew text of Exodus indicated besides, that God made Himself known as *El-Shaddai* (in *Deo omnipotente*, Vulgate). The use of the

¹⁵ It was observed already (I. E. RECORD, March, 1903, p. 245) in the 'metaphysical interpretation' which we prefer, that the divine attribute connoted by the name 'Jehova' is that of necessary existence, or to use an expressive scholastic term 'aseitas.' 'Deus est ens a se.' By His own nature He exists, therefore He is One, Eternal, Immutable. As in Him essence and existence are identical, it follows that His 'existentia irrecepta,' to use another scholastic expression, is absolute and infinite perfection, or what is called 'actus purus.' The question in Scripture may well be asked:—'Domine Deus virtutum, quis similis tibi?' HE IS WHO IS: *creatures are what are not*. As St. Augustine says:—'Esse est nomen incommutabilitatis. Omnia enim quae mutantur, desinunt esse quod erant, et incipiunt esse quod non erant. Esse verum, esse sincerum, esse germanum non habet, nisi qui non mutatur. Ille habet esse, cui dicitur: "mutabis ea et mutabuntur, tu autem idem ipse es." Quid est "ego sum qui sum," nisi aeternus sum? Quid est "ego sum qui sum," nisi mutari non possum?'

The sublime revelation which He made respecting His unalterable nature in Exodus iii. 15:—'I AM WHO AM (*Ehjah asher ejhah*);—thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, HE WHO IS (Jehova) sent me to you,' is repeated in Malachi iii. 6, where He says. 'I am Jehova, I change not.' The Hebrew which is literally translated here, is even more concise and forcible than the Vulgate, 'Ego enim Dominus, et non mutor.' In the context preceding He had referred to His Incarnation ('Behold I send my angel before my face,' etc.), which was foretold of old by the prophets, and ardently desired now by the people, as most certainly to be accomplished in the near future. The pledge He gives of the fulfilment of His absolute promise is the immutability expressed by His name. He is *verax in dicendo*, because He is *verax in essendo*. There is a similar explanation of the name Jehova in Osee xii. 5. The words are—'Even Jehova-Elohim of Sabaoth, Jehova is His memorial' (*Vulg. Dominus Deus exercituum, Dominus memoriale ejus.*) Sept.

In the context the prophet has just referred to the wondrous promises made to the patriarch Jacob at Phanuel and at Bethel, and has ended the description with the remark (verse 4), 'and there He (*i.e.*, God) spoke to us.' Now he proceeds to show why the fulfilment of these divine promises was to be expected with absolute certainty by himself and his contemporaries. He appeals to the omnipotence of God ('Dominus Deus exercituum') in order to prove that He could keep His promises, and to the infinite fidelity of God consequent on His immutability ('Dominus memoriale ejus') in order to prove

Hebrew word for 'in' here corresponds precisely to an idiomatic use of 'en' in French ('agir en père,' 'penser en citoyen'), so the divine words could not be translated better than by, 'Je me fis connaître en Dieu Tout—puissant.' Obviously they mean not verbal, but real revelation, and so confirm the explanation already given.

Du Clot says well :—

Cela veut dire, que Dieu ne s'était pas manifesté à ces saints patriarches sous cette signification particulière; qu'il ne s'était pas fait connaître jusqu'alors *comme fidèle à remplir ses promesses*: c'est à dire, je n'ai pas encore rempli la promesse que je leur avais faite de retirer de l'Égypte leur postérité, et de lui donner la terre de Chanaan; c'est à dire ils ne m'ont regardé jusqu'à présent que comme capable, par non pouvoir, de remplir

that He will keep them. The *omnipotentia veritatis* or formal motive of the truth of hope is thus mentioned from the theological standpoint, the demonstration is complete and perfect, and it is no less so from the exegetical. Jehova means precisely what is here given as its explanation. The memorial, or characteristic name (Heb. יהוה, Sept. ὁ δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ἐστὶ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ) Jehova, by which God was known to His people implied unchangeable veracity. Our readers need not to be reminded that Osee here refers to Exodus iii. 15 where God speaking of His own most sacred title, Jehova, says:—'This is my name for ever, and this my memorial (יהוה, μνημόσυνον) unto all generations.' God thus gives His incommunicable name as the guerdon or pledge of the performance of His word. As elsewhere He swears by Himself, so here He calls Himself, Jehova. Those to whom He has explained the import of the Name know what He means to convey by it, and it is His will that by it He should be remembered for ever. There is a beautiful passage in Job (xxxi. 31), where the pious say :—('Domine, sustinuiimus te); nomen tuum et memoriale tuum in desiderio animae.' Ps. cxxxiv. 13 may also be quoted :—'Domine, nomen tuum in eternum; Domine, memoriale tuum in generationem et generationem.' Both passages exhibit the same idea in connection with the name Jehova. The verse of the Psalm is especially relevant, because the verses that precede (8-12) describe the fulfilment of the promise made to the Patriarchs about the deliverance from Egypt and the taking possession of Palestine.

If we turn at last to the New Testament, we find that the same divine explanation is repeated in it. Of God, the apostle St. James emphatically says :—'παρ' ὧς ἐν παραλλαγῇ ἡ τροπὴ ἀποσκαυμαί.' We read also in Heb. xiii. 8, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today, and for ever.' This is equivalent to a declaration of His divinity or to a declaration that the name Jehova belongs to Him. The verse is solemnly explained by Hebraists: 'Ceterum definitas ejus incommutabilitatem plenam, immutabilem esse, probat, quod ille, cui neque futuri quibdam aliquid materiam finem, quanyo aliquid ejus totum est et cinper est, nec hope mutabilitatem.' And as is well known, the incommunicable name Jehova is part of the adorable name Jesus, the uncontracted form of which would be Jehova-Shua=Divine Saviour. This explanation was given by the angel to St. Joseph: 'Thou shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins.'

les promesses que je leur avais faites ; mais dans la suite je me ferai connaître à eux sous la relation de *Jehova*, ou comme executant ce que je leur avais promis. C'est ce qui est clairement expliqué dans les versets 4, 5, et 6 du chapitre iii. de l'Exode, où Dieu dit, entre autres choses, à Moïse : Dites aux enfans d'Israel : ' Je suis *Jehova*, c'est moi qui vous tirerai de la prison des Egyptiens,' etc., et au chapitre vii. 7. ' Les Egyptiens apprendront que je suis *Jehova*, après que j'aurai étendu ma main sur l'Egypte, et que j'aurai retiré les enfans d'Israel,' etc.

It may be added that the same expression, ' to make men know that I am *Jehova*,' is used similarly in vii. 17, viii. 22, x. 2, xiv. 4, 18. It is also found in *Isaïas* xlv. 3, xlix. 23, 26, etc., and in the *Psalter*, ix. 17, xlvii. 4, lxxv. 1.

It is surely not a question about mere acquaintance with a word of three syllables. To know the name '*Jehova*' does not mean ability to point it out in a spelling-book, nor the possession of information regarding it such as might be given in a foot-note. To imagine this would be absurd and irreverent. Almighty God was not a schoolmaster, nor were the three patriarchs children learning to read. Can any more futile objection be conceived than the one on which the rationalists rely ? Their very notion of God's dealings with man implied by it betrays the shallowness and ignorance inseparable from higher criticism. There is more in Scripture than the critics dream of ; those who find fault with it are punished by not being allowed to see its meaning even where it is clearest. The expression in question, as we saw above, means to have experimental knowledge of what is signified by a name : in other words, to have what Newman calls *real* apprehension, as distinct from *notional*. What would the rationalists make out of passages such as these : ' Let them trust in Thee who know Thy name ; for Thou hast not forsaken them that seek thee, O, Lord ; '¹⁶ or, ' Because he hoped in Me I will deliver him ; I will protect him, because he hath known My name.'¹⁷

The meaning cannot be what the critics maintain, unless there be a palpable contradiction between *Genesis* and *Exodus*. The one book repeatedly affirms (as we saw above)

¹⁶ Ps. ix. 11.

¹⁷ Ps. xc. 14.

and the other emphatically denies (as the critics say here) that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were acquainted with the name. Let it be observed that here we are not engaged in proving that there is no contradiction in Scripture, nor in showing that the explanation above given of the phrase 'to know the name' is the correct one; we abstract from both for the present. What we ask our readers to consider is this, is it not incredible that any man in his senses, any editor with a regard for his own reputation, should do what the critics say that the 'Redactor' of the Pentateuch did? Is it not impossible, that he first quoted alleged utterances of the patriarchs in which the name occurs, and then quoted a statement to the effect that they never heard it?

And their theory is as much at variance with Exodus as it is with Genesis. The narrative in Exodus¹⁸ shows, we think, three things conclusively—viz., that the name Jehova was known to the Israelites before Moses received his mission to deliver them; secondly, that Moses was previously unacquainted with the name; thirdly, that the Israelites were certain that he was unacquainted with it. In support of the first statement, it would be sufficient to point out that the name of Moses' own mother was Jochabed.¹⁹ It is, of course, the short form of Jehochabed or יְהוֹכָבֶד, and means 'Jehova is my glory.' As a matter of course, the higher critics are ready with a higher critical solution, Wellhausen and Co. deny that this was her name. It would upset their theory. In confirmation, however, of what has been said, we may add from other parts of Scripture that though while in Egypt the Israelites could not offer sacrifice to Jehova,²⁰ and even though they fell into the crime of worshipping the gods of the Egyptians,²¹ nevertheless they retained the knowledge of the true God, for when the Egyptians persecuted them 'they cried unto Jehova.'²²

With regard to the second statement, it must be admitted that we have not equally complete and categorical proofs, but the following few remarks may fairly claim to be an endeavour

¹⁸ iii. 13, vi. 20.

¹⁹ Exod. vi. 20.

²⁰ Exod. viii. 26.

²¹ Josue xxiv. 14; Ezech. xx. 7.

²² Deut. xxvi. 7; *cf.* Exod. iii. 7.

to show the true bearing of one thing on another, and thus to account for the facts narrated. We read in Exodus iii. 13: 'Moses said to God: Lo, I shall go to the children of Israel, and say to them: The God (Elohim) of your fathers has sent me to you. If they should say to me: What is his name? What shall I say to them?' Moses evidently knew that God was speaking, if he knew also His proper and peculiar name he would not have asked it. The explanation appears to be this. Moses, brought up at Pharaoh's court, educated apart from his own kith and kin, was, indeed, instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, but he had never heard the Hebrew people's most sacred word, Jehova. His Egyptian teachers could not have told it him, even though they read out the long catalogue of those deities whom their nation adored. And Pharaoh himself was presumably as well informed about the Israelite belief as his native subjects were, yet we find that when Moses came to him and delivered his message, Pharaoh said: 'Who is Jehova? I know not Jehova' (v. 2). He must have been aware that some at least of the Israelites sacrificed to his *gods*, but he was surprised at being told that they had a God of their own, whose name even he had never before heard. While, as we saw above, some at least of the chosen people remained faithful in praying to the one true God, they may very well have preserved a *disciplina arcani* relative to His name; in which case there was as little risk of Pharaoh's learning about Jehova, as there was long afterwards of a pagan Roman emperor's learning anything about the mysteries of Christianity. It does not affect the question, so far as Moses is concerned, even to say that his mother's name was Jochabed; to traverse the second statement by means of this objection it would be necessary to prove that Moses knew his mother's name and the meaning of it.

With reference to the third statement, it may be observed that in iii. 12, the verse immediately preceding the one quoted in the last paragraph, God spontaneously gave Moses a sign whereby he himself would know that the mission he had received was divine. 'I will be with thee, and this thou shalt have for a sign that I have sent thee: When thou shalt have brought My people out of Egypt, thou shalt sacrifice to

God upon this mountain.' But that was not enough. There was still an insuperable difficulty about the Hebrew people. How were they to be convinced that Moses, an Egyptian in everything save his parentage, was sent to them by God? A further sign, a sign to them, was indispensable. Moses ventured to suggest it. If God, who was speaking to him, and calling Himself 'Elohim'²³ (a name applicable even to the idols of Egypt), would only vouchsafe to manifest His incommunicable name, the name known to the Hebrews--and Moses felt that there must be some such title--that name would be the password. His knowledge of it would be an irresistible proof of his being the appointed deliverer, because a revelation must have been made to him of the name guarded so sacredly by the Israelite *disciplina arcani*. And God Himself admitted, so to speak, the reasonableness of the condition proposed, declared His own name, JEHOVĀ, and, moreover, explained its meaning. God did so by uttering the words, *Ehjah aster ehjeh*, 'I AM WHO AM.' It was necessary to do so, for at the time of Moses the verb '*havah*,' from which Jahveh comes, had become obsolete, and the current form was '*hajah*.' '*Jahveh*' (which we mispronounce as Jeh-va, see L. E. RICHARD) is the third person singular of the continuous tense: '*Ehjah*' is the first person singular of the same tense of '*hajah*.' Even though Moses knew what was then *modern* Hebrew, it is evident that before God taught him he did not understand the archaic form Havah. As we learn from Genesis iv. 26, the name Jahveh (Jehovah), which is *identical* with *יהוה* as old as Adam's grandson, Enos.

This verbal explanation was necessary for most authorities, on the contrary, there is nothing to indicate that when he delivered his message the people required to be told the signification of the word. If there was a catechism class, every child knew it. But to return to Moses, who had been taught in an Egyptian school. The record shows that God regarded the knowledge now imparted of His name as credentials sufficient for His envoy. In verse 16 He gives

²³ See verse 6: 'I am the God (Elohim) of thy father, the God (Elohim) of Abraham, the God (Elohim) of Isaac, the God (Elohim) of Jacob.

him this command :—‘Go, gather together the ancients of Israel, and say to them, the Lord God (Jehova Elohim) of your fathers has appeared to me.’ And then in verse 18 He says :—‘And they shall hear thy voice.’ From this it is certain that the people would accept Moses’ knowledge of the word Jehova, as an indubitable sign of a divine mission, which of course they would not do unless they were sure that he had not got his information from men. It is indeed true that Moses afterwards demurs ; and that God gives him two more signs and the promise of a third, but when notwithstanding all this confirmation Moses still attempts to shirk the task imposed, he does not plead that his knowledge of the name would not be deemed sufficient proof. He could not say that. In fact, as we learn from verse 30, the first proof which Aaron did give of his brother’s divine mission was the ‘words which Jehova had said ;’ then we read in verse 31, ‘And the people believed.’ Their doing so is a proof of their conviction that Moses was previously unacquainted with the name.

In conclusion, it may be said, that these proofs of the antiquity of the sacred name, and the explanation of these passages of Exodus (vi. 2, 3, etc.), are not affected even by the most recent development of higher criticism.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

DUTY OF THE EXECUTOR OF A WILL IN REGARD TO A BEQUEST FOR MASSES

REV. DEAR SIR, May I ask if the executor to a priest's will can give out of money bequeathed for Masses for testator's soul a higher honorarium than the fixed diocesan honorarium, having regard to the circumstances that (1) the testator did not mention the honorarium; (2) that the executor is in the habit of giving more than the diocesan honorarium himself; (3) that executor might not know how he could conveniently have the Masses celebrated at the diocesan honorarium?

QUEST.

The reasons assigned do not justify an executor in exceeding the amount of the honorarium fixed by diocesan statute in respect of bequests for Masses. 'The testator did not mention the [amount of the] honorarium.' Quite so; and that is just the case, and the only case, meant to be covered by the diocesan law regarding bequests for Masses. Again, 'the executor is in the habit of giving more than the diocesan honorarium'; but, the generosity of the executor is no measure of the intention of the testator. Finally, the executor does not 'know how he could conveniently have the Masses celebrated at the diocesan honorarium.' It is scarcely conceivable that the 'diocesan honorarium,' fixed by a statute still operative, should stand at an impossible figure.

It would be more to the purpose, if it could be shown with certainty, that the testator intended—though he did not express that intention in his will—to allow a larger honorarium than that mentioned in the diocesan law. For the object of the diocesan law is, not to override the known intention of the testator, but to provide for the case in which the testator's intention is unknown. The burden of proof, however, lies on the executor, who wishes to increase the honorarium. And in the present instance, the presumption against such an increase is particularly strong. For, the testator, being a priest, may be

assumed to have known the diocesan law. If he did know the law, his silence regarding the amount of the honorarium would seem to indicate a desire to avail himself of any advantage which that law conferred.

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS: MAY THE BISHOP DISPENSE WHEN HE HIMSELF OR THE PERSON DISPENSED IS OUTSIDE THE DIOCESE?

REV. DEAR SIR,—There are two points that I would wish to get answered in the I. E. RECORD.

The first point has reference to dispensations in the Impediments of Matrimony. If the Bishop and the persons who are about to get married happen to be out of the diocese when the Bishop grants the dispensation, is the dispensation valid? What if the sponser or sponsa alone is absent?

VICARUS.

When a bishop dispenses, whether by ordinary or delegated jurisdiction, in a matrimonial impediment, it is not *per se* necessary that either the bishop dispensing, or his subject receiving the dispensation, should be within the confines of the bishop's diocese. In delegating faculties, however, the Holy See sometimes inserts a provision, that the faculties granted cannot be exercised by a bishop, outside his diocese—'*nec illis uti possit extra fines suae diocesis.*' This restriction is expressly attached to the faculties granted to the Irish Bishops in the *Formula VI*. But it should be noted that delegated jurisdiction in regard to matrimonial impediments is not always subject to this limitation. It has been expressly decided, that the faculty to dispense is not to be deemed subject to this local restriction, '*nisi [clausula restrictiva] fuerit expressa vel aliter constet de mente summi Pontificis, vel nisi subjecta materia eam requirat.*'¹ The only case, therefore, in which a bishop granting a matrimonial dispensation is subject to a local restriction in the exercise of his power over his subjects is when 1^o he dispenses in virtue of delegated jurisdiction; and when, 2^o, it is further required, expressly or impliedly, that the jurisdiction be exercised *intra fines diocesis*.

Let us take some examples of episcopal dispensations. The following dispensations granted by a bishop will be valid, even though both the bishop and the person dispensed be outside

¹ S. Officii, 22 Nov., 1865.

the diocese: a dispensation in an episcopal prohibition (*ecclesiae cultum*) against a particular marriage; in unreserved vows, e.g., a vow not to marry, a vow to enter a religious congregation; in the proclamation of bans; a dispensation *ad restituendum jus amissum petendi debitum*; in case of a doubtful impediment; a dispensation granted *in articulo mortis* in virtue of the faculties granted in 1888 to all bishops to dispense persons who have contracted a civil marriage, or are living in concubinage; a dispensation in an occult impediment *extra articulum mortis*, but in urgent necessity. In these cases, the bishop dispenses *jure ordinario vel quasi-ordinario*; or if he dispenses *jure delegato* the exercise of his faculty is not restricted to his own diocese.

On the other hand, a dispensation granted by a bishop outside his diocese is invalid, if the use of his faculty to dispense be restricted to his own diocese. But what precisely is meant by saying that delegated faculties to dispense cannot be exercised by the bishop outside his diocese, '*non ut uti possit extra præs. diocesis*.' It implies two things, 1^o, that the person dispensed must be, for the purpose of marriage, a subject of the bishop, i.e., the person must have a domicile or a quasi-domicile in his diocese, or else the person must be a vagus; 2^o, the person dispensed must be actually in the diocese at the moment the dispensation is granted.² It is not necessary that the bishop should be in his diocese when he grants the dispensation. Nor, is it necessary that the marriage should be contracted in the diocese; once the dispensation is validly granted the marriage may be validly contracted anywhere.

When, therefore, a bishop dispenses, in virtue of faculties derived from the Formula VI., in the impediment of consanguinity, affinity, public propriety, crime, or spiritual relationship, it is necessary and sufficient for validity, as far as the point under consideration is concerned, that the person dispensed is a subject of the bishop who dispenses, and is within the confines of that bishop's diocese at the time the dispensation is granted. It is neither necessary nor sufficient that the bishop himself should be in his diocese when he grants the dispensation.

² Vide, *Collectanea P. Fide*, n. 1432.

DE FOETIBUS BAPTIZANDIS: DUTIES OF PRIESTS, THE
PHYSICIANS, ETC.

The same correspondent writes:—

The second point has reference to the baptism of a foetus. What is considered the best method of baptizing in such a case at the present day? O'Kane, *On the Rubrics*, gives one way; Lehmkuhl, without mentioning others, gives another. How is a P.P. to instruct his parishioners in this difficult matter, and under what obligation? What about his C.C.? You., etc.,

VICARIUS.

Taking our correspondent's two main questions in his own order, we shall say something first as to the method recommended for administering baptism in the cases to which he refers, and then we shall add a few words as to the way in which priests can best fulfil their obligation of imparting instruction to those who need it.

As Lehmkuhl points out in treating of this matter,¹ no great difficulty is likely to be experienced regarding the baptism of an immature foetus ejected during the later months of gestation,

Foetus abortivos [he writes]² qui post quintum mensem a conceptione eduntur baptizandos esse, non facile ignoratur; at etiam relate ad eos monendae omnino sunt matres alique, ad quos cura spectat, ne propter aliqua signa, quæ mortem foetus indicare videantur, baptismus conditionatus omitatur. Nam vix aliud signum *certum* mortis habetur, nisi *ipsa putrefactio*: neque putrefactionem *tantum incipientem* pro certæ mortis indicio haberi posse, viri periti testantur.

The practical rule in such a case, therefore, for anyone who cannot claim to have the skill of an experienced physician is, without a moment's delay, to baptise the foetus, unless it already shows evident signs of decomposition. The foetus may die at any moment and reverence for the sacrament does not impose an obligation of making an investigation likely to be fruitless in any case, but certainly perilous to the spiritual life of the foetus. Of course, the baptism will be administered

¹ *Theol. Mor.*, ii., n. 74.

² *Loc. cit.*

absolutely or conditionally, according as there is certainty or only a probability that the foetus is living.

Greater difficulty regarding baptism is to be expected in the earlier months of gestation.

Foetus abortivi [continues the same author] qui prioribus temporibus, maxime in primis ipsis hebdomadis forte editur, baptismus ut male negligatur, facile accidere potest. Hac in re etiam matres moneri debent.

In the first place, it will not be always evident whether one has got to deal with a real foetus. In this connection, Marc³ says:—

Nequaquam baptizare debet mola carnea seu falsum germen. Fetus homo discernitur a mola in eo quod fetus apparet membrana circumdatus, quae est subalbi coloris, similis intestinis, figurae ovalis, et quae digito tacta mollescit et cedit: mola vero apparet caro informis, sanguinei vel varii coloris, ad tactum dura.

Here again, it is well to say, that in case of doubt ('utrum sit foetus aut mola carnea') baptism should be conferred, but, of course, conditionally.

But it is asked: 'What is the best method of baptizing in such a case?' In these earlier months of gestation, the ejected foetus will, in many cases, be found still completely enveloped in a membrane, and it was freely disputed among the theologians whether it is sufficient for a valid baptism that the water flow upon this membrane, or whether it is necessary that the membrane should be removed, in order that the water should touch the foetus enclosed. Many held it is sufficient, or probably sufficient, that the water should flow upon the membrane: and, further, they recommended that baptism should, in the first instance, be administered conditionally, without opening the membrane, lest the foetus might die the moment it was exposed to the air and before it could be re-baptised conditionally. Fr. O'Kane,⁴ with many others, adopted this view. Among more recent writers, Marc⁵ and Eschbach⁶ favour the same method. With such

³ *Institutiones Morales*, tom. ii., n. 1469, edit. octavo 1896.

⁴ *Notes on the Rubrics*, n. 212.

⁵ *Instit. Theol.*, ii., n. 1469.

⁶ *Disputationes Physiologico-Theologicae*, 2 edit. 1901, p. 320.

reputable authority against him no one will venture to assert that a baptism conferred in this manner is certainly invalid, and that, therefore, the method suggested should never be followed. At the same time, there would seem to be no real ground for regarding this membrane as a part of the foetus, and if that be so, there can scarcely be a shadow of probability that the baptism would be valid.

Not without reason, therefore, many recent writers omit all reference to the conditional baptism of the foetus while still enclosed in the membrane. To secure a valid baptism without hastening the death of the foetus, they suggest the following method. They recommend, 1°. that tepid water be used, *i.e.*, if it be at hand; 2°. that the membrane enclosing the foetus be wholly immersed in the water by the person baptising; 3°. that the membrane, while in the water, be cautiously torn, so that the liquid contained in the membrane may pass off, and that the whole foetus itself may be in contact with the water;⁷ 4°. Lehmkuhl and others add 'ut *securius* agas, dicens formam foetum *et* immerge in aquam *et* ex ea extrahe.'

This method is recommended by Capellman,⁸ Lehmkuhl,⁹ Genicot,¹⁰ Noldin,¹¹ and other recent writers, and it seems, from every point of view, satisfactory.

If the foetus is not found enveloped in the membrane, there should be no difficulty in administering baptism in the ordinary way, using tepid water, however, if it be available.

So much for the method of administering baptism. But, as a rule, no priest will be present in these emergencies, and the sacrament must be conferred by a lay person, often by the doctor or nurse in attendance.

The parish priest and the curates who share with him the *cura animarum* in the parish are certainly bound, under pain of grave sin, to see that those whose duty it may be to baptise in these critical cases know, when and how this sacrament

⁷ 'Quod si ita fiat etiam vitabitur accedentis aeris appulsi embryonem quem nonnulli adeo timent.' Capellman, *Medicina Pastoralis*, p. 113, note.

Medicina Pastoralis, edit. latina tertia, p. 115.

⁹ *Theologia Moralis*, ii., n. 74, note.

¹⁰ *Theologia Moralis*, ii., n. 141.

¹¹ *De Sacramentis*, n. 67, d. 1901.

should be conferred. If there be any room for thinking—and there often will be—that nurses or doctors do not realise their obligations, or do not know how to fulfil them, it will be the priest's duty to find an opportunity of giving them the requisite instructions. With Catholic nurses and doctors in this country, the case should be extremely rare in which a priest cannot succeed in doing this part of his duty. Even non-Catholics can often be approached on this subject with profit. All persons concerned should, therefore, be made to understand clearly that a foetus should be baptised—no matter how short the period of gestation—unless it is beyond all doubt that life is extinct. Nurses should be specially warned against too readily assuming that the foetus is not living. Finally, doctors and nurses alike might require instruction as to the best manner of securing a valid baptism.

It is, of course, very desirable that mothers themselves also should be instructed in these matters. But a priest will have no opportunity of directly conveying instruction to them, unless, perhaps, they expressly ask for guidance *ex officio*. As a rule, the necessary instructions must reach the mother through the nurse and the doctor. Needless to say a priest cannot refer to this question, unless in the most general terms, in his sermons or instructions to the faithful generally.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

OFFICE FOR THE DEAD

REV. DEAR SIR,—I am obliged for a reply to the following question:—

A man died on Good Friday, after an ordinary illness. There was no danger of contagion connected with the case. He was buried on Easter Sunday. Could the office, etc., be held on Easter Monday in these circumstances?

PETERBURY.

The Office and Mass cannot be held on Easter Monday in the hypothesis contemplated. Here is the Decree bearing on the subject:—

Quod si ex civili refugio aut morbo contagioso aut alia gravi

causa, cadaver in Ecclesia praesens esse nequeat imo etsi terrae jam mandatum fuerit, praefata missa celebrari quoque poterit in altero ex duobus ab obitu diebus immediate sequentibus. eodem prorsus modo ac si cadaver esset praesens.¹

Now, Easter Monday is the *third* day from the death, and besides the absence of the remains from the church is not due to any of the causes contemplated in the Decree—causes which would be regarded as sufficient to constitute the remains as present *fictione juris*, though actually absent. But perhaps, in virtue of the privileges enjoyed by the *third* day after death or interment the Mass may be said on Easter Monday? It cannot, because the day in question, being a double of the second class and within a privileged octave, is one of those on which the solemn Requiem Mass granted in favour of the third, seventh, and thirtieth days, is forbidden.

PERMISSION TO ERECT STATIONS OF THE CROSS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly give your opinion on a very practical question connected with the excellent and fruitful devotion of the Stations of the Cross?

It is generally agreed—in fact, certain—that the ‘permission’ to erect the Stations of the Cross must be given *in writing*.

Must the ‘asking’ for permission—the *supplicatio*—be also *in writing*, or will it do *viva voce*? Lambing seems to say that it should be in writing, but I find that Putzer distinctly states that it may be *viva voce* (page 362).

Also I have heard it discussed and doubted whether a proper attestation in writing *after* the erection is necessary, or otherwise, for the validity of the erection. The words of Lambing would seem, likewise, to require this; but Putzer is decidedly of opinion that such attestation is necessary only as proof of the erection, and not for the validity. (See page 363, *statim, non de valore, sed ne dubium postea oriatur, etc., etc.*)

Furthermore, even admitting that Putzer’s opinion is only probable on these points, and that there is also a probable opinion for the contrary view, would a priest who acted on Putzer’s opinion have secured a valid erection?

Though I consider he would, as the requirement is only of *ecclesiastical law*, still I should wish to have your decision on it for the guidance of myself and others.

¹ Dec. Cong. Sac. Rit., Dec. Gen., 2 Dec., 1891.

2°. The making of the sign of the Cross over beads, etc., etc., by a priest empowered with faculties is *sufficient* to impart to the a the Apostolic indulgences. Is the forming of the sign of the Cross *necessary*? Or would any other sign or action, at the will of the priest, be *sufficient*? I have heard the latter view maintained.

A SUBSCRIBER.

I. The permission to erect the Stations of the Cross must be granted in writing under pain of nullity, but there is no solid reason for thinking that the same remark applies to the application, or to the subsequent attestation or *provis-verbal* as it is called. We have not seen Lamläng, who maintains the contrary opinion, but we regard Putzer as a higher authority. This opinion, put forward by Putzer, is supported by Maurel,² who quotes in favour of the first part a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, dated January 27th, 1838:—'Quamquam in scriptis, ac de consensu ordinarii, et loci patroni optanda sit petitio, tamen si oretenus, sub poena nullitatis negative.' Similarly, Berninger³ seems to hold the same view. He does not state it so explicitly, but while he carefully mentions all the formalities that are to be *in writing* under pain of nullity, he says nothing in this connection about the asking for permission, so that we may regard his silence on this point as a proof that he did not believe the condition of a written application to be essential for validity. Then there are reasons why there should be an authentic record of the authorization to erect the Stations which do not apply to the petition, and the existence of this document would afford proof in itself, if such proof were needed, that the request was formally made. As to the *provis-verbal*, its formal execution in writing after the erection does not appear to be necessary for the validity. In the first place it need not be formulated at once,⁴ so that the Stations will remain validly erected for some time in the beginning at any rate. And, moreover, the object of this attestation is to afford evidence, in case of doubts that may afterwards arise, that the erection was carried out with due regard to all the necessary formalities.

² *Indulgences*, p. 151.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i.

⁴ Dec. Auth. Sac. Cong. Ind., 10th Feb., 1844.

Assuming that the opinion we advocate is *merely probable*, we do not think that a priest who acted on it would have secured a valid erection. The requirement, indeed, of which there is question is a detail of ecclesiastical law, but then it concerns the validity or non-validity of a certain action, and there is no guarantee that the Church will make good the defect of a condition that is essential, if it be really wanting, even though authors hold it is not necessary. On the contrary the exact fulfilment of all the substantial requirements is rigidly insisted on, and the omission of any one of them, from any cause whatever, is generally held to invalidate the indulgence. We feel that Putzer's opinion is not merely probable, but practically certain. At the same time, to make assurance doubly sure, when there is question of the validity of an act on which so much depends, we would recommend our correspondent to follow the 'opinio tutissima,' and have all the details, which are even doubtfully requisite, fulfilled to the letter.

II. In imparting the Apostolic Indulgences to beads, crosses, etc., the priest may bless them simply by making the sign of the Cross, without using any form of words. In every blessing there are two things, the intention of doing something sacred, and the external act expressive of the internal. For this reason the sign of the Cross, or an attempt at making it, seems necessary. The same appears to be the view of Beringer,⁵ where he says:—

S'il s'agit d'appliquer à des objets de piété les *Indulgences Apostoliques* . . . il suffit qu'on fasse de la main un signe de croix sur les objets à indulgencer, et qu'on ait l'intention de les bénir et de leur appliquer les Indulgences.

P. MORRISROE.

⁵ *Les Indulgences*, vol. i., p. 329.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NEBULAR THEORY AND DIVINE REVELATION

REV. DEAR SIR, Too often when a letter opens with a compliment a fear is engendered that there will lurk *a sting in the tail*. Happily, as this does not characterise Father Nicholas Murphy's letter dealing with my recent article on the Nebular Hypothesis, and as also, between the head and the tail, it seems singularly free from any captious spirit or from that too common weakness of acrimoniously *going for* a writer, it affords me pleasure to notice the *various* points raised by your able and estimable correspondent. I say various, because, short as his welcome letter is, no fewer than four points are brought under the notice of your readers.

For, after hailing my contribution in kind and gracious terms, the worthy P.P. of Kilmanagh says :—

1°. That 'he does not understand how the term *revolving* can, in any sense, help to define the nature of a planet';

2°. That as many dark bodies . . . are supposed to be extinct suns . . . 'may our sun then be described as a planet?'

3°. That, as great astronomers admit that 'final proof' can never be more than a speculation, and cannot be proved by calculation . . . the 'votaries' of Astronomy 'should not run away with their theories so much'; and

4°. That, 'if mistakes may be made about stars, how can we make sure of the nature and genesis of the Nebulæ?'

In reply to the first objection, I do not hesitate to acknowledge that I am a staunch believer, along with *all* modern astronomers, in the heliocentric system; the system which was first mooted by Pythagoras (B.C. 500), supported by Aristarchus (B.C. 150), reaffirmed and propounded by Copernicus (A.D. 1500), to be confirmed soon after by Galileo, proved by Sir Isaac Newton in 1642, and set forth in my article, 'Is Our Earth Alone Inhabited?' (I. E. RECORD, Nov., 1902, pages 437 and 438.)

Neither does this scientific truth in any way militate against the other truth that the sun and all his planets have *conjointly* a

PROPER motion towards a certain point ; but not, as your very reverend correspondent affects, and Sir W. Herschel held, towards the star Lambda in Hercules. (See *Ibid*, page 427, with its foot-note 22, and page 428.)

2°. In reply to No. 2. What will be the circumstances of our sun when he has become extinct and ceased to be a self-luminous and heat radiating star I have not ventured to conjecture in any of my articles ; and I am not aware that I even attempted to enter such a vicious circle as to inculcate that nebulae produce stars, stars produce planets, and cold planets by collision become nebulae again. I neither challenge this opinion, nor champion it.

3°. Under the third point we have a glimmering of censure. However, I am glad to be able to say *concedo totum* ; and, in support of this rejoinder, I can refer Father Murphy to my article in question, where, in the concluding paragraph of the first part, I quoted more fully than he does the words of the great French astronomer, ‘ It can never be more than a *speculation* ; it cannot be established by *observation* ; nor can it be proved by *calculation*. It is merely conjecture, more or less plausible.’ (I. E. RECORD, April, 1903, page 349.) To give this opinion the greater strength I even italicised the pregnant words. I am sure Father Murphy will not require, either in astronomical or theological opinions, theories or hypotheses, *decisive* proofs or *certitude*. A theory, however sound, is but a theory still.

4°. To No. 4, I can again say, *concedo totum*.¹ Mistakes will ever happen, even in matters much more important than stars ; and without much call upon humility, I will ask the reverend pastor of Kilmanagh to believe that no one could deem himself more fallible than

Your obedient servant in Christ,

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

Dublin, May 7, 1903.

DR. RICHARD O'CONNELL, BISHOP OF KERRY

REV. DEAR SIR,—In Father Denis O'Connor's interesting article on the Life and Labours of Bishop O'Connell, of Ardfert and Aghadoe, it is stated definitely that the great Kerry prelate

¹ If the term Nebulae here signifies the theory which Laplace built upon them.

was educated in Spain, and returned home in 1603. Surely, it must have escaped the writer's notice that Dr. O'Connell also studied at Bordeaux—a fact which is amply proved by the Carew manuscripts. The future Bishop was certainly at Bordeaux in 1602, when he was given a viaticum to go on the Irish Mission, his name appearing as 'P. Richard O'Connell, prestre theologien, Ardferien.' His contemporary, Father Maurice O'Connell, o.s.a., was also at Bordeaux.

Incidentally, it is mentioned that Father Thaddeus Moriarty, o.p., was martyred in 1652. This event happened on October 15th, 1653. Father O'Connor gives 'Fair Hill,' Killarney, as the *place* of his execution. Cardinal Moran, quoting from the Rinuccini MSS., gives the place name as 'Sheep-Hill,' the translated form of 'colliculo ovium.'

Finally, as against the tradition quoted by Archdeacon Lynch, and given as authentic by Father O'Connor, that Bishop O'Connell was interred in 'the old Cathedral Church at Aghadoe,' the Rinuccini papers state that the saintly Bishop was buried in the Franciscan Churchyard of Loch Lein. Another source gives a different version, and it is added that the Bishop was interred in the same grave as Father Francis O'Sullivan, Provincial of the Franciscans (who was martyred on June 23rd, 1653), in the little-known cemetery on Scariff Island, not far from Derrynane.—Yours very faithfully,

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

May 11th, 1903.

DOCUMENT

CONFRATERNITY OF THE GIRDLE OF OUR LADY OF
CONSOLATION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM
SUMMARIUM INDULGENTIARUM ARCHICONFRATERNITATI CINCITURAE
B. M. V. MATRIS CONSOLATIONIS S. AUGUSTINI ET S. MONICAE
CONCESSARUM.

I.

Indulgentiae Plenariae.

Omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus vere poenitentibus,
confessis ac Synaxi reffectis :

1. Die quo nomen dederint Archiconfraternitati. Omnibus
sodalibus :

2. In festo Nativitatis

3. Epiphaniae

4. Paschatis

5. Adscensionis

6. In solemnitate Corporis Christi.

7. In festo Pentecostes.

8. In festo Nativitatis

9. Annuntiationis

10. Purificationis

11. Assumptionis

12. Immaculatae Conceptionis

13. In festo B. M. V. Matris Consolationis.

14. S. Michaëlis Archangeli.

15. S. Ioannis Baptistae.

16. S. Iosephi Sponsi B. M. V.

17. SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

18. S. Augustini Ep. et Doct.

19. S. Monicae Vid.

20. Omnium Sanctorum.

21. In Commemoratione fidelium defunctorum Ordinis S.
Augustini et Confraternitatis, iis tantum applicabilis.

22. Dominica 1^a. Adventus.

23. Dominica 1^a. Quadragesimae.

24. Dominica 4^a. Quadragesimae.

25. Feria V. Majoris Hebdomadae, dummodo praefatis die-
bus vere poenitentes, confessi, ac S. Synaxi reffecti ad mentem
Summi Pontificis oraverint.

26. Dominica quarta uniuscujusque mensis, si uti supra dispositi devote interfuerint processioni quae dicta Dominica in Ecclesiis Ordinis seu Confraternitatis fieri solet.

Sodales, quoties uti supra item dispositi a primis Vesperis usque ad occasum solis sequentium dierum idest :

27. Diei festi Nativitatis B. M. V. et

28. Dominicæ festum S. Nicolai a Tolentino immediate sequentis, Altare vel Cappellam Archiconfraternitatis, visitaverint et ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint, toties plenariam Indulgentiam lucrabuntur.

29. Tandem in mortis articulo item plenaria, si uti supra dispositi vel saltem contriti SSimum Jesu Nomen ore si potuerint, sin minus corde invocaverint.

II.

Indulgentiae stationales.

Sodales, singulis diebus in Missali Romano descriptis, si Ecclesiam Ordinis S. Augustini vel Altare Confraternitatis visitaverint, omnes Indulgentias consequuntur, quas lucrarentur si Ecclesias Urbis pro dictis stationibus designatas, iisdem diebus visitarent, dummodo cetera, quae ad has indulgentias lucrandas iniuncta sunt pietatis opera, rite praestiterint.

III.

Indulgentiae VII Ecclesiarum.

Sodales qui septem Altaria in Ecclesiis Ordinis S. Augustini hoc designata visitaverint, easdem Indulgentias lucrantur, quas consequerentur visitando septem Ecclesias intra vel extra Urbem.

IV.

Indulgentiae partiales.

1. *Decem annorum totiusque quadragesimae :*

1. In omnibus festis D. N. Jesu Christi, quae per totam Ecclesiam celebrantur, et eorum octavis ;

2. In omnibus festis Sanctae Dei Genitricis, quae in tota Ecclesia pariter celebrantur ; et eorum octavis ;

3. In omnibus festis SS. Apostolorum et Evangelistarum ;

4. In festo S. Ioannis Baptistae ;

5. In festo S. Iosephi Sponsi B. M. V. ;

6. In solemnitate omnium sanctorum ;

Dummodo dictis diebus corde saltem contrito ac devote Ecclesiam Ordinis seu Altare Confraternitatis visitaverint et aliquo temporis spatio oraverint.

B. Septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum :

1. In festo S. Augustini Ep. Doct. ;
2. In festo S. Monicæ Vid. ; si eadem pia opera præstiterint.

3. Item sodalibus qui assistunt orationi serotinae, quæ quotidie fit in Ordinis Ecclesiis ; aut seorsim orationem seu collectam pro Ecclesia et pro Papa, aut etiam *Salve Regina* recitabunt.

C. Bis centum dierum :

Quoties sodales divinis interveniunt servitiis, quæ in Oratorio vel Cappella Confraternitatis ordinariæ fiunt ; aut adsunt congregationibus et orationibus quæ inibi fieri consueverunt.

D. Centum dierum :

Quoties sodales aliquod opus pietatis vel caritatis exercuerint.

v.

*Indulgentiæ pro recitatione**Coronulæ B. M. V. de Consolatione.*

1. Sodales quoties integram coronulam corde saltem contrito ac devote recitaverint, lucrantur indulgentiam

Centum dierum

pro qualibet oratione dominica et angelica salutatione.

2. Quoties vero eadem coronula recitetur :

(a) in Ecclesiis ubi Confraternitas canonice erecta reperitur ;
 (b) in festo B. M. V. Matris Consolationis, aut in singulis diebus octavæ eiusdem festi, sodales lucrantur pariter pro quolibet *Pater noster* vel qualibet *Ave Maria* Indulgentiam

Bis centum dierum.

3. Sodales qui coronulam quater in hebdomada recitare solent, *plenariam indulgentiam* semel in anno, die eorum arbitrio eligendo, lucrari valent, dummodo vere poenitentes et confessi S. Synaxin sumpserint atque eandem coronulam recitaverint.

4. Item *plenariam* lucrantur sodales qui per integrum mensem quotidie prædictam coronam recitaverint, simulque infra eundem mensem, die, cuiusque arbitrio eligenda, vere poenitentes, confessi ac S. Mensa refecti ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint.

Omnes et singulæ indulgentiæ in præsentî clencho recensitæ, excepta tamen plenaria in mortis articulo lucranda, animabus quoque in purgatorio degentibus sunt applicabiles.

VI.

Privilegium et Indulta.

1. Missae omnes in quocumque altari pro defunctis sodalibus celebratae, privilegio gaudent perinde ac si in altari privilegiato celebratae fuissent.

2. Sodales qui degunt in locis ubi Ecclesia Ordinis S. Augustini desit, omnes indulgentias lucrari valent quas consequerentur dictam ecclesiam visitando, si, ceteris operibus iniunctis positis, Altare Confraternitatis, vel, hoc etiam deficiente, Parochialem suam Ecclesiam visitaverint.

3. Sodales qui in Collegiis, Seminariis aliisque Communitatibus degunt, lucrari valent indulgentias Sodalitati proprias proutum respectivae Domus Sacellum loco Ecclesiae Ordinis vel Confraternitatis visitando, ceteris adimpletis conditionibus.

DECRETUM.

Quum Prior Generalis Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini, ad omne dubium e medio tollendum de indulgentiis olim concessis Sodalibus Archiconfraternitatis Cincturae B. M. V. Matris Consolationis, S. Augustini et S. Monicae, novum earundem indulgentiarum indicem huic S. Congui. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae approbandum subiecerit: eadem S. Congregatio quibusdam ex suis Consultoribus illum examinandum dedit. In vero eiusdem accurato peracto examine, quum in eo nonnullas indulgentias delendas, alias addendas, aliasque iuxta hodiernam praxim moderandas esse duxerint, novum indicem, qui superius prostat, proposuerunt. Sacra vero Congregatio, vigore facultatum a SS. Dno. Nro. Leone Pp. XIII sibi specialiter tributarum, ex indulgentiis in superiore indice insertis, alias denuo confirmare, alias vero benigne concedere dignata est; simulque edixit, ut, quibuscumque aliis Indulgentiis abrogatis seu revocatis, praetata Archisodalitas in posterum iis tantummodo perfrui valeat, quae in memorato indice recensentur. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Seceria. eiusdem Sacrae Congnis. die 17 Decembris 1902.

SERAPHINUS Card. CRETONI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

FRANCISCUS SOGARO, Archiep. Amiden., *Secrius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PSYCHOLOGY, EMPIRICAL AND RATIONAL. By Michael Maher, S.J., D.Lit., M.A., Lond. Fifth Edition, London: Longmans, Green, and Co. Price 6s. 6d.

'THE fourth edition of the present work, containing 3,000 copies, having been exhausted in two years, the fifth edition, which has been carefully revised, is now issued. Sundry verbal changes and corrections have been introduced, and the section on the muscular sense has been re-written, but the chief addition is a supplement containing a reply to Mr. Mallock's criticism.'

With this short preface, the fifth edition of Father Maher's *Psychology* is introduced to us. We heartily welcome its appearance, and congratulate its gifted author on the well-deserved popularity his book has won even from general and non-Catholic readers. There is no need to praise or recommend Father Maher's *Psychology*. Its excellence is already well known; and the author's controversy with Mr. Mallock in the pages of the *Fortnightly* has enhanced and will, we trust, enhance still further that excellence. This result Father Maher has so far achieved by merely vindicating his work from the misinterpretations and misrepresentations indulged in by Mr. Mallock in the articles referred to. Those articles on science and religion hardly need a direct refutation. With all their superfine reasoning and overstrained logic they refute themselves. The book in which they are collected and published *Religion a Credible Doctrine* is a sufficiently sad monument to its author's philosophical suicide.

P. C.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES FOR IRELAND. By M. J. Gill, B.A., and W. J. Johnston, M.A., B.L., LL.D. Dublin: Gill and Son. 1903.

This is a valuable pamphlet, and one which we hope will be widely read. In view of the facilities given to public bodies, mainly through the intervention of Mr. John Dillon, M.P., we may expect at least a gradual and considerable extension of the system of public libraries that already obtains in Dublin and in

some of our larger cities and towns. There seems scarcely any other practical means available of bringing within reach of the people the progressive knowledge that is needed to equip them for the struggle of life.

It is quite certain that in most places the priests who take an interest in this work can give valuable help to the people, and can exercise a decisive influence in excluding from these libraries works that are in any way injurious to Catholic interests. In the management of the public libraries of America the Catholic clergy are usually represented, and their objections are nearly always listened to with respect by the members of the Library Committee. We should say that in Ireland this would be the case in all but a few localities. The advantage of these libraries are admirably explained by Mr. Gill, and the legal steps necessary for their establishment most lucidly set forth by his collaborator, Mr. Johnson, B.L. Dr. Clancy's letter to the Mayor of Sligo, which is inserted in the Appendix, will help to encourage and stimulate those who are thinking of availing themselves of the recent legislation.

J. F. H.

POLITICAL AND MORAL ESSAYS. By Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J., B.Sc., Oxon. Benziger Brothers. 10s. net.

THE first of these essays, *A Dissertation on the Origin and Extent of Civil Authority*, was written for the Degree of B.Sc. of Oxford, and appears now for the first time. The essays on 'Savages,' 'Casuistry,' 'Lying and Equivocation,' 'Socialism and Religious Orders,' have appeared in *The Month*. Those, with two essays on 'Morality Without Free Will' and 'The Value of Sentiment in Ethics,' and, finally, a few 'Occasional Notes,' make up a very interesting volume: interesting, and instructive, too, both for the student and for the general reader.

The *Dissertation* takes two-thirds of the whole volume. It furnishes the English-speaking statesman or political philosopher with a wholesome antidote against the inclinations of socialism in an era of social unrest. It covers a great deal of difficult ground, necessarily passing over much detail, but giving a clear and convincing exposition of the Catholic point of view, together with an equally searching criticism of the principles of Hobbes, Rousseau, and some modern, but much saner writers.

The essay on 'Savages' is very attractive, and throws

additional light on an obscure department in the subject of the *Dissertation*. 'Morality Without Free Will'—nowadays masquerading in some 'Philosophical' schools as an *ens reale*—is here successfully relegated to the home of the *entia rationis*.

All the essays make a useful volume, and will be found to be a valuable supplement to the author's well-known *Moral Philosophy* of the Stonyhurst series.

P. C.

[We have received from Father Sydney Smith, S.J., a short note in reply to Father Gibbons; but as it reached us too late for publication, we are compelled to hold it over to next month.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

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Nihil Obstat.

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
CENSOR DEP.

Imprimatur.

✠ GULIELMUS,
Archiep. Dublin., Hiberniae Primas.

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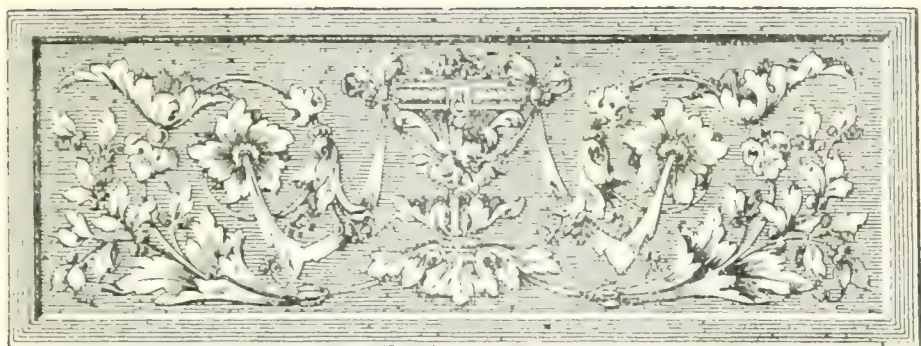
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A PLEA FOR THE ANTI-TREATING LEAGUE

THE object of this paper is not to institute a comparison between the Anti-Treating and other movements in Ireland to check the spread of Intemperance. The Anti-Treating movement will be considered on its own merits; what it purports to effect, the means it uses, and the results hitherto obtained.

All persons know, that for some, total abstinence is a necessary means for salvation. When practised as a personal safeguard, or for the purpose of edifying and encouraging others, it is most meritorious. Many eminent medical men state, that except in certain circumstances total abstinence from stimulants conduces more to physical health than the moderate use of them. The amount of good total abstinence has done in this country since Father Mathew unfurled its banner is simply incalculable. But whilst acknowledging all this, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that it has not been, and in the nature of things could not have been, an adequate remedy for national intemperance. Rightly or wrongly many persons believe that the moderate use of intoxicating drinks is harmless, if not healthful—that total abstinence for most persons is a counsel of perfection, a violent remedy for the evil, an abnormal state, and consequently never likely to become general and permanent. The accession of a new

and powerful auxiliary such as the Anti-Treating League, ought, therefore, produce joy not jealousy in the heart of every true temperance reformer. The truth is, there is, as a rule, no more inherent propensity to intemperance in an Irishman than in any other man. The vice in this country is the resultant of various causes, and hence there is no one simple specific for the evil, but it has to be attacked from every side, and in various ways. The least observant person can see that our social habits and customs have been the baneful causes of most of the drunkenness in our midst, and amongst them the most prolific of all has been the custom of treating. It is peculiar to our people not only at home, but also abroad. I have heard it stated, and I have no reason to doubt the statement, that it did not originate with us—but was an importation from across the Irish sea a few centuries ago. At all events, it struck deep roots in a fertile soil. The worst and most disheartening features of this and like evil customs is, that with their growth the popular mind became perverted, things were turned upside down. What was in reality vulgar, became a badge of respectability, meanness passed for honour, selfishness for generosity, silly sinful extravagance for hospitality. And the painful outcome of all this perversion has been staring us in the face year after year at fairs and markets, sports, races, christenings, wakes, and funerals. True, many saw and realized the folly and the criminality of these customs—they fretted under the yoke they had not the courage to shake off. They longed to be free, but lacked a deliverer. The deliverer has come and has been received with open arms.

It is not yet two years since the Anti-Treating League was started in the diocese of Ferns, the cradle of many a religious and patriotic movement for the betterment of the nation. During that brief period it has spread with singular rapidity, and produced most salutary results. This is not to be wondered at, as this League appeals to the religious instincts, the common sense, and pecuniary interests of the people, whilst it leaves them a rational amount of liberty. No wonder that it has got the blessing and encouragement of the Hierarchy of Ireland. It is now some years since the

late Dr. Croke, who knew so well both the failings and virtues of his countrymen, spoke these words to a body of Gaels: 'I would urge all my countrymen to stop once and for ever the custom of treating. If necessary, I would pledge them never to give or take a treat. . . . If we could get rid of those customs and notions, the backbone of drunkenness in the country would be broken.'

Thank God that the wish of this patriotic Irish Prelate seems likely to be realized in our own time; for the main object of the Anti-Treating League is to break down the pernicious custom of treating, and once the custom is broken down, it is not likely to be revived. I think it may safely be said, that if the League is efficiently worked for five or six years in any large area, it will effect its purpose, work a remarkable change in the habits of the people, and very sensibly diminish the consumption of drink, especially among the country people.

Though the principal object of the League is to uproot the custom of treating, it further requires personal temperance in its members, and seeks to create and foster a strong, educated public opinion against drunkenness. Like all remedies, its efficacy will depend in a great measure on how it is applied. As an effort has been made quite recently, and with considerable success, to introduce it into the western portion of the diocese of Limerick, it has been suggested to me, as one cognisant of the *modus operandi* adopted, to make it known to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. In doing so, I do not pretend that the method adopted is an ideal one, or one that may not be improved on, but it may be of interest and use to others who have an idea of starting the Anti-Treating League in their own localities, to know what has been done, and with what results. In practical matters of this kind, in which the highest interests are at stake, and in which the clergy should have a common purpose, a friendly and frequent interchange of views and consideration of plans and methods of action ought to be of value. And what better medium for such an interchange amongst the Catholic clergy of Ireland than the pages of the I. E. RECORD, which I

assume, is a welcome monthly visitor in every presbytery through the country.

In the early part of this year, with the sanction of His Lordship the Bishop, the Parish Priests of the Deanery of Newcastle West and some few conterminous parishes met to discuss the subject of introducing the Anti-Treating Crusade into the district. The result of that meeting was, that it was unanimously agreed to give it a trial. It was further decided that, in order to give it a fair trial, combined and simultaneous action was necessary. Furthermore, it was considered, that no matter how earnestly and zealously the local clergy would work, in taking a step like this, which aimed at a kind of miniature social revolution, seeking to uproot an inveterate habit and long established custom, they could not and would not be as successful as if they were assisted by strangers—whose presence usually attracts the multitude—and trained missionaries who would be thoroughly made up in all the details of organization. The question of starting branches of the Anti-Treating League was not so much one of preaching set and impassioned sermons against drunkenness and its attendant evils, which the people have heard over and over again. It was a question of dwelling, in a calm and business-like way, on the one special feature of the problem, and pointing out, from reason and experience, how it could be solved by organization and suitable rules and regulations. And for this those who have made a special study of the subject are better qualified than the ordinary run of the clergy. Influenced by reasoning such as this, the clergy who met at Newcastle West agreed to invite two of the Missionary Fathers from Enniscorthy to come amongst them to establish branches of the Anti-Treating League. In the correspondence which ensued, many valuable hints were given by the capable and indefatigable secretary, Fr. Rossiter, how best to prepare the way for their coming. Seventeen Parish Priests formed the combination. It was agreed to divide the district into two divisions, and to allot a division to each of the two Fathers so that the work could be carried on simultaneously, and be completed in about sixteen days. A Father remained

with each Parish Priest for two days, and then passed on to a neighbouring parish. The arrangements in each parish to utilise the services of the Fathers were made by the Parish Priest, so as to suit the needs of his own people. In most of the parishes there are two churches, and hence, in order to give all the parishioners an opportunity of hearing the preacher, two days were necessary. In some places, the devotions were held in the evenings—in some partly in the evenings and partly in the mornings, at a special Mass for that purpose.

One of the recommendations made by the Secretary was found most useful, and deserves special notice. He advised, that the local clergy should begin to announce a few Sundays beforehand the coming of the Missioners, the object of their coming, and explain to the people the aims and rules of the new League—the necessity for it, the terrible havoc caused by the treating custom, and thus set them to think and talk about the whole question, so that prejudices may be removed, and the way paved for their own coming. The success of the campaign, such as it is, is due in great measure to this precaution. It made matters easy for the Fathers, and the local clergy themselves. Another great help consisted in the enlisting of lay promoters, to go about amongst their friends, get them to join, and put down their names—special cards were supplied for this purpose. Wherever a judicious selection of such promoters was made beforehand, their services were invaluable: they not only relieved the clergy of much labour, but they became a source of much strength to them, popularised the movement, and saved them from the trouble and confusion incidental to the taking down of names after the meetings. The usefulness of the promoters will not end with the establishment of the branches; they will naturally take an interest in the members they enrolled, and will be of much assistance in times of renewals. It was much easier to find promoters in purely country districts than in towns or large villages, in which the movement has had, not unnaturally, perhaps, to encounter the active, or at least passive resistance of many of those engaged in the drink traffic.

Comparatively more joined in country places than in the large towns. This was expected. Even in these, however, a good number joined, and what was more encouraging, some few of the more respectable publicans themselves. Many of these now realise, that whilst they may suffer some pecuniary loss, it is for the public good; they are freed, moreover, from the revolting scenes arising from the treating custom. They anticipate, and with reason, that if they lose in the sale of intoxicating drinks, they will be compensated in the sale of other commodities; and furthermore, if the movement succeed, it will eventually wipe out some of the low publicans, who make a livelihood by the sale of bad drink and by illicit trading. It will mean, in a word, the survival of the fittest, and better and healthier conditions of trade both for these and the public at large.

The aggregate of those who joined in the League in the seventeen parishes is about 11,000. Some of the clergy complained of delays and disappointments in procuring the badges, etc. It would be well to look to this in time, as a drawback like that often proves highly injurious to an organization. An excuse has I dare say to be made, as the demand at the time was rather pressing. I allude to it, so as to warn those who have an idea of starting the League, to see in time to procure badges, diplomas, etc. It has been remarked, that the enthusiasm on behalf of the League, increased day by day; the contagion caught on and spread from parish to parish, so much so that more satisfactory results on the whole were obtained in the parishes last visited by the Fathers.

So far all the clergy who entered the combination are satisfied with the fruits of the labours of the two missionaries, Fathers Quigley and Rossiter. Nor is this to be wondered at. The Missionary Fathers of Enniscorthy are practically the founders of the Anti-Treating League, and have, consequently, an intimate knowledge gained from experience of the best methods to establish branches.

In the clear and exhaustive report for 1902 of the working of the League in his own diocese, the secretary, Father Rossiter, bestows well-deserved praise on other religious orders, who in their missions display wholehearted

zeal in spreading the League through other parts of the country.

But it may be asked, Will the 11,000 who took the Anti-Treating pledge in West Limerick keep it? The answer is ready: Not all of them, nobody expected it. In fact, to my certain knowledge some of them have broken it already. But I believe the bulk of them, the *maior et sanior pars*, will persevere.

But even if some of them should violate their pledge, a wise provision is made in the rules for the return of such to the ranks. There are two solemn renewals in the year, on St. Patrick's Day and the 1st of November. If the parish clergy where branches have been established, act on the prudent suggestions in Fr. Rossiter's report, and make these half-yearly renewals as solemn as possible, by holding special meetings and inviting strange preachers for the occasion, it will help very materially to confirm the faithful members, and secure a return of some of those who may have fallen away. It is also recommended to have renewals of a less solemn kind at other stated times. It would be well, too, to insist on the wearing and prominent display of the badges, which the women may see to, when the male members are going to town. I would suggest to those who have established branches of the League, or are about to establish them, to procure a copy of this report, which has been evidently well thought out, and gives very practical suggestions in minute details for the guidance of those who wish to co-operate in the movement. The views and suggestions regarding the juvenile branches merit careful attention.

One of the most effectual ways to reform the treating and like abuses is to correct the false notions on which they subsist. The Missionary Fathers acted wisely in exposing, and mercilessly ridiculing, the idea that generosity in a public-house is a sign of decency. On the contrary, it was clearly pointed out to them to be a mark of ignorance and vulgarity, a practice not indulged in by educated and respectable people. Our countrymen love to be considered decent, and there is no more powerful method of turning them against any usage

than by convincing them that it is low, mean, and vulgar. And such the treating system really is. Hence it is meeting with the strongest opposition in all places from idlers, corner-boys, and those who are called spongers. If the Anti-Treating League be taken up earnestly, and worked effectively through the country for five or six years, it will, as far as one can forecast, do as much if not more towards ending intemperance, especially amongst the country people in Ireland, than any movement hitherto started. Not the least hopeful sign of its success, is the fact that many earnest total abstiners share this belief, and are the most zealous promoters and supporters of the movement. And whilst doing so, they cease not, both by word and example, to promote total abstinence as well.

D. HALLINAN, P.P., V.G.

THE MODERN SCHOOL OF EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY: THE SCIENCE OF PSYCHO- PHYSIOLOGY

IN the *Annual Review of Contemporary Physiology*, edited by two French psychologists of note, Binet and Beaunis, we read: 'A laboratory for experiments in psychophysiology is annexed to the course of Professor Thiéry on this science, thus constituting a complete course of education in psychophysiology, which at present—in the year 1896—does not yet exist in France.' There are two points of interest in this quotation: the existence of a comparatively new science, and the fact that, in modern times and in modern science, a Catholic University—that of Louvain—should give the lead, not only to the whole body of Catholic higher education, but also to entire France, a country that prides itself on its system of higher education as being fully up to modern science and thought. A country which, in all its State University teaching, is atheistic, or at least un-Christian, that despises Catholic teaching as being behind the times, finds itself in the humiliating position of being obliged to follow in the steps of a famous Catholic University, in organising a complete system of teaching in physiological psychology, the most famous school of psychology in Germany for the last quarter of a century.¹

The very name of this comparatively new science shows that it must necessarily be of interest to all those who, through pleasure or duty, are scientists or philosophers. The object of the present article is to give a brief sketch of its origin and development, and to show its position in relation to philosophy. That it has a relation is evident from its very name, *Physiological Psychology*.

As Professor Ladd remarks, in his introduction to the subject, 'The satisfactory definition of a science is often one

¹ The lectures in question are given at the Neo-Thomistic school of philosophy, attached to the University of Louvain, by Prof. Armand Thiéry, whose work on optical illusions is the most important that exists at present, on this subject. *Ueber Geometrisch-Optische Täuschungen*.

of the latest and one of the most difficult achievements of that science.² That is why we begin by describing it, and as we progress in our study, we see what elements are essential, and what are only accidental to the science. That is the analytical and inductive part of the work of our intelligence, so well described by Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas.

A complete description of Psycho-Physiology leads us, moreover, to understand its very possibility, its place in the list of sciences, its importance in itself, and its relation with philosophy and connected sciences. In the course of our enquiry we shall have occasion to show its origin, method, and its results.

The very name, physiological psychology, indicates the object of this science in our own complex nature, and that it is a science founded on external physical and physiological observation on the one hand, and on the internal observation of our perceptive and conscious states, on the other hand. We may well call it 'experimental psychology,' because, whilst its object is psychological, namely the phenomena of perception and of consciousness, nevertheless, these phenomena are studied especially in their co-relation with the physiological phenomena which provoke them. We may evidently consider any conscious phenomena as an effect, and thus be led to seek its causes. If the immediate causes are psychological, they in their turn suppose physiological processes as their instrumental causes, and thus in studying these processes we are led outside the domain of psychology, in its usual sense.

Psycho physiology is a natural science, one therefore which begins by studying phenomena; in this case the phenomena of our conscious state. We analyse, classify, and compare them, in order to arrive at the nature of our conscious soul. All these phenomena, being concrete, can be studied scientifically, independently of all metaphysical problems on the nature of the soul and its activities.³

There are three psychologies [remarks Prof. Thiéry]—physical psychology, so called because its object is the research

² *Outlines of Physiological Psychology.* Longmans, 1893.

³ Note, even now, that all conscious phenomena are *representative*. This idea will be developed later on.

of the nature of soul, in general; then comes physiological psychology, less general than the preceding, since it is not concerned with the vital phenomena common to *all* living bodies, but with those common to a great number of them. It is the immediate introduction to natural biological sciences, which are all *more special* than it. Thirdly, our study of phenomena being completed, we derive hence the 'meta-physics' of the soul, that is to say, the science of the substance which living phenomena reveal to us.⁴

We now see better how it is that the field of physiological psychology consists in probing systematically, by a continuous series of physical and physiological excitants, certain states of conscious feeling and cognition. We say 'conscious,' because otherwise these states could not become the object of our study; we only know what in us is conscious.

Once we have well determined these *states*, we study how we manifest these 'conditions of our being' to those outside us, how we 'exteriorise' these states. And we observe, classify, and measure by special methods and instruments, the organic antecedents and physiological consequents, that are connected with our internal modifications.⁵

As an example, and to render clearer this condensed summary of the field of research held in view, let us consider what is known as Weber's law. It is a matter of common experience that we see better with two lighted candles at night than with one; and that, were one of these candles blown out, we would immediately perceive the difference in the intensity of the light. But would we notice the difference if a candle were added or subtracted from ten others? If a pound weight is placed in my hand, I am conscious that I require more muscular effort to sustain it than were an ounce placed instead. But if fifteen ounces and then a pound were placed, consecutively, in my hand, would the difference of weight be perceptible?

Similar experiments are applicable to all our senses, and the results have been generalised by Weber, as follows: There is certainly a relation between the intensity of our

⁴ *Psychologic Nativelle. A modern Commentary on the De Anima of St. Thomas and of Aristotle.* Louvain: 1902.

⁵ Read, on this point, *Revue Néo-Scholastique*, Feb., 1895.

sensation and the quantity of the excitant which causes this sensation, but this relation is not one of direct proportion 'The quantity to be added to an excitant of given intensity, in order to provoke a perceptible difference in our sensation, is not absolute; but though relative, is constant.' The application of this law, and its particular determination as regards each of our five external senses, is the object of a special branch of psycho-physiology, which is termed psychophysics. We may note, in passing, that this has given rise to much misunderstanding, many objecting that a sensation, being a psychic act, cannot be measurable, much less measured. There is here a confusion of terms, which will be explained at length later on.

It has been determined, for instance, that in order to perceive the difference in weight of two objects, the greater of the two must weigh one-third more than the lesser; so that if a pound weight be placed in my hand, the next heavier body, perceptible, as such, will be $1\frac{1}{3}$ lb. If a three pound weight be the first weight, I will not perceive any weight under four pounds, as being different from the first, in weight.

These results were obtained only after a long series of experiments. In fact, for some of our senses, the results are incomplete, and are not always amenable to Weber's law, especially so in the case of smell and taste. The patience exhibited by modern scientists does them honour. Norr, for instance, examined seven different intensities or energies of sound, applied to three series of one thousand experiments each; all this to determine the adaptability of the sense of hearing to Weber's law!

This example we have chosen, illustrates well what was said as to the 'continuous series of experiments,' 'the artificial provocation of certain determined states of conscience or feeling,' which are parts of the methods of research in psychophysiology.

Returning to the description of our subject, physiological psychology, we see then, that it is the study of our concrete, conscious life, in its *psychological* and not in its *moral* aspect. But unlike psychology proper, it considers this life from the special point of view of its co-relation with the physiological

phenomenon that precede it. This leads us naturally to enquire whether, in the light of true philosophy, this study can constitute a separate and distinct science. But before that, we think it useful to translate the description of Psycho Physiology as given by its founder and most illustrious exponent, William Wundt. As late back as 1858, Fechner had already studied parts of this science, especially psycho physics, and published the results in 1860 in his *Elements of Psycho Physics*. In fact, on this special branch he is the most prolific and original writer. But Wundt was the first to plan and develop physiological psychology as a special science; and that is why we think it useful to show his exposition of the object, methods and results of the science he founded; needless to say, little has been changed by his successors as regards the general outlines. Parts have been completed, opinions differ on many points, but the creation of his mind remains substantially the same as he conceived it. 'This science,' says Wundt, 'is a combination of two sciences which for centuries have been studied separately.'⁶ Physiology sheds its light on the biological phenomena that our external senses perceive. In psychology man sees himself, as it were, from inside, and his object in so-doing is to explain the linking together of facts which this internal observation furnishes him. Though our internal and external life present different aspects, yet they have many points of contact. Our internal experience is continually influenced by exterior causes on the one hand, and on the other these internal states of ours often exercise a decisive action on the evolution of the external fact. Thus is formed a circle of biological phenomena, simultaneously accessible to our observation, both internal and external; and, as long as psychology and physiology are kept separate, their bordering domains will be very appropriately assigned to a special science, intermediate between them. This science is physiological psychology.

A science, the object of which is the various points of contact of our internal and external life, is obliged to compare, as much as is possible, its own facts, notions, and results, with the body of data furnished by the two complementary sciences,

⁶ The reason of this will appear later on, p. 18, sqq.

psychology and physiology. And the final object of its research is this: What is the mutual connection between our internal and external existence, in their ultimate and fundamental principle, the soul?

All converges towards this question and answer, in psychophysiology; both complementary sciences can put it off, as being outside their domain, but our science cannot do so. Our new science has, therefore, a double work to perform.

Firstly, to examine those biological phenomena which, holding a middle place between internal and external experience, *necessitate* a simultaneous application of the two methods of internal and external observation.

Secondly, once this domain is investigated, it must utilise the views thus obtained, to enlighten the body of biological phenomena at our disposal, so that it may the better unveil and help us to understand human being in its entirety.

To determine the order to be followed in this double pursuit, we must remember that going over the roads connecting internal and external activity, our science follows, in the first instance, those ways which conduct from the outside world to our interior life; in other words, it begins by studying physiological phenomena, and tries to show their influence and bearing on the domain of internal observation. Then only does its examination extend to the reactions which our internal being exercises on that part of us in direct communication with the outside world. Thus it is that it regards chiefly the psychological side of things, and this conception we express by the very name of the science, physiological psychology. The adjective determines, specifies the point of view of the object proper.

Wundt now considers the origin of this new science.

The reason of the relation which we establish between the two sciences, is, that all those problems that have reference to the correlations of our internal and external life have, until now, been a constitutional part of psychology; whilst physiology had resolutely excluded from its domain all questions that claimed any particular intervention of speculation.

We commend this assertion of Wundt by saying that though to a certain extent, owing to the great increase of

knowledge in sciences, a separation of all 'speculation' was inevitable, nevertheless, this separation was greatly facilitated by the ridicule that was heaped on the decadent scholastic philosophy, not only by the forerunners of modern science, but also by the literary renaissance of the sixteenth century, and subsequently. As regards the first part of this assertion, we easily understand that, owing to the rudimentary state of science, comparatively little was known as regards the 'co-relations of our internal and external life; but that their importance was understood is evident from a study of the *De Anima* of Aristotle, and its commentary by St. Thomas Aquinas. Moreover, it will subsequently be shown that according to the views of those who dominated the world of philosophy ever since the decadence of scholasticism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such a science as physiological psychology professes to be was, *a priori*, impossible. Alone, the psychology of Aristotle and of St. Thomas was broad enough, corresponded well enough to facts, to show that such sciences were possible.

Nevertheless [continues Wundt], modern philosophers, and especially psychologists of the second quarter of last century, began by rendering themselves more familiar with physiological experiments; simultaneously, physiologists felt the necessity of consulting psychology, in certain questions that bordered on their proper domain, and imposed themselves on the attention of scientists. Resulting from such needs, the bringing together of these two sciences gave birth to physiological psychology. And the instruments used by this new science to unravel these new problems, are also borrowed from the two parent sciences; psychological, internal observation of our own conscious self, is helped, step by step, by the use of methods belonging to experimental physiology; so much so, that the *physical* methods of this latter science, as applied to our conscious states, has given rise to a special branch of experimental investigation, to psycho-physics. The methods of measurement used in this special science show well how both the special and general sciences in question depend on the state of knowledge in other departments. The instruments used, such as the Dynamometer and others, mostly furnish their indications by electric apparatus of a complicated nature, so that we may well say that the sciences of psycho-physiology and psycho-physics were, even at the beginning of last century, as unreliable as was astronomy before the invention of telescopes and other modern methods of investigation.

Two important phenomena clearly mark the limits where external observation ceases to be sufficient, and where internal observation becomes necessary ; and *vice versa*.

These phenomena are : sensation, which is at the same time a *psychological* fact, but which directly depends on certain fundamental *external* conditions ; and, secondly, the movement of internal impulsion, a *physiological* phenomenon, the causes of which are, generally, only revealed by *internal* observation of self.

In sensation, we see the border of the two domains, as it were, from inside, the psychological view ; in movement, we see the same border from the outside, the physiological view.⁷

We must, then, begin our study by determining how sensations correspond, in quality and in intensity, to their external causes, the physiological excitants of our senses. This necessitates a study of the structure and functions of the nervous system of man, so that we may see how it acts in response to the different forms of stimuli which excite it. Sensations in given conditions engender representations, a certain knowledge the direct object of which is our own conscious state, the indirect object being the external things that caused this conscious state in the first instance. These representations are composed of elements, which are called, in psycho-physiology, impressions. And these are studied in a second section, the physiological bases of the science forming the first section.

An 'impression,' then, is one of the simple elements that go to make the complex, distinct and conscious act, a 'representation' (which corresponds, more or less, to what we call a 'perception'). These impressions do not exist singly, being merely the result of a mental abstraction that analyses the concrete whole, the 'representation,' into its elements. They are not conscious, and are indistinct.⁸ They are caused by one of the elements or qualities of the concrete object that 'presents' itself to us.

These impressions, before yielding to our consciousness a representation, are arranged in a double chronological and

⁷ Wundt, *Elements of Physiological Psychology*, 2nd edition, vol. i. Introduction.

⁸ This character is clearly understood in the usual signification of this word, as when we say : ' I am under the impression,' we often mean that we have a 'vague idea.'

spacial order. In other words, we study according to what laws these impressions are united in our sensitive faculty, in order to form the conscious phenomena which we call a 'representation.' For instance, an auditive image or representation has a special connection with the chronological order and its impressions, whereas a visual precept is chiefly concerned with the spacial arrangement of its constituting impressions. Wundt calls this latter ordination an 'extensive order.' These two orders are always present in all our representations. But in some, one order is more characteristic because more pronounced, than in other perceptions.

Tactile representations contain both orders equally developed. After this, we consider the relations of these representations with our consciousness, their psychic aspect, and thus we study sentiments, not merely as being agreeable or not, but under their esthetic aspect. We thus exceed purely sensorial sentiments, that are considered merely in their connection with the sensations that cause them.

Finally, in a last section, comes the study of complex representations, that is to say, the 'laws of association' of representations, and the method we employ is the analysis of consciousness, and the study of the 'course' or progress of our conscious perceptions.

In commenting on Wundt earlier in this essay, we were led to consider the relations of this science with philosophy, and in particular with that of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas. As this is of special interest to Catholic philosophers of the present day, a development of this consideration may be useful. Several neo-scholastic philosophers look askance at this new science, partly through prejudice against any new science—the same state of mind that ruined scholasticism in the sixteenth century—and partly through not understanding fully the object and end pursued by this new movement, have steadily neglected it in their studies and in their teaching. Now, undoubtedly, the most important of Catholic schools of philosophy of the present day is the school whose method is the application of the old synthesis of Thomism to modern science, in all its branches. And the school that has acquired by far the most influence and

recognition in the world of non-Catholic philosophy, by its thoroughness in the application of this method, is the Neo-Scholastic school of the University of Louvain. We quote, then, the opinion of the eminent Rector of this school as regards the misunderstandings occasioned by this new science.

There is evidently no question of weighing thought, or of calculating the dimensions of the human soul, as certain works and reviews on Christian philosophy have several times seemed to insinuate. The conscious fact is taken, just as it is, in both its material and immaterial complexity. Through its material part, it has connections with the external world, it undergoes the action thereof, and in its turn reacts on it. This fact, thus roughly considered, is accessible to common observation, and our spontaneous conscience suffices to make known to us the primary results of this observation. But, left to itself, our conscience cannot tell us anything about the elements of which is composed the complexus which is apparent, in its undivided state, to our spontaneous introspection. Briefly, then, the programme of this new science is: firstly, to dissociate these elements so as to arrive at the analytical data that are most simple, those which Wundt calls 'impressions'; secondly, to synthetically reconstitute the concrete complexus of our spontaneous conscience, namely a representation, and then to determine the laws of the association of representations. What is there [concludes Mgr. Mercier] to be afraid of in all this?⁹

On the contrary, he says elsewhere, Neo-Thomists must take up their position, thoroughly, in this movement of experimental psychology of the German school, instead of ignoring it as is so frequently the case. But not only have we nothing to fear from this new school, but we have much to gain. For, as a matter of fact, our system—that of Aristotle and Aquinas—lends itself better than any other, to the interpretation of the facts which form the object of experimental psychology. And Wundt, from a quite different initial standpoint, arrived at the same conclusion, thus proving once and for all the ignorance of those who would persistently maintain that psycho-physiology is either dangerous, or at least useless. At the end of his great work, *Elements of Physiological Psychology*, Wundt tells us:—

The results of my labours do not fit in with either the materialistic hypothesis nor with the dualism of Plato or Des-

⁹ Mercier, *Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine*, p. 465.

cartes ; alone, Aristotelian Animism, which connects psychology with biology, ¹⁰ is the conclusion I arrived at as the surest metaphysical foundation of experimental psychology.¹¹

For if, on the other hand, materialists are right, if the soul, as they maintain, is but a dynamical or physiological mechanism, it follows that psycho-physiology is not a distinct science ; it is merely a chapter of mechanics or of physiology. On the other hand, if the soul is such that its whole nature be 'to think,' as Descartes maintained, if it subsists on its own account, isolated from the living body, directly and exclusively observable by conscience, evidently a laboratory of experimental psychology is inconceivable, for it would have the pretension to experiment on the soul directly, and to submit it to apparatus of measure, weight, force, etc. ; in other words, all this would presuppose as admitted, *ipso facto*, the material nature of the soul.¹²

But, if we admit with Aristotle and the great scholastics, that man is a substance, composed of a body and an immaterial soul ; that there is a real dependence of the superior functions of the soul on our material functions ; that there is not a single interior activity but has its physical co-relative, that there is no idea without an image preceding it, no act of will without a sensible emotion, if all this be admitted, immediately, the concrete phenomenon, which becomes the object of our conscience, presents the character of a complexus at the same time psychological and physiological ; it comes under the retrospection of our conscience, and under biological and physiological observation ; in a word, the reason for the existence of a psycho-physiological science is clearly indicated.

So well, indeed, is it indicated that in Aristotle's philosophy, psychology and physiology did not constitute two separate sciences, nor again two opposite ones (as is the case in most modern philosophies), but a single unique science.¹³ We now see the reason for our comment on the saying of Wundt that these two sciences had been for centuries, but not

¹⁰ See p. 10 *supra*.

¹¹ Wundt, vol. ii, ch. xxiii., 3rd part : Mercier, work cited, p. 455 *sqq.*

¹² Prof. Thierry, *Revue Nouvelle*, April, 1875.

¹³ Mercier, cited work, ch. viii.

always, studied separately. Evidently, the body of data acquired by Aristotle was very small, compared to what is known to-day as the co-relation of our internal states and the external processes that precede them. But, as we have already noted, this was not due to any defective view on the part of Aristotle, but rather to the physical impossibility of acquiring more data, owing to the backward state of physical and physiological science. In the same way, in years to come, our present knowledge on this science, as given us by its masters such as Wundt, Fechner, Weber, etc., will surely be considered as rudimentary next to the knowledge that will then be obtained. Referring to Aristotle again, Dr. Hermann Siebeck, one of the greatest historians of psychology, says: 'Aristotle was the first to thoroughly understand that we must explain the spiritual acts of man by their connection with the functions of our organism which gave rise to them.'

Having thus explained that this science is distinct from all others, and that it is thoroughly in the spirit of the philosophy of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, it is easy to conclude the attitude which all Catholic philosophers, and especially those who consider themselves as Neo-Thomists, should adopt as regards it. We should be failing in our duty towards those whom we, as teachers maybe, are preparing to take up their position in the maintaining of Catholic philosophy against the many errors of modern philosophers, were we to leave them in ignorance of the chief principles and results of this important school of experimental psychology. If we belong to the number of those who consider it their special duty to maintain the superiority of Neo-Thomism over all other modern or ancient systems of philosophy, we may well ask ourselves, in the words of Mgr. Mercier :—

For whom do we write philosophy if not for the men of our times? and in writing, what object have we if it be not to propose solutions to difficulties they bring on matters that are most important?

We must, therefore, evidently know how to meet these difficulties, and the only way is to thoroughly grasp the domain whence they are taken.

It will be objected that this science is useless. But, even

supposing this to be true—which we are far from admitting—as long as a useless thing can be used *against* us, we must learn how to master it. But this ‘apologetical’ reason is far from being the only one to encourage our study of this science which, admittedly, is not an easy one. Does it not interest us to know more about *our own* activities, since we find it so interesting to study animal and vegetable life? Doubtless, many who would try to ridicule psychophysiology spend a great deal of their time in their chemical or physiological laboratories, trying to wrest from nature some of her secrets, by studying the same subject from different points of view. If our science is useless, of what use is cytology, or morphology, which study the anatomy and functions of cells, and the forms of living matter in their lower stages, respectively? And yet, how many have made their immortality in the annals of true science, by their studies in general biology, of which the two above mentioned sciences form a part! Just because we do not see the immediate utility of a certain kind of knowledge, are we to conclude that all these creations of the Almighty are unworthy of our consideration?

Is there nothing praiseworthy in the devoting a life to making more manifest God’s infinite science, in the studying of science for itself as a work of God? And when we know that our own kind is the end of all the less perfect living beings, is not the study of ourselves, from a scientific standpoint the most worthy of all?

Will it be said that this science is useless and vain; that it matters little to know whether a colour sensation is simple or complex, or what may be the physical and physiological conditions of a representation be, or according to what laws do the whole contents of our conscience ultimately combine? Objections of this kind are irritating. For who is in a position to prophecy as to the importance or the unimportance of a discovery now made in the future?¹⁴

We may well add that if those who helped to build up the various sciences as they are now, if the early workers in the dark had stopped and asked themselves: ‘Of what use is this

¹⁴ Mercier, *Orig. de la Psych. Contemp.*, ch. viii.

labour?' science would not have made the progress which we know it has.

Infinitely harder was their task, with rough instruments for experiments, printing unknown, little means of communication, than that of the modern scientist. In physics, astronomy, medicine, etc., the first workers prepared the way for those who came after them in the line of progress. Their work was a disinterested one, and they knew the dignity of science well enough not to trouble themselves either with the narrow scope of their work, or with the immediate utility of their investigations.

Why not have the same spirit, in the new science of physiological psychology? And, as an example, consider how far his experiments in this science have led Wundt, the founder of the famous laboratory of psycho-physiology at Leipzig.¹⁵ Is it impossible that, the knowledge of our conscious sentiments and emotions being developed, we should thus be enabled more thoroughly to enjoy the beauties of harmony and rhythm, whether it be in music, painting, or literature that we may find them?

Like all sciences it is useful, since it develops our most perfect faculty, our intelligence. Moreover, is it difficult to foresee that certain results of this science may have, when better known and appreciated, considerable influence on education? The character that is formed by education depends greatly on the training of the emotions and sentiments. From the very identity of the subject-matter of these two sciences, there must be many questions in the one which the other can enlighten. Many books are written, nowadays, in France especially, on what may be termed 'Experimental Education,' containing errors with far-reaching results, due to imperfect and erroneous observation. In the training of the senses, of the imagination, of our æsthetic sentiments and of our emotions, our new science, when sufficiently developed in years to come, may have the same relation to education that logic has in the training of our reason. And, evidently, before it is developed, it must be well grounded in its principles,

¹⁵ *Vide supra*, p. 18.

in its beginnings. And here the Catholic philosopher can apply his knowledge.

Man can reason without knowing explicitly any of the rules of syllogism ; so is our faculty of enjoyment independent of the scientific knowledge as to how our sentiments are caused. But, much as a man who knows his logic feels surer of his reasonings, so also would we, our consciousness developed by the knowledge of the 'why' and 'how' of these complex states which we call sentiments of pleasure, more thoroughly, more intensely enjoy these pleasures, when listening to a ninth symphony of Beethoven, or contemplating a Rubens in the Bruxelles or Antwerp museums.

T. P. HARTLEY RUSSELL.

IRISHMEN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

THE services of Irishmen in the armies of the Continent and their deeds of valour in many a hard fought field have often been the theme of the historian and the poet. The rank held by Irishmen in the universities of the Continent was no less distinguished. Amongst the universities of the Continent the most renowned was that of Paris, styled 'Mother of Universities.' In that celebrated seat of learning a large number of Irishmen for two centuries received an education denied them at home. The object of the present paper, however, is not to speak of Irishmen who made their studies in the University of Paris, but to point out the long line of Irishmen who, as Professors and Masters, formed parts of its teaching and governing body. For this purpose it will be useful to give, first, an account of the position occupied by Irishmen in the University system, and, 2ndly, a list of the distinguished Irish Professors or Masters who held positions of honour in the University.

I

STATUS OF IRISHMEN IN THE UNIVERSITY

When Master Donat O'Lery in 1692 wrote in the Register of the University, over extracts from Bede and Notker, the words '*Indiculus quorundam legitimorum quibus constat Hiberniam omnium olim genere scientiarum floruisse, et Parisiensis academiae matrem esse, ac consequentes Coloniensis aviam, Lovaniensis proaviam,*' his words expressed more than a play of fancy. For Irishmen might claim a share in the origin of the University of Paris. Albinus, an Irishman, taught in Paris in the days of Charlemagne, Scotus Erigena taught there in the days of Charles the Bald. When the University was fully organized, John Duns Scotus lectured in its halls. In the fifteenth century, John of

Ireland (Joannes Irlandus), so called, says Launoi, from his origin, made his studies in the College of Navarre, and became a Doctor and Professor of Theology in the University.¹ This distinguished man was sent, in 1474, by Louis XI. on a diplomatic mission to Scotland to urge its king to make war on England, and thus divert the English monarch from supporting the Duke of Burgundy against France. In the 17th and 18th centuries the connexion of Irishmen with the University became still more intimate.

The University, or *studium generale*, of Paris, consisted of four great Faculties, viz. : Theology (*sacra facultas*), Law (*consultissima facultas*), Medicine (*saluberima facultas*), and Arts (*praeclara facultas*). Let us examine the connexion of Irishmen with each of these.

The faculty of Theology had two great schools, the College of the Sorbonne and that of Navarre. Each had its staff of professors from whom the syndic of the Faculty was alternately chosen, while in the general meetings, the doctors of both colleges formed but one body, and sat and voted together. At the Sorbonne an Irishman, Dr. Lucius Joseph Hooke, occupied a chair for many years in the 18th century, and was esteemed one of the most learned doctors of the Faculty. With the College of Navarre the connexion of Irishmen was still more intimate. Malachy O'Quely entered it as a student in 1618, and took his degree in 1622. Edward Tirel entered in 1629 and took his degree in 1632. In 1744 John Plunkett was Professor of Theology at Navarre. Patrick Joseph Plunkett was Royal Professor of Theology in the same College in 1788, and Peter Flood occupied the same position in 1790. For nearly a whole century one of the Royal Chairs of Theology in the College of Navarre was occupied by an Irishman.

In the Faculty of Law we have not met with the names of Irishmen amongst the professors : but as will be seen by the list of Masters at the end of this paper, many Irishmen were graduates of the Faculty (*consultissima facultas*) of Law.

In the Faculty of Medicine we find many Irishmen.

¹ Launoi, *Regii Navarrae Gymnasii historia*. Paris, 1677, p. 958.

Malachy O'Quely was a Doctor of Medicine as well as of Theology.²

In the early years of the 18th century, Dr. Dermot MacEncroe³ practised in Paris, and published there in 1728 several poems, one of which was entitled: *Calamus Hibernicus, sive laus Hiberniae breviter adumbrata*. While Dr. Terence Farely, Dr. Brady, Dr. James Lannan, and Dr. Thady O'Connell, a relative of the Liberator, exercised their profession in France. An Irishman, Dr. O'Reilly, was one of the Physicians of Louis XVI. Irishmen, too, held chairs in the Faculty of Medicine. Dr. Bartholomew Murry,⁴ and Dr. MacMahon were both Professors Regent of Medicine in the middle of the 18th century.

But still more close was the connexion of Irishmen with the Faculty of Arts (*praeclara facultas*). From the early years of the 17th century down to the 1793, an uninterrupted succession of Irishmen filled chairs and occupied official positions in that Faculty. In 1612, Dr. Thomas Deise was Professor of Philosophy in the College of Navarre. Dr. John Molony, of Killaloe, held the same chair in the Collège des Grassins. A few years later in the same century, Thady Macnamara taught Philosophy in the College of Belley, Nicholas Power in that of Lisieux, Roger O'Moloy in that of Cardinal Lemoine, and Michael Moore at the Grassins and at Navarre. In the 18th century, Philip M'Donagh professed Philosophy at Plessis-Sorbonne, James Wogan, and after him Dr. Aherne, at Navarre, while Fr. MacMahon was Professor of Rhetoric at the college, Louis Le-Grand. In 1701 Dr. Moore governed the University as Rector. But all that has been said conveys but a faint idea of the position occupied by Irishmen in this Faculty.

The Faculty of Arts was divided into four Nations: France (*Natio Honoranda*), Picardy (*Fidelissima*), Normandy (*Veneranda*), and Germany (*Natio constantissima*). The Nations were subdivided into tribes. That of Germany

² *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Tuam*, by Oliver Burke. Dublin: 1882. P. 119.

³ Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*. Art. 'MacEncroe.'

⁴ Statement from the will of Dr. Murry.

(formerly England) was divided in the 17th century into the tribe of the Continentals (*Tribus Continentium*), that is the masters from the Rhenish provinces, or from the dioceses of Nancy, Toul, Verdun, Metz, Strasburg, Luxembourg, etc., and the tribe of the Islanders (*Tribus Insularium*), or the masters from England, Scotland, and Ireland.

To be a member of the Nation it was necessary to have studied in the University, and to have taken the degree of Master of Arts : masters who possessed these qualifications and resided in the University were, on application, admitted to the Nation ; the Senior Masters were limited to twenty ; Juniors having completed a term of three years from their admission were eligible to the offices of the Nation. The most important of these was that of Procurator. The Procurator held office for four months and during that term was a member of the Rector's Council and had a vote for the election of a rector. The Register of the meetings of each Nation was kept by the Procurator. The Registers⁵ of the German Nation from A.D. 1613 to A.D. 1730 are still preserved in the library of the University of Paris, and they bear authentic testimony to the rank held by Irishmen throughout that period in the Faculty of Arts.

In Register No. 26, covering the period from A.D. 1613 to A.D. 1660, we have the several lists of the members of the Nation. In 1627, the number of Senior Masters was twenty, and of these eleven were Irishmen, as is shown by the word *Hibernus*, following their names. They were Master Andrew Muleinock, Oliver Deise, Edward Tirel, Bartholomew Archer, James Duley, Constantine Clanchy, Dermit Duyer, Michael White, Bernard Teaghan, Nicholas Power, and Thady Macnamara.

In 1651 Irishmen were still more numerous. In that year Alexander Pendric, a Scotchman, and Roger O'Moloy, were competitors for the rank of Dean of the Nation : Pendric claimed the dignity as Senior Master, and O'Moloy as Senior

⁵ *Registres des Conclusions de la Nation d'Allemagne dans l'ancienne Université*, Reg. 26, 28, 30, 40. *Bibliothèque de l'Université*.

Master Regent. The Rector according to the terms of the statutes decided in favour of O'Moloy. At this time Pendric was Procurator, and in his report at the end of his term of office, he denounced to the Nation a secret treaty or convention of the Irish Masters as prejudicial to the other members of the Nation, and contrary to the statutes of the University. The document was as follows⁶ :—

CONVENTION OR ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY THE
IRISH MASTERS IN THE GERMAN NATION OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF PARIS.

1. It was agreed and determined amongst the said Irish Masters that as often as any of them shall have a matter in dispute with any English, Scotch, or Continental Master, in the said Nation, all the other Irish Masters shall support such suit with their votes and influence, provided it shall appear right and just to the majority of them, nor shall any of them abstain from giving his vote.

2. It was agreed that as often as any of ours shall petition for his own personal advantage, or for the general advantage of all the masters, either present or future, all shall be bound to support his petition by their votes, provided such petition shall seem to the majority right and just.

3. It was agreed amongst the said Irish Masters, that all shall unanimously by their votes resist, as far as in them lies, the making of statutes which may be prejudicial to the Irish Masters at present existing, or who shall hereafter exist in the said Nation, and they shall use every effort to effect the abrogation of statutes previously made containing such prejudice.

4. The said Masters agreed that should any suit arise concerning the general good of all present or future, all shall be bound to contribute towards the expenses necessary to prosecute the suit.

5. If any contention or suit shall arise amongst any of the Irish Masters, it shall be lawful for the others to act in the matter as their conscience shall dictate.

6. Should anything in the affairs of the said Nation appear to be really injurious to us Irishmen or our successors, all and each shall be bound to give notice to the senior Master for the time being, and he shall be bound to summon the others as soon as possible to deliberate on that question ; all shall be bound to attend, and should any one be legitimately hindered he shall be bound to give his proxy to some one of those present whom he shall name.

⁶ *Reg.* 28, p. 74, and *Reg.* 26, pp. 385 and 391.

7. No present or future member of the Nation shall benefit by this agreement unless he subscribe to the terms of it, nor shall any of the subscribers be bound in any circumstances to support a non-subscriber by his vote.

To these articles the undersigned unanimously subscribed and promised in conscience to keep this agreement secret.

16th October, 1651.

At the next meeting Master Cornelius Macnamara complained of the publication of this document as a calumny on the Irish. Delegates were appointed to investigate the affair, and eventually the Irish Masters were summoned before the Procurator-Fiscal of the University and examined upon oath. They were asked whether they knew the author of the document, whether they had signed it or approved of its contents. Master John Molony replied that he could not answer these questions until he had taken advice. Fourteen other Irish Masters deposed that they did not know the author of the document. The majority of them added that they did not approve of its purport. Nicholas Power, however, declared that he approved of it as to substance, but not as to form. As it could not be conclusively proved who was the author, the Rector of the University was advised to urge the Irish Masters to live in harmony with the other members of the Nation, and to disavow the articles of agreement. John Molony was suspected from the handwriting of being the author of the document. On being further questioned on the subject he admitted the charge, and expressed his regret, whereupon the matter was allowed to drop. Those examined on oath were : John Molony, Roger O'Moloy, N. O'Caill, Peter Poerus, Patrick Cahill, M. Poerus F. Fogerty, Bernard O'Gara, Richard Stapleton, Thomas Macarius (?), Thady Nolane, John Numan, Henry Coghlan, Thomas Medus, Nicholas Poerus.⁷

Some years later, viz. : in 1670, a statute was made that no master should have a vote for the election of the censor

⁷ In the same year, 1651, several of the Irish Masters and a large body of Irish students in Paris published a declaration against James II. An account of the effort made by the University authorities to oblige them to withdraw it, and of the conflict which followed, has been given by the present writer in the history of the Irish College in Paris, pp. 15-18.

or Rector of the University or be eligible to those offices unless he had been three years a member of the Nation, and had reached thirty years of age. On this occasion there is given a list of Masters who proved that they possessed these qualifications. Peter Power, Maurice Fitzgerald, John MacSleyne, Edward O'Moloy, M. Moore, Kearney, Richard de Burgo, John Glissan, Dermot O'Hederman, William Daton, Edward Comerford, all proved by documents or by witnesses that they had reached the prescribed age. It is added that there were other masters about whose age there could be no doubt. Masters Duly, Offelan, Roche and Numan, are mentioned as present.

In 1684 a full list of the Masters present at a meeting of the Nation is given, and of twenty present eighteen were Irishmen, while one was a Scotchman, and one only belonged to the tribe of the Continent.

Later still, in 1716, the list of the Masters of both tribes is given side by side. The *Tribus Continentium* consisted of eight members, and the *Tribus Insularium* of twelve. Two of these were Scotchmen, Masters Whitford and Innes, all the others were Irish, viz.: MM. Moore, Nolan, Rianne, Merrick, Roussel, Molony, Moriarty, Kely, Geagrane, and Farely.

The Senior Master Regent was Dean of the Nation. Roger O'Moloy held that office from 1651 to 1670; and at a later period Michael Moore held it till his death in 1726.

The office of Procurator was given, alternately, to the members of each tribe, and in order of seniority. When the number of masters in the *Tribus Continentium* fell below five, that tribe co-opted members from the tribe of the Islanders; and thus we find Irishmen holding office sometimes for the tribe of the Continentals.

The election of the Procurator sometimes gave rise to controversy. It was necessary that the candidate should have been duly admitted a member of a Nation. In 1671 an interesting case of this kind occurred. Master Michael Moore and Master Edward O'Moloy were competitors for the office of Procurator. Moore maintained that all the formalities required by the statutes had not been complied

with by O'Moloy; and he claimed the office. To him therefore it was awarded. O'Moloy protested and carried his complaints before the tribunal of the University. Though defeated he renewed his complaints at the next meeting of the Nation, and the next Procurator, Master O'Kearney, thus records the incident: 'Aderat Magister O'Moloy omnibus dura et dira minans, deos hominesque incusans, notos ignotosque obvios omnes impetens, clamans in coelum se vim pati, tamen prius spirare quam rite litigare desitutum.'⁸

To be eligible to the office of Procurator, masters should not only be resident in the University, but present at the meetings. In 1677 the Procurator, Dermit O'Daly, thus records his election:—

For the office of Procurator it was the turn of Master Edward Butler, priest of the Diocese of Cashel, and licentiate of Theology in the sacred Faculty of Paris, and Procurator of the College of St. Mary's, commonly called of the Lombards (lately obtained for our tribesmen (*contribulibus nostris*) by the care and diligence of the most distinguished persons, Master Malachy Kelly, priest of the diocese of Cashel and doctor of the sacred Faculty, and the most illustrious Abbot of Thuley), and as he could not be present at our meeting on account of his many important duties in the said college, I being next in order stood up and petitioned for the office.

But it was not enough that a master should be a member of the Nation and present at the meetings. If he were absent from Paris for a period of six months or upwards he could not, on his return, be elected to any office in the Nation until he had completed six months' residence.

A very interesting case of this kind occurred in 1692. In that year Master Donat O'Lery, who for some years had been absent in Ireland, returned to Paris and resumed his place in the Nation. Shortly after his return an election for the office of Procurator took place. O'Lery was a candidate for the office, but his claim was rejected, because he had not fulfilled the condition of residence required by the statutes. At the next election he was again a candidate. Having been duly elected this time he not only records

⁸ *Reg.* 30, p. 134.

the fact in the official Register, but he also gives an account of his stay in Ireland from 1687 to 1692. His statement, which we here give, is all the more interesting as it relates what was attempted in those years in the cause of higher education, and brings to light the fact that a charter was granted in 1689 by James II. to a Catholic University in Ireland. It runs thus⁹ :—

*Christ be everywhere with my undertakings.*¹⁰

Procuratorship of Master Donat O'Lery, Priest of the Diocese of Ossory in Ireland, and Royal Professor of Philosophy in the College of Kilkenny.

On the 1st December, 1692, the ordinary meeting of the most Constant Nation was held at the Mathurins, to elect a

Reg. 30, p. 294.

¹⁰ Adsit principiis Christus ubique meis. Procuratura Magistri Donati O'Lery diocesis Ossoriensis in Hibernia, Presbyteri, et Collegii Kilkenniensis Philosophicarum Scientiarum Professor Regius.

Kalendis Decembris an. Dmi. 1692; habita suut comitia ordinaria Constantissimae Nationis apud Mathurin. ad eligendum novum Procuratorem, et cum vices Tribus Insularium recurrerent, pro procuratorio munere supplicavi. Surgens autem et Magister Bernardus Dunne, S. Theol. licentiatus currens, pro eodem etiam munere supplicavit, meque ineligibilem asseruit tum quod bursam non solverim, tum etiam quod turnus meus praeterierat. His cum paucis reposuissem, anbo recessimus. Cum autem Natio de nostrum utriusque jure aliquando deliberasset, omnium tandem calculo in Procuratorem electus sum, ea tamen lege ut bursam illa ipsa die solverem, cui conditioni pacis et concordiae causa, cum annuissem ad sacramentum admissus sum, quo praestito inter manus Magistri Carbricii Kelly tum procuratoris (cujus lecti probatique commentarii erant) in ejus locum suffectus, Nationi gratias egi.

(Hic praetermittere non debeo, ut suavissimus simul et amantissimus, M. Dunne, palam in istis Comitibus declaraverit adeo se meam non oppugnatam electionem, ut me potius electum vehementer cuperet, ni quorundam minis ad id urgeretur invitus, qui illi proxima vice Procuratoris munus auferendum denuntiarent, si illud a me hac vice occupari tulisset.)

Cur autem bursam (quam ista die in manibus Quaestoris deposui), antea non solverim, ac turnum meum, ut mihi objiciebatur, praeterire passus sum, hic paucis aperire libet.

Quod ad bursam attinet, ab eâ circa finem mensis Julii an. 1683, ut tum moris erat, immunis factus sum, sive eam Natio tum libenter condonavit. Quapropter omnes Procures, duobus tribusve exceptis attente rem considerantes in praedictis hujusce diei comitiis unanimiter nec iterum ab ea solvendâ declarare statuerunt immunem, ni ego ipse illos avertissem, summulam illam solvere mallens, quam ulli displicere, alicujusve invidiam in me commovere, aut suscitare malevolentiam. Cogi quippe non poteram, cum statuta quibus hodie bursa solvenda cavetur, tribus circiter annis post istam condonationem mihi factam, condita et in lucem emissa fuerunt, solis futuris formam datura rebus. . . ô(?) praeteritis.

Quod autem ad turnum spectat, ideo praeterire contigit, quod in Patriam an. Dmi 1687, a munificentissimo Nostratum Patrono, Gulielmo Bailly, in supremo concilio Comite Consistoriano, et advocato Catholico, necnon abbate

new Procurator, and as it was the turn of the Tribe of the Islanders ; I petitioned for the office of Procurator : but Master Bernard Dunne, licentiate in Theology, arose and petitioned for the same office, and maintained that I was ineligible, both because I had not paid my subscription, and because my turn had passed. I made a brief reply, and we both retired from the meeting. The Nation deliberated for some time on the claims of each of us, and I was unanimously elected Procurator, on condition that I should that very day pay the subscription. For sake of peace and concord I agreed to the condition, and was admitted to take the oath. When I had taken it, in presence of the previous Procurator, Carbery Kelly (whose minutes were read and approved), I took his place, and returned thanks to the Nation. (Here, I must not omit to say that my dearest friend, Master Dunne, openly stated at the meeting, that he was so far from wishing to oppose my election, that he would earnestly have desired that I should be elected in preference to

à S^{to} Theodorico, missus fuerim, ut pro tenui virium mearum modulo, una cum aliis, qui ejus auspiciis et sumptibus, instituendae Juventutis gratiâ, illic antea profecti, et Kilkenniae sedem fixerant, cepto jam ab illis operi promovendo incumberem. Sed cum peractis illic quibusdam mensibus intelligerem laudabile illud susceptum ad felicem exitum perducere nullatenus posse, sine certo aliquo et annuo redditu, quem ab illustrissimo Patrono nostro diu expectare non sinebant ingentes et continui sumptus quos in alendis quadragentis circiter popularibus nostris, Lutetiae studentibus, liberaliter impendebat, primo Hiberniae Proregem, magnum illum Richardum Talbot, Ducem postea Tyrconnel de rerum nostrarum domesticarum angustiis certiorum feci: qui mihi conquestus est, se jam tum spoliatum iis omnibus adminiculis quibus nobis succurrere destinârat, Regis ostendens mandatum, sibi paulo ante a P. Hughs, Jesuitâ, traditum quo omnes scholae, quotquot per universum Hiberniae Regnum fundatae erant, Patribus societatis donabantur. Suasit, ergo, ut Regem ipsum adirem, qui memorem se Nostri futurum jam antea Patronis nostris promiserat, seque, quoad posset, nobis non defuturum spopondit. Haec cum Episcopo et Collegis meis retulissem, suis me in Angliam litteris testimonialibus munitum deputarunt.

A Comite d'Ada, tum in illa Curia Nuntio Apostolico, Regi prae-entatus supplex statum nostrum exposui, petique ut regio suo diplomate, scholam nostram in Collegium erigere dignaretur, annuosque illi assignaret redditus. Haec mihi jam concessurus erat cum inopina ac impia Principis Auraci invasione omnibus susque-deque versis, ipse optimus Princeps, a suis turpissime desertus in Galliam, securum Principum in suis rebus afflictis refugium, cum Regina ac Walliae Principe adhuc infante, foedere coactus est. Inde brevi post in Hiberniam profectus, intra illud biennium quo illic commemoratus est, ab illo impetravi, ut schola nostra in corpus, ut erant, incorporatum et politicum erigeretur, constans ex Rectore, Professoribus, et scholaribus, sub nomine, Collegi Regalis S^{ti} Canici Kilkenniae a serenissimo Principe Jacobo II. fundati, illic, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturi cum annuo redditu centum et quadraginta libellarum sterlinga, cum potestate docendi et gradus conferendi in omnibus artibus et scientiis, et inaper iis omnibus privilegiis, immunitatibus ac facultatibus aucti, quae talibus ejusmodi Institutionibus concedi solent (Litterae nostrae Patentes, inscriptae sunt in Rotularum Officio Dublinensi, circa finem mensis Februarii an. Dni. 1693, Stylo veteri, et anno sexto regni Jacobi II.)

Sed his nos diu frui non sivit Batavus ille praedo, etc.

himself, had he not been urged on by certain persons who threatened to deprive him of the office of Procurator the next time, if he allowed me to get it now.)

Now I shall briefly state the reasons why I had not before paid the subscription (which I that day handed to the Questor) ; and why I allowed my turn to pass, as was objected.

As regards the subscription, about the end of July, 1683, I was exempted from it, as was then the custom, or rather the Nation freely condoned it. For that reason, all the Heads, with two or three exceptions, having considered the case carefully in this day's meeting, would have declared me exempt from the payment of it, had I not given them notice that I preferred to pay that trifling sum than to displease anyone or excite jealousy or ill-will. I could not, in truth, be compelled to pay, for the statutes which now sanction the payment of the subscription were framed and published two or three years after the exemption had been granted to me ; and were intended to serve as a rule for the future, not for the past.

The reason why I allowed my turn to pass, was this. In the year 1687 the most munificent patron of our countrymen, William Bailly, member of the Supreme Council, Ecclesiastical Advocate, and Abbot of St. Thierry, sent me to Ireland, that as far as my ability permitted I might co-operate with others who had previously set out and settled at Kilkenny for the purpose of educating youth under his auspices and at his expense, and that I might as far as in my power push on the work commenced by them. After spending a few months there I understood that so praiseworthy an undertaking could not be brought to a successful issue without a fixed annual income, which we could not continue to expect from our illustrious Patron, on account of the great and constant outlay he incurred, with such liberality in supporting about forty Irish students in Paris. In the first place, therefore, I informed the Viceroy of Ireland, Richard Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnell, of our straightened circumstances ; he regretted that he was deprived of all the means by which he had purposed to help us ; and he showed me a Royal order banded to him a short time previously by a Jesuit, Father Hughs, granting to the Fathers of the Society all the Schools founded throughout Ireland.

Accordingly he advised me to seek an audience of the King himself, as he had promised to our Patrons to keep us in mind, and he pledged himself to help us as far as he could. I reported this to my bishop and my colleagues, and they gave me letters of commendation, and sent me to England.

I was presented to the King by the Apostolic Nuncio, Count d'Ada, and I humbly stated our case, and requested the King by his Royal Charter to erect our school into a college, and bestow upon it an annual endowment. He was on the point of

granting my petition, when the unexpected and impious invasion of the Prince of Orange upset everything, and the King himself, deserted by friends, was forced to fly to France (the secure refuge of Princes in their troubles), together with the Queen and the Prince of Wales who was yet a mere infant. Soon after, he set out from thence for Ireland, and during the two years he spent in that country, I obtained from him a charter erecting our school into a corporate body, consisting of Rector, Professors, and scholars, under the title of the Royal College of St. Canice, Kilkenny, founded by his Most Serene Highness James II., to flourish there for all time to come, with an annual endowment of one hundred and forty pounds sterling, and with authority to teach and confer degrees, in all arts and sciences, and, moreover, with all the privileges, immunities, and faculties, which are wont to be granted to such establishments.

Our Letters Patent were registered in the Rolls Office in Dublin about the end of February, A.D., 1689, old style, and in the sixth year of the reign of James II.

But the Dutch Robber did not allow us to enjoy these privileges long; for he collected a large and well-equipped army from the picked men of all the heterodox kingdoms and nations: Danes, Brandenburgers, Saxons, Swiss, Dutch, English, Scotch, French Calvinists, and Regicide Cromwellian (to whom Cromwell had formerly given the property of Catholics in Ireland); in a word, having collected about fifty thousand men from all the powers of darkness, with these he made his appearance at the Boyne to subjugate the Catholics of Ireland. Here our King, prudently judging that he was not a match for such a force, ordered all his troops (though burning for the fray and determined to conquer or to die) to proceed to Limerick.

In this he acted prudently, in my opinion, for what sensible man would think of facing the picked veterans of so many nations with merely twenty-two thousand common soldiers.

Not long after the Prince of Orange laid siege to Limerick, a city strong only by reason of its garrison. He posted his artillery within a stone's throw of the walls, and as they were old and decayed, he soon made a breach as wide as he desired, and attempted to enter the city. But he was repelled with such loss that he abandoned the idea of a second assault. Then, inflamed with anger, he swore to level the proud city to the ground, and ordered artillery yet more powerful to be sent to him from the Tower of London, but all these were blown up and scattered to the winds by our renowned Sarsfield within three leagues of the camp of the Prince of Orange. The latter speedily withdrew to England in despair, having lost in that siege about twelve thousand men.

In the following year, Ginkle, General of the Army of the Prince of Orange, laid siege to Athlone. Our general, St. Ruth,

laughed at the works of the enemy, and had the imprudence to make little of their attacks, though they were really serious ; he also rejected the wise counsels of the Earl of Tyrconnell, and in consequence he had the sorrow to find that the city was speedily taken from him. To wipe out, as quickly as possible, the disgrace brought on by his imprudence, he fell into another mistake, still more grave. With a small force of brave, but almost unarmed men, in spite of the remonstrance of Tyrconnell, he took up his position at Aughrim, to give battle to an enemy twice as numerous, and, moreover, well provided with all kinds of munition. As they came up he attacked them with great intrepidity, routed and drove them back three times with great slaughter. As they fled, he hotly pursued them, confident that the day was his, but while thus engaged he was killed by a cannon ball. On the fall of their commander, the victorious troops hesitated, confusion followed, and thus the victory was lost.

The enemy again laid siege to Limerick, but mindful of the disaster sustained at the last siege they were afraid to approach too near the city. They left the walls almost intact and contented themselves with shelling the houses. Finally, despairing of taking the city, they looked out for traitors amongst us. By a kind of sympathy they scented a traitor in Clifford, who had been advanced in our army to rank of Brigadier, and he betrayed to them the passage of the Shannon, which he had unluckily been appointed to guard, and thus, what that immense force of ruffians could not effect, was accomplished by the treachery of a scoundrel from amongst our own men. For, as communications were cut off between Thomond and the city, as well as with our army which was stationed in that quarter and received all its supplies from the city, it became necessary either to dislodge the enemy from their strong positions, on the other side of the river, or to come to terms with them. A treaty was made to the following effect : That the Catholics who remained in the Kingdom should enjoy the same privileges as they enjoyed under Charles II. ; and that all who wished to emigrate to France, should be provided with ships, etc., that each should be free to dispose as he pleased of his horses, arms, and other property, etc. On these terms the city was surrendered.

Almost the whole army crossed over to France ; and such numbers flocked from all quarters to the sea that the whole nation seemed resolved to emigrate if there were vessels enough to take them away.

For such was their affection and veneration for their beloved Prince, so unshaken their loyalty, that they preferred to abandon their country, their property, and their homes, and all their desires had but one object, viz., that as they could not carry away their native soil from under a heretical yoke, since it was natur-

ally immovable, they should at least have liberty to go forth, and follow their King wheresoever he went, and share his fortunes in all things, even in exile, thinking themselves most fortunate if they could offer to him their very lives, which they had already risked in his service, and which were yet unstained by an alien yoke, and die for him in whatever way he pleased.

With our army I crossed over to France for the third time, and arrived in Paris towards the end of last March, and I would have been elected Procurator on the approaching 1st April, had it not been provided by the 9th article of the Second Chapter of the Statutes that I could not be promoted to any dignity in the Nation until after six months' residence. Thus what Providence offered me in my distress, a harsh rule refused. And this was the reason why, though present, I allowed my turn to pass. Now the facts which I have here set down, I preferred to insert in this place as briefly as possible, rather than to leave them to be buried in oblivion, or to be related not so accurately by others, and in this respect I am the more to be borne with, as I have undertaken to state nothing but what I either had a share in or what I witnessed.

Master O'Lery's narrative of the battle of the Boyne and the events which followed, shows that he was a devoted Jacobite. But his account of the liberality of Abbé Bailly towards Irish students, and the support which he gave towards the foundation of a College in Kilkenny, are matters of history.¹¹ We have, therefore, no reason to doubt that the statement regarding the grant of a charter to the University of Kilkenny in 1689 is also correct; an event the more interesting as it forms a precedent for a Royal grant to a Catholic University.

But to return to the subject from which we digressed. At the meetings of the Masters of the Nations not only were the principal officers, such as the Procurator, the Questor, and Censor, elected, but arrangements were made for the appointments of examiners for degrees and new members were admitted. Here, too, the Irish Masters are prominent. In 1694 we find the following minute:—

On the 4th August, the ordinary meeting of the Faculty of Arts was held at the Mathurins at 7 a.m. for the purpose of appointing examiners; and for the tribe of the Continent, Masters Delpierre and Magenis; for the tribe of the Islanders, M. Egan and Nolan were elected; for the higher examination

¹¹ *Les Saints prêtres français du XVII^e siècle*, par G. Letourneau, P.S.S. Paris: 1897, pp. 239-242.

at St. Mary's, Thady Nolan; and for that at St. Genevieve's, Donat Lery, were confirmed. Then there presented themselves those who petitioned to be received into the Nation (*supplices pilei nationalis recipiendi*), viz., Masters Malachy Fogarty, first, and James Merrick, second.

Other interesting details are given in the Registers from time to time. In 1625 the Procurator, John Molony, records an official visitation of the Irish Seminary made by the Rector of the University.¹² It was found on that occasion that all the students except three were natives of the diocese of Meath, and the Superior, Dr. Messingham, was reminded that the Royal Charter and the statutes sanctioned by the University required that priests from all parts of Ireland should be admitted. Messingham replied that he had always acted according to the principle laid down by those ordinances. In 1645 when the tidings of the death of Malachy O'Quely reached Paris, the Nation, of which he had formerly been a member, celebrated a Requiem service for his happy repose. Again in 1670, Master Offelan, the Superior of the Irish priests in Paris, presented the following petition:—

There was read a letter from Master Offelan, Superior of the Irish Mission, in which, as he had not succeeded by friendly admonitions, remonstrances and threats, in sending home the Irishmen who had been ordained priests *titulo missionis*, he requested the University to deprive them of votes and fees (*sportula*) in the Nation. The petition as being of greater importance was referred to the next meeting.

In 1701-1702, when Dr. Moore was named Rector, the Procurator, Malachy O'Fogarty records, with marked pleasure, the unanimity of the election of his distinguished countryman, Michael Morus,¹³ *alias* O'Morigh, to the office of Rector. It is also recorded how Moore, during his term of office, delivered with marked success a laudatory oration in honour of Louis XIV., in presence of the University, of the *élite* of the City of Paris, and of some members of the exiled Royal family of England. Again, in 1726, when Moore died, the Nation returned thanks to M. Delaval, Rector of the University, for the panegyric which he pronounced over their regretted Dean, and inserted the oration in their Register.

¹² *Reg.* 26.

¹³ *Reg.* 40, p. 39.

II

But it is time to give the names of the Irish Masters who filled the office of Procurator of the German Nation in the University of Paris. These names have been already given to the public by the learned Canon (now Provost) Bellesheim in the Appendix to the second volume of his history of the Catholic Church in Ireland. But as that learned work is still inaccessible to English readers the present writer, believing that they will be interesting to many in Ireland, has copied the names from the old University Registers, and he gives them here in English. They are as follows :—

LIST OF IRISHMEN WHO FILLED THE OFFICE OF PROCURATORS OF
THE GERMAN NATION, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

Registre de l'Universite. Liber Procuratorium. 1552 to 1613.

(*Archives Nationales. H. 2589.*)

A.D. 1595.—M. Walter Tailler, Dublin,

„ 1606.—M. Thomas Deis.

„ 1609.—M. Thomas Deis, second time.

From the *Cartularium de Nation d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne*
Biblioth. Nat. nouvelles-acquisitions. No. 525. (Bibliothèque
Nationale.)

A.D. 1612.—M. Thomas Deis, bachelor in theology and pro-
fessor of philosophy in the college of Navarre.

From the *Registre de la Nation d'Allemagne dans l'ancienne*
Universite de Paris, No. 20. A.D. 1613 to 1660. (Bibliothèque
de l'Universite.)

A.D. 1614.—M. Henry Stanihurst, diocese of Dublin.

„ 1615.—M. Walter Tailer (Taylor), priest of the diocese of
Dublin.

„ „ Re-elected.

„ 1617.—M. Malachy Quaely, Killaloe, bachelor in theo-
logy,¹⁴ professor of philosophy in the college of
Boncourt.

„ 1618.—M. Roger Moynichan, Killaloe, bachelor in
theology.

„ 1619.—M. Henry Stanihurst, second time.

„ 1620.—M. John Molony, of Thomond, bachelor in theo-
logy.

„ „ M. Malachy Quaely, second time.

„ 1622.—M. Malachy Quaely, licentiate in theology, third
time.

¹⁴ The degrees are *sacrae facultates Parisiensis*.

- A.D. 1622.—M. James Walter (Jonathan?), of Claremorris, theologian.
- „ 1625.—M. John Molony, second time.
- „ 1626.—M. John Molony, third time.
- „ „ M. Andrew Lynch.
- „ 1627.—M. Roger O'Moloy, bachelor in theology.
- „ 1628.—M. Roger O'Moloy, second time.
- „ 1630.—M. Anthony O'Mulliniog, of the diocese of Cork.
- „ 1631.—M. Olivier Deise, of the diocese of Meath.
- „ 1632.—M. Olivier Deise, second time.
- „ „ M. Thomas Messingham, priest, of the diocese of Meath, rector of the Irish Seminary in Paris.
- „ 1633.—M. Edward Tirel, licentiate in theology, fellow of the Royal College of Navarre, and professor of philosophy in the Collège des Grassins.
- „ 1634.—M. Edward Tirel, second time.
- „ 1635.—M. Roger O'Moloy, licentiate in theology and professor of philosophy in the college of Belley.
- „ 1636.—M. Robert O'Kearney, Classic at the Grassins and bachelor in theology.
- „ 1637.—M. James Duley, Limerick, bachelor in theology.
- „ 1638.—M. Bartholomew Archer, of the city of Kilkenny, sworn of the household, and chaplain extraordinary to her Most Serene Highness Mary Henrietta, Queen of Great Britain (obit, 4 Nov., 1653).
- „ „ M. Constantine Clanchy, of the diocese of Killaloe.
- „ 1639.—M. Dermit Duyer, Emly, bachelor in theology.
- „ „ M. Michael White, citizen of Limerick.
- „ 1640.—M. George White, citizen of Limerick.
- „ 1641.—M. Bernard Teaghan, of Dromlone, bachelor in theology.
- „ 1642.—M. Nicholas Poerus (Power), Emly, bachelor in theology.
- „ „ M. Roger O'Moloy, wrote no minutes.
- „ 1644.—M. Thomas Fitzsimmons, an Irish priest, of Drogheda, protonotary apostolic, and rector of the Irish Seminary at Rouen.
- „ 1645.—M. Philip Lonergan, Limerick, bachelor in theology.
- „ „ Bartholomew Archer, second time (titles as above), also, chaplain to Anne Maria, eldest daughter of Louis, duke of Orleans.
- „ 1646.—M. Patrick Hifernan, Cashel, bachelor in theology.
- „ 1647.—M. Thomas Medus (Mede), (Killocini), bachelor in theology.
- „ 1648.—M. Roger O'Moloy, third time.

- A.D. 1648.—M. Henry Coghlan, priest, protonotary apostolic.
 „ 1650.—M. Nicholas Poerus (Power), Limerick, diocese of Emly, second time.
 „ „ M. Maurice Poerus (Power), Waterford, bachelor in theology.
 „ 1651.—M. Patrick O'Cahail.
 „ 1652.—M. Maenamara wrote nothing concerning his term of office.
 „ 1653.—M. Thaddeus Maenamara, of Thomond, bachelor in theology.
 „ 1654.—M. Nicholas O'Hea, protonotary apostolic, precentor and canon of the illustrious cathedral of Emly.
 „ 1655.—M. Manuce O'Kiffe, Cork.
 „ 1656.—M. Patrick O'Hifernan, priest of the diocese of Cashel, bachelor in theology, second time.
 „ 1657.—M. Robert Teaghan, priest, and licentiate in theology.
 „ „ M. Roger O'Moloy, fourth time.
 „ 1659.—M. Thomas Mede, priest, bachelor in theology.

Registre de la Nation d'Allemagne, No. 30. A.D. 1660 to 1698.

(*Bibliothèque de l'Université.*)

- A.D. 1659.—M. John Molony, licentiate in theology, dean of the Metropolitan Church of Cashel.
 „ 1660.—First and last procuratorship of M. Hugh O'Cahail, priest, Cashel, bachelor in theology.
 „ 1661.—M. James Fogarty, priest, Eliofogerty, diocese of Cashel.
 „ „ M. Nicholas O'Hea, S.R.E. protonotary ; precentor and canon of Emly, and master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem in the town of (Anni?).
 „ 1662.—M. Peter Poerus (Power), of the diocese (Manapiensis?) in Ireland.
 „ 1663.—M. Manuce O'Kiffe, Cork, second time.
 „ „ M. John Numan.
 „ „ M. Roger O'Molloy, professor, licentiate in theology (Sorbonne), seventh term.
 „ 1665.—M. Patrick Hifernan, priest of the Metropolitan Church of Cashel, bachelor in theology, third time.
 „ „ M. Patrick Kelly.
 „ 1668.—M. Maurice Fitzgerald, baron, Kilkenny, diocese of Ossory, physician in ordinary to the Most Serene Queen of Great Britain.
 „ 1669.—M. Henry Browne (or Le Brun), of Galway, Tuam, in Ireland.

- A.D. 1671. M. Michael Moore, formerly professor of philosophy in the Grassins, and vice-principal of the said college.
- „ „ M. James O’Kearney.
- „ „ M. Edward O’Moloy.
- „ „ M. Edward O’Moloy, second time (*prima pacifica*).
- „ 1673.—M. Michael Moore.
- „ „ M. Peter Poerus, priest (*Manapiensis?*).
- „ 1674.—M. John Numan (Irishman), second time.
- „ 1675.—M. Edward Comerford, priest of the diocese of Cashel, bachelor of the Sorbonne.
- „ „ M. John O’Glissan, priest of the diocese of Dro-more, bachelor in theology.
- „ 1676.—M. William Daton, licentiate of the Sorbonne, Chancellor of Kilkenny.
- „ 1677.—M. Cornelius O’Daly, of the county Kerry, of the town of Kilgardin, in the diocese of Ardfert, priest, protonotary apostolic, licentiate of laws, Paris, and examiner in Arts at St. Genevieve.
- „ 1684.—M. John Darsy, priest of the diocese of Tuam, bachelor in theology, examiner for higher Arts in the college of the Blessed Virgin.
- „ „ M. Thaddeus Cruoly, of Roscarbery, in Ireland.
- „ „ M. Thaddeus Cruoly, second time.
- „ 1691.—M. Charles Magennis, priest, of Down, in Ireland, provisor of the Lombard College.
- „ „ M. Cornelius Nary, of Kildare, priest.¹⁵
- „ 1692.—M. Donat O’Lery, priest of the diocese of Ossory, and Royal professor of philosophy in the college of Kilkenny.
- „ 1693.—M. John Farely, priest, of Kilmore, in Ireland, bachelor of theology and licentiate of laws, Paris, and examiner at the college of B.V.M.
- „ „ M. Cornelius Nary, licentiate of laws, Paris, and provisor of the Lombard College.
- „ 1694.—M. Edmund Kelly, priest, of Clonfert, licentiate in theology.
- „ 1695.—M. Charles Mageniz, priest, Down, fourth time.
- „ „ M. Thaddeus O’Molony, priest, Limerick, treasurer of the Church of Killaloe.
- „ 1696.—M. John Farely (titles as before), for the tribe of the Continent, third term.
- „ „ M. Michael Smith, priest, of Kilmore, bachelor in theology.
- „ „ M. Carbery Kelly, licentiate of theology and arch-deacon of Elphin, third term.
- „ „ M. Gilbert, Dublin, bachelor in theology.
- „ 1697.—M. John Cussen, bachelor in theology.

¹⁵ There are here some blank pages in the MS.

A.D. 1698.—M. William Ryanne, priest, Cashel, bachelor in theology.

Registre des conclusions de la Nation d'Allemagne dans l'ancienne Université, No. 40. A.D. 1698 to 1730.

(*Bibliothèque de l'Université.*)

A.D. 1698.—M. John Farley, priest, Kilmore, licentiate of theology and of laws.

„ „ M. Edmund Kegan, priest, Elphin, canon or prebendary of the Cathedral of Elphin.

„ 1699.—M. Charles Magenis, fifth term.

„ „ M. Denis MacInerroe, priest, Killaloe, licentiate in theology.

„ „ M. Carbery Kelly, licentiate in theology and archdeacon of Elphin; fourth term.

„ „ M. Philip Barry, priest, Cloyne, licentiate in theology.

„ 1700.—M. Michael Smith, priest, Kilmore, licentiate in theology.

„ „ M. Peter Flannery, priest, Clonfert, licentiate in theology.

„ 1701.—M. Charles Magenis, sixth time.

„ „ M. Malachy O'Fogarty, priest, licentiate in theology, Chancellor of Cashel.

„ 1702.—M. James Merick, Tuam, priest, bachelor student for licence in theology.

„ „ M. Thomas Roussel, Cashel, priest, licentiate in theology.

„ „ M. John O'Molony, Killaloe, deacon.

„ 1705.—M. Charles Magenis, seventh term.

„ 1706.—M. Edmund Duffy, Clonfert, priest, licentiate in theology.

„ 1707.—M. James Coyle, Meath, priest, licentiate utriusque juris.

„ 1708.—M. Ignatius Moriarty, Ardfert, priest, bachelor in theology.

„ „ M. Michael Moore, dean of the Nation.

„ „ M. Daniel MacEgan, who was succeeded by Moore.

„ 1710.—M. John Baptist Gavan, Limerick, priest.

„ 1711.—M. Thaddæus Kelly, priest of the diocese of Clonfert.

„ „ M. Hugh McGeaghan, priest, Kilmore.

„ 1712.—M. Hugh Coffey, Meath, priest and licentiate in theology.

„ 1713.—M. James Merick, licentiate in theology, provisor of the Lombard College, co-opted into the tribe of the Continent; second time.

„ „ M. Thomas Roussel made no entry for his term of office.

„ 1714.—M. William Rianne, Cashel, second term.

- A.D. 1715.—M. Thaddeus Kelly, second term.
 „ „ M. Daniel Farely, Kilmore, priest and bachelor
 in theology.
 „ 1716.—M. James Merick (titles as above), third term.
 „ 1717.—M. Michael Moore, dean of the German Nation.
 „ 1718.—M. William Rianne.
 „ 1721.—M. James Merick (titles as above), fourth term.
 „ 1724-25.—M. Thaddy Kelly, Clonfert, priest.
 „ 1728-29.—M. Cajetan O'Callahane, Cork, priest
 „ 1730.—M. Butler, procurator.

If the Registers from A.D. 1730 to A.D. 1793 should be discovered there can be no doubt that they will show a succession of distinguished Irishmen holding office in the University, as gifted and as earnest as those of the previous century, whom Santeuil, Lesage, and Rhulieres praised for their talents and satirised for their poverty, and for coming to Paris to live on *arguments et des messes*.¹⁶ From other sources we know that the dignity of Procurator of the Nation continued to be prized by Irishmen. In 1739 John Farely, Rector of the Lombard College, took part in the elevation of a Rector of the University in his capacity of Procurator.¹⁷

In an incomplete collection of the *Almanac Royal* which we have been able to consult, the staff of the University of Paris is given year by year, and from that source we learn that Irishmen continued to hold frequently the office of Procurator in Faculty of Arts, down to the Revolution. In that official year-book we find the following names of Procurators of the German Nations, most of whom belonged to the Irish College :—

- A.D. 1741.—(Walter) Daton,¹⁸ Lombard College.
 „ 1751.—(Laurence) Kelly, Lombard College.
 „ 1769.—(—) Farely, College Boncour.
 „ 1773.—(Laurence) Kelly, Lombard College.
 „ 1775.—(Michael) Daly, Lombard College.
 „ 1779. (James) Markey, Rector, Irish College.
 „ 1781.—(—) Cooke, Lombard College.
 „ 1785.—(Patrick) Kelleher, Provisor, Lombard College.
 „ 1787.—(Richard) Ferris, College Montaigu.
 „ 1789.—(John) Burke, Provisor, Lombard College
 „ 1791.—(—) O'Donnell, Irish College.

¹⁶ *Rhuliers sur les Disputes*.

¹⁷ Jourdain, *Hist. de l'Université*, edit., 1866; vol. i., p. 368.

¹⁸ In the *Almanac Royal* the surnames only, with the name of the College to which the officials belonged, is given. As in most cases this was the Lombard or Irish College, we are able to give the names of several in full.

This list, incomplete though it is, shows that the connexion of Irishmen with the University of Paris continued down to its suppression in 1793. A connexion so long and so honorable proves that Irish Ecclesiastics were not indifferent as to the advantages of University education. For two centuries a foreign University in the capital of France admitted an Irish College to enjoy the rights and privileges of a University College. For two centuries Irishmen were admitted to hold chairs in a foreign University, and to share in its government. Is it unreasonable for Irish Ecclesiastics to claim to enjoy in their native land in the twentieth century a share in University life, equal to that which in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they enjoyed in a foreign land and under a foreign government?

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

THE RULE OF ST. AUGUSTINE

MANY excellent translations have appeared from time to time of the famous Letter 211, which is included in the correspondence of St. Augustine. In that letter, as is well known, he lays down a series of rules for the guidance of the nuns belonging to the Convent where his sister had been Superior to the time of her death. What rule of life these nuns had followed previous to the reception of the wise and holy regulations which the great Bishop of Hippo was at pains to draw up for their guidance, there is no evidence to show.

It has, however, been observed by many profound students of the works of St. Augustine that when writing to the nuns with the object of putting before them the Rules by the observance of which he trusted they would attain that degree of perfection corresponding to the state of life they had embraced, the Bishop would naturally follow an empirical course. In other words, he would be careful to enjoin in the case of the nuns only those principles, the importance and the value of which had been proved by many years observance. Hence it is that many writers of insight and prudence have insisted that the rule of life set before the nuns by St. Augustine forms but a replica, modified, of course, so as to meet the requirements of women, of the rule which he had previously given to the hermits he had established at Tagaste and Hippo, and the value of which ought naturally to be apparent after twenty-five years' experience.

When considering this important matter we must remember that Letter 211 left Augustine's hands in the year 423, that is to say seven years before his demise. Twenty-five years previously, that is to say, in the year 388, immediately after his return to Tagaste from Italy, Augustine had established that order of Hermits which spread, as every student of that period of Church history is aware, with marvellous rapidity over the northern sea-board of Africa.¹

¹ *Vide the Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, Paris ed., 1715, under the heading 'Des Moines de Saint Augustin en Afrique.' Tome 3, pp. 4 and 5. Augustine was frequently charged by his enemies with having introduced the monastic life into Northern Africa.

With the Brethren at Tagaste he continued to live till he moved to the more important city of Hippo in the year 391. Arrived there his first task was to establish a monastery of Hermits similar in every respect to those he had left at Tagaste. Although ordained a priest in 391, Augustine still continued to live in the monastery at Hippo. It was not, in fact, till 395 when he was reluctantly compelled to take upon himself the episcopal dignity in the interests of the Church that he severed his connection with his Hermits. And surely it is only reasonable to suppose that he must have continued to take the liveliest interest in the fortunes of the monastery at Hippo to the time of his death in 430. To my mind, the very fact that some of the ablest Bishops who ruled in the various Sees of Northern Africa, what time the Donatist heresy raged with greatest fury, were chosen from the Brethren of that monastery at Hippo must have served to deepen the affection of Augustine for his spiritual children.

Several times, when going through his works, we meet with references made by Augustine to the days of his monastic life.² His mind, probably because of the strain entailed by what must have seemed a never ending conflict with heresy in all its forms, reverted with yearning to that time of peace and retirement when, as he tells us, he gave himself up with his brethren to the singing of the divine praises, prayer and meditation, alternated by manual labour, the writing of books,³ the instruction of the ignorant, and the distribution of alms among the poor.

During those years of strict monastic life, Augustine must have acquired an extensive knowledge of the operation of the causes which go to the formation of the religious character and temperament. It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that as time went on he must have recognised the importance of drawing up a series of rules and regulations for the guidance

² *Vide* Sermon 355. 2; Letter 31. 4; Letter 213. 4, etc. In his later years, he constantly insisted upon the fact that it was only with reluctance that he consented to be made a priest and a bishop.

³ Shortly after his conversion, for example, after he had settled in his first monastery at Tagaste, he composed his *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* and his *De Moribus Manichaeorum*; also his *De Animae Quantitate*, and his three books, *De Libero Arbitrio*. *Vide* the Retractions (i. 7, section 1)

of the brethren of the various monasteries which were established by the many holy men who had been trained under his immediate supervision at Tagaste and Hippo.

What more natural than that when laying down a rule of life for the nuns, he should revert to the wholesome and long-tried principles which had brought many a soul to sanctity?

We can never feel sufficiently grateful for the circumstance which led St. Augustine to write to those nuns, and to include in his epistle a complete rule of life, a modification, it may be, of a much sterner original, which has come down to us through the long course of centuries unimpaired and unaltered, while practically all trace of the original rule on which, I take it, it must have been founded, has altogether disappeared. It is impossible to study the rule as we have it to-day in our Book of Constitutions, and the internal evidence with which it presents us without being convinced that it is an adaptation of the regulations contained in Letter 211, suited, of course, to the needs of men. At what date, precisely this alteration was accomplished I am unable to find out. Certainly it must have been at a very remote period, for the numerous congregations of Augustinian Hermits, who in the early days of the thirteenth century were united so as to form a Mendicant Order, under the name of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine, all possessed and followed it.

Here and there in the Rule we meet with a point or two on which especial emphasis would seem to be laid. This, no doubt, is due to the circumstances which led to the writing of the ever-famous Letter 211 by St. Augustine, and which it may not be out of place to explain here.

The great Bishop's sister, or one of them, had embraced the religious life after the example of Augustine himself. In time she was raised to the position of Prioress of her convent, a post she continued to fill to the time of her death. When the nuns came to elect her successor they chose the Sister who had acted as assistant to the lately deceased Prioress. Whatever the cause, this nun rendered herself in a short time utterly distasteful to the members of her community. This led to scenes of turbulence. Matters in fact went so far that appeal was made to Augustine as Bishop that he

should hold a visitation with a view to restoring order. The Saint, however, thinks that he can do more good by writing to the nuns and by laying down a number of rules for their observance than he could by visiting them while their minds were filled with feelings of resentment and dissatisfaction. Hence the compiling of the memorable document Letter 211.

The Bishop begins his epistle by saying that as severity is ready to punish the faults which it may discover, so charity is reluctant to find out the shortcomings which it must punish. On this account he cannot see his way to accede to the nuns' request that he should visit them. Had he consented to go, he feels it would not have been to rejoice in their harmony, but perhaps to add more vehemence to their strife. Were a tumult to arise amongst them in his presence he could not regard it with indifference or allow it to pass by unpunished. He is convinced that he must have refused to entertain the concessions they demanded, as in his opinion they were likely to prove subversive of all sound discipline.

Quoting the words of St. Paul, 'to spare you, I came not any more to Corinth,'¹ Augustine tells the nuns that it was in the hope of sparing them that he came not to see them. He has also, he declares, spared himself:---

That I might not have sorrow added to sorrow, I have preferred not to see you face to face, but rather to pray God heartily on your behalf, and to plead the cause of your most imminent danger, not in words in your presence, but in tears in the sight of God, imploring Him that He may not change into sorrow the joy wherewith I am given to rejoice in you, and that in the midst of the terrible sins which abound on all sides, I may find consolation at times by reflecting on your number, your pure affection, your holy conversation, and the generous measure of the grace of God which has been bestowed upon you, so that you have not only avoided matrimony, but have elected to dwell together with one accord under the same roof, and that you have one soul and one heart in God.

Augustine further remarks that it is a highly unfortunate circumstance that the seeds of discord should flourish in a community of nuns in his diocese at the very time when the

¹ 2 Cor. i. 23.

Donatists were returning to the unity of the Catholic faith, after years of wandering in the paths of heresy. He implored the nuns to be steadfast in observing their vows, which if they but do, they will see no reason to clamour for a new Prioress. The nun they have elected has been unwearied in her care of the convent for long years. He tells the younger Sisters that when they first came to the convent they found her there acting in the capacity of Assistant Prioress, and that they have both increased in numbers and grown old in years under her government.

Under her [he pointedly says], you made your novitiate, under her you took the veil, under her your number has multiplied, and yet you are clamourously insisting that another Sister should occupy her post ; whereas if the proposal to replace her by another Sister had come from us, you could not be blamed for grieving over the fact that such a proposal had been made.

No official, he points out, unknown to the nuns has been appointed to the convent except the Presbyter,⁵ who acted, I take it, as a sort of chaplain and spiritual director to the nuns. He finds it so difficult to carry out his duties owing to the disorganised state of the convent that he feels inclined to resign his office. This the nuns will not hear of ; for, however much they dislike their Prioress, they have nothing but reverence and due affection for the Presbyter.

Finally, the saintly Bishop implores the nuns to compose their minds, and not to permit the work of the devil to prevail amongst them. He prays that the peace of Christ may gain the victory in their hearts, and that they may not rush headlong to death either through vexation of spirit or through shame ; but rather by repentance resume the discharge of their daily duties, thus imitating not the example of Judas the betrayer, but the tears of Peter, the Shepherd of the flock of Christ. Having written so much in a spirit of exhortation,

⁵ It is not easy to decide exactly what position the Presbyter held in the opening days of the 6th century in the different monasteries of women and men. We find mention made more than once in the Rule of St. Augustine of the Presbyter, whose authority was plainly more extensive than that of the Superior. Augustine, when comparing Christian with Manichæan asceticism (*De Morib. Eccl. Cath.*, section 70) has the following :—' I saw at Milan a lodging-house of saints, in number not a few, presided over by one presbyter, a man of great excellence and learning.'

Augustine then proceeds to enumerate the rules which he is anxious the nuns should observe in their convent.

As this portion of Letter 211 is well known to every student of the works of St. Augustine, I am persuaded that it will prove of more advantage if I subjoin a faithful translation of the Rule as it is given in the latest edition of the Constitutions of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine. Allowing for the change of gender, the Rule as we have it to-day will be found to coincide almost exactly with the wording of the regulations contained in Letter 211. A few points of purely feminine concern are omitted here and there, and when these occur I shall draw the attention of the reader to them by means of foot-notes.

THE RULE OF OUR HOLY FATHER AURELIUS AUGUSTINE, BISHOP OF HIPPO, AND ILLUSTRIOUS DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

On the Love of God and our Neighbour, Unity of Heart, and the Possession of Goods in common.

1. Above all things, dearest Brethren, love God, and next your neighbour, for this is the chief command laid upon us.⁶ The following are the rules, then, which we command you to carry out when living together in your Monastery.

2. First of all, the better to attain the end for which you have come together you must live in the house in oneness of spirit, and let your hearts and minds be one in God.

3. And regard not any property as your own individually, but let all things be held in common; and let distribution be made of food and clothing to each one by your Superior—not in equal measure to all, for you are not all equally robust, but rather to each individual in accordance with his need. For so you read in the Acts of the Apostles:—‘Neither did any one say that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but all things were common unto them. And distribution was made to every one according as he had need.’

4. Those who possess worldly goods when entering the Monastery shall of their own accord make over such property to the common fund. Those on the other hand who had no earthly possessions when entering must not expect those comforts in

⁶ This sentence does not appear in Letter 211.

⁷ iv. 32 and 35.

the Monastery which they never enjoyed outside it. Still if their state of health demand it they must be supplied with whatever delicacies they require, and this even though while in the world their penury was so great that they were unable to provide themselves with the necessaries of life. And let them not think that their present happiness lies altogether in the fact that they find in the Monastery such food and clothing as they could never provide themselves with outside it.

CHAPTER II.

On the Practice of Humility

1. Nor should they feel puffed up because they now associate on equal terms with persons whom they dare not approach while in the world ; but rather let their hearts be lifted up in thanksgiving, and let them not crave for the empty vanities of the world, lest perchance our Monasteries prove of advantage only to the rich, and a drawback to the poor, if in them the wealthy learn the value of true humility while the indigent become filled with false pride.

2. On the other hand, even they who occupied a position of prominence while in the world must not hold in contempt those of the brethren who from a lowly lot have joined this our holy fellowship : rather let the high-born rejoice more in their daily intercourse with the brethren of low estate than in the opulence of their relations. And let not the high-born feel over elated from the knowledge that they have given something to the common fund from their belongings, lest indeed their very riches become to them more an occasion of pride from the fact that they share them with others in the Monastery, than they would have proved had they spent them upon their own enjoyments in the world. For in evil works all manner of wickedness co-operates towards their perpetration, but pride is a poison that operates even to the undoing of our good works. And of what avail is it to reduce oneself to a state of poverty by giving largely to the needy, if the wretched soul grows to be more proud by contemning wealth than it had been previously by owning it?

3. Wherefore, let all of you live together in peace and concord : and in your own persons honour God, who has made you to be His temples.

CHAPTER III.

On Prayer and the Divine Office.

1. Be constant in the practice of prayer at the appointed hours. In the oratory no work should be done at variance with the character of the place, whence its name, so that no obstacle may be placed in the way of those who, having sufficient leisure, wish to pray outside the fixed hours, by such as are using the oratory for a different purpose.

2. While you glorify God in your psalms and hymns your hearts should dwell upon the words your voices utter. Sing only that portion which is ordered to be chanted : and where this direction is not given, abstain altogether from singing.

CHAPTER IV.

On Fasting and the Taking of Food.

1. Bring your flesh into subjection by fasting and by abstaining from meat and drink as far as your health will permit. If, however, a Brother, is unable to fast, he should still take nothing in the way of nourishment outside meal time unless he is ill.

2. And from the time you go to table until you leave it listen in silence and without contention to whatever is read to you, according to custom ; so that your ears may take in the word of God while your mouths are occupied with the consumption of food.

CHAPTER V.

On Kindness towards the Ailing.

1. In case those who are weak in consequence of their early training are treated somewhat differently as regards food, this should not be a cause of trouble to others, nor should it seem unfair to those whom a different training has rendered more robust. Nor should the strong look upon the weak as being in a happier condition than themselves from the fact that the weaker Brethren receive a more generous dietary : rather let it be a source of satisfaction to the strong that they enjoy a constitutional vigour which has been denied their fellows.

2. And if to such as have joined the Monastery from a home of comfort and generous up-bringing there is given anything in the way of food, clothing, bedding, or covering which is not given to others who are more robust, and consequently more fortunate, the Brethren to whom these comforts are not granted should bear in mind the extent to which the delicate Brethren have been reduced when their present mode of life is compared with their former manner of living while in the world, although they may be unable to bring themselves down to the level of rigorous frugality practised by the Brethren who are blessed with a stronger constitution.

3. Nor should all the Brethren long to have for themselves what they see given to a few — not as a sign of honour, but solely out of regard for their weakness — lest such a deplorable reversal of discipline should be brought about that in the Monastery the rich become as far as possible inured to hardship while the poor grow to be fond of ease and comfort.

4. For just as those who are indisposed must take only a small quantity of food lest their illness be increased, so when

they have reached the period of convalescence they must be so treated as to hasten their complete restoration to health, and that even though they came to the Monastery from the lowest grade of poverty : as if in their case recent illness had conferred the same claim for indulgent treatment, as their previous mode of living has secured for those who were in affluent circumstances before entering the Monastery. But once the ailing have recovered their former good health, let them return straightway to their own more excellent daily routine which, the fewer its needs, is all the better suited to the servants of God. Nor should a perverse inclination detain them now that they have recovered in that condition of comfort which was necessary for them during the time of their illness. Let those look upon themselves as richer in every way who are blessed with that degree of strength which enables them to bear up under the hardships of a life of self-denial. Better is it to want little than to have much.⁸

CHAPTER VI.

On the Dress and Comportment of the outer Man.

1. Let your clothes be in no way conspicuous, and strive to impress others more by your behaviour than by your raiment.⁹

2. When you go out into the public thoroughfares walk together ; and when you have reached your destination, stand together. In walking, standing, comportment, in your every action, let there be nothing calculated to give offence to anyone, and rather let everything be in accordance with your sacred calling.

3. And although by accident your eyes may rest upon a woman, let them not gaze fixedly on any such. Not that we forbid you to see women when out walking, but to make them the object of your desire, or to long to be desired of them is sinful. For not by touch only or by inward desire is a woman lusted after, or is her passion manifested. This can be done even by a look and by inward feeling. And say not that your minds are clean when your eyes are wanton : for a wanton eye is still the harbinger of a carnal heart. And when lecherous hearts make themselves known one to another by mutual looks, though no word is spoken, and are pleased, according to the concupiscence of the flesh, by reciprocal desire, their purity of mind has vanished even though their bodies are still unstained

⁸ This sentence reminds me of a line in Seneca, 'Non qui parum habet sed qui plus cupit, pauper est.'—Epistolæ ii. 6.

⁹ At this point the following sentences are found in Letter 211:—'Let your head-dresses not be so thin as to let the nets below them be seen. Let your hair be worn wholly covered, and let it neither be carelessly dishevelled nor too scrupulously arranged when you go beyond the Monastery.'

by any acts of gross uncleanness. And let not him that stares at a woman, and who rejoices at finding her eyes fixed on him, imagine that his act is not noticed by others. It is certainly remarked, and that, too, by those whom he least thinks are observing him.

4. But even though his act should be hidden, and so escape all observation, how shall he elude that Witness who is above in whose sight all things are manifest? Is it to be imagined that He does not follow our actions because He regards all things with a patience in keeping with His wisdom? Let every good Religious therefore be careful not sinfully to give pleasure to a woman from the dread he entertains of displeasing Almighty God; and let him refrain from looking sinfully at a woman by calling to mind the fact that God sees all things. In such circumstances as these a wholesome fear is commended by him who wrote that 'A fixed eye is an abomination to the Lord.'¹⁰

5. When, therefore, you are together in church, or in any other place where women also are present, safeguard your chastity by looking after one another: and the God who abides in you even thus will protect you through your own help.

CHAPTER VII.

On Fraternal Correction.

1. And if in the case of any of your Brethren you notice this forwardness of eye, admonish him forthwith, as that the evil which has begun may not spread itself, but be instantly checked. And if after this warning you witness a repetition of the offence, or see him doing likewise on any subsequent occasion, whoever is cognisant of the fact must report that Brother as one suffering from a wound which calls for careful treatment. Before this is done, however, the Brother's conduct should be brought under the notice of one or two others with a view to having his offence proved by one or two witnesses,¹¹ and punished with due severity.

2. Now from the fact that you have acted in this manner you must not look upon yourselves as revengeful. Rather had you sinned most grievously if you had stood by and saw your Brothers perish when you had it in your power to save them by making known their faults in the proper quarter. Thus, for example, if your Brother had a wound in his body which he was anxious to hide from the dread of having to undergo an operation, would it not be cruel on your part to keep the thing a secret and a positive act of mercy to make the matter known? How much the more, then, are you not obliged to manifest your

¹⁰ Proverbs xxvii. 20.

¹¹ Matt xviii. 16.

Brother's inward ailment, lest perchance he sustain still worse consequences spiritually.

3. But if after due warning the Brother fails of amendment, he should be led before the Superior ere his conduct is brought under the notice of others by whose evidence he may be convicted should he attempt to deny his guilt ; so that as the result of private admonition his shortcomings may not reach the ears of the other members of the Community. If, however, the Brother should deny his guilt, then others must be set to watch him after his denial, so that now in the presence of the whole Community he may not be accused merely by one witness, but have his guilt established by the testimony of two or three.

4. After his guilt has been clearly established the Brother must submit to that amount of corrective punishment which may be assigned him in the judgment of the Superior or of the Priest within whose province the matter falls. If the Brother is not prepared to submit to this punishment, and does not leave of his own accord, let him be expelled from your Community. This decision is arrived at not from any feeling of harshness, but rather of pity, lest many should fall victims to the deadly pest to which one Brother has just succumbed.

5. And that which I have already observed as regards avoiding all immodesty in look should be carefully observed from a motive of fraternal charity and detestation of vice in the finding out, prohibiting, reporting, proving, and punishing of all other sins.

6. But if any Brother among you has fallen into so great a sin as to receive privately from a person of the other sex letters or presents of any kind, let his offence be pardoned and himself prayed for if he openly acknowledge his fault. In case, however, he is detected and proved to be guilty, he must be punished the more severely as the Superior or Priest may decide.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the Custody of the Common Property.

1. Keep your clothes in one place in charge of one or two or of whatever number is required to shake them lest they be damaged by the moths : and as your food is supplied to you from one pantry, so let your clothes be given to you from one wardrobe. And whatever is handed out to you as dress suited to the season, look upon it as of slight account as to whether each individual receives exactly the same article of clothing which he had laid aside some time previously, or whether he has given to him an article of dress which some other Brother has worn, provided each one is given whatever he may require.

2. And should disputes and murmurings spring up among you when a Brother complains that he has had given him some article of apparel of a poorer quality than that which he had

previously worn, and thinks it to be beneath him to be dressed as another Brother was, learn from this circumstance how sadly you are deficient in that interior holy vesture of the heart when you wrangle among yourselves over the miserable covering of your bodies. Still if your weakness is indulged to such an extent that you receive permission to have given to you exactly the same article of dress which you had laid aside, let whatever you put away be kept in the one place and in charge of the ordinary custodians of the wardrobe, it being of course clearly understood that no Brother is to make any article of clothing¹² for himself, but that all your works be performed for the common weal, and that with closer application and a greater amount of determination than you would employ were you occupied making articles for your own private use.

3. The charity of which it is written¹³ that she 'seeketh not her own,' is to be understood as that which sets the common weal before personal advantage, not the advantage of the individual before the general good. Consequently, the more fully you consult for the common good rather than for your private concerns, the more fully will it be brought home to you the progress you have made towards securing that in the regard of all those things which supply the wants soon destined to pass away, the charity that bides for all time shall occupy the place of honour and distinction.

4. From this, therefore, it will be evident that when a parent brings to his sons, or to any others belonging to him by some tie of relationship, in the Monastery, gifts of clothing or of other articles which are looked upon as necessities, such presents must not be received privately, but must be given into the Superior's keeping, that, being added to the common property, they may be supplied to such of the Brethren as stand in need of them.

5. Should a brother conceal any such present he shall be censured as guilty of the crime of theft.

CHAPTER IX.

On the Washing of the Clothing, the Taking of Baths, and the Supplying of the other Needs of the Brethren.

1. Let your clothing be washed as often as may seem necessary in the judgment of your Superior, either by yourselves or by washerwomen, lest the indulgence of an inordinate desire for spotless raiment should produce inward stains upon your souls.¹⁴

¹² In Letter 211 this sentence reads, 'Any article of clothing, or for the couch, or any girdle, veil, or head-dress.'

¹³ 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

¹⁴ In Letter 211 the following sentence is found here :—'Let the washing of the body and the use of baths be not constant, but at the usual interval assigned to it, i.e., once a month.'

2. The washing, however, of the body when called for by sickness should not be delayed unduly. Let it be done in accordance with the doctor's directions without murmuring, and even though the ailing Brother be reluctant he must do what is necessary for his physical well-being at the command of his Superior. If, however, a sick Brother is anxious for a bath, and it is not likely to benefit him, his desire must not be noticed ; for sometimes a bath is supposed to do good because it produces a pleasant sensation, whereas in reality it may be positively hurtful. Finally, if a servant of God is troubled with a hidden pain in his body, let his statement when describing his symptoms be credited without hesitation, but in doubt as to whether the remedy that pleases him is of any worth as regards the curing of his pain, a doctor should be consulted.

3. When you go to the baths, or to any other place that is necessary, let there be at least two or three of you together. And he that has need to go to some place in particular must be accompanied by companions of the Superior's choosing.

4. The care of the sick, whether during the time of convalescence, or when merely suffering from weakness without any sign of fever, should be entrusted to some individual Brother, whose business it will be to obtain from the store-room whatever in his judgment is required for each separate case.

5. Moreover, let those who are in charge, whether of the store-room or of the wardrobe, wait upon their fellows with courtesy and kindness.

6. Let manuscripts be asked for at a fixed hour each day : and if a Brother demands one outside the hour appointed no notice should be taken of his request.

7. But at whatever hour clothes and boots are needed, let not those in whose custody these articles are kept delay in supplying them to such as require them.

CHAPTER X.

On the Asking of Pardon, and the Forgiveness of Injuries.

1. There should be no occasion for quarrels among you, but if such should arise, let them be brought to an end as quickly as possible, lest anger develop into a hatred and convert a mote into a beam,¹⁵ and render the soul liable to the charge of murder. For to this effect do we read :—' Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer.'¹⁶

¹⁵ Matth. vii. 3.

¹⁶ 1 John iii. 15. In Letter 211, this passage runs as follows :—' For the saying of Scripture, " He that hateth," etc., does not concern men only, but women also are bound by this law through its being enjoined on the other sex, which was prior in the order of creation.'

2. Let him, be his position what it may, that has wronged another either by abuse or reviling or false accusation, be careful to make satisfaction at the earliest possible opportunity, and let him against whom the wrong has been committed pardon the offence without further wrangling. If, however, the injury has been mutual, the obvious duty of both sides will be mutual forgiveness because of your prayers which, the more frequent they are, the greater should be their efficacy.

3. Better, however, is he who though quick to anger is prompt to ask pardon of him whom he admits having wronged, than the Brother who with a less hasty temper is slow to ask forgiveness for the injury he has inflicted. He that is not willing to pardon his Brother let him not expect an answer to his prayers: and he that will never stoop to ask for forgiveness, or does not make the request with sincerity, is in a Monastery to no purpose, even though he may escape expulsion. Wherefore be sparing in the use of unkind words, which if they have fallen from your lips tarry not to supply from the same source the balm of healing whence came the wounds which have been inflicted.

4. When, however, the demands of discipline call upon you to speak sharply when correcting your subjects, even though you feel that perhaps you have exceeded the bounds of due moderation, still you are not expected to ask their pardon, lest while undue humility is practised by you in their regard who ought to be subject, the authority requisite for their government should be impaired. Nevertheless, pardon must be sought from the Lord of all who sees the depth of your affection for those whom perhaps you reprove with unnecessary asperity. Not carnal, but spiritual, ought that love to be which you bear one to another.¹⁷

CHAPTER XI.

On Obedience.

1. Obey your Superior as a Father, and much the Priest who has charge of you all.¹⁸

2. To the Superior belongs the duty of seeing that all these rules are observed, and to provide in case any point is neglected that the fault is not overlooked but carefully corrected and

¹⁷ In Letter 211 this passage is continued to the following effect:—'For those things which are practised by wanton women in shameful frolic and sporting with one another ought not even be done by those of your sex who are married, or are engaged to be married, and much more ought not to be done by widows and chaste virgins dedicated as handmaids of Christ by a holy vow.'

¹⁸ In Letter 211, this passage is fuller somewhat and runs:—'Obey your Prioress as a mother, giving her all due honour, that God may not be offended by your forgetting what you owe her: still more is it incumbent on you to obey the priest who has charge of you all'

punished ; it being at the same time within his discretion to refer to the Priest, whose authority over you is all the greater, whatever may exceed the limits of his power or province.

3. Let him who is set over you regard himself as fortunate not so much in wielding the power that rules, as in practising the charity that is subject.

4. In honour in the sight of men let the Superior be lifted above you ; but in God's sight in fear let him be as it were abased under your feet. Towards all the Brethren let him show himself an example of good works.¹⁹ Let him rebuke the unquiet, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient towards all men.²⁰ Let him be willing to observe, but slow to impose rules. And, though both are of urgent importance, let him still be more desirous of being loved rather than of being feared by you, always keeping the fact before his mind that he will be called upon to render a strict account to God for each of you. For this reason obey him promptly out of pity, not for yourselves only, but for him also: because as he occupies a higher position in your regard, his danger is all the greater than yours.

CHAPTER XII.

On the Observance and Frequent Reading of the Rule.

1. May God grant that you shall carry out all these rules cheerfully as men enamoured of spiritual beauty, and diffusing a sweet savour of Christ by your good conversation, not as bondsmen under the law, but as freemen in the full possession of the new dispensation of peace and liberty.

2. And that you may look upon yourselves in this little book of rules as in a mirror, and may not omit anything through negligence, read it over carefully once a week. And when you realise that you are carrying out the things written herein, give thanks to God, the author of every good gift²¹; but in so far as any Brother finds himself to be wanting in some point of observance, let him grieve for the past and be watchful in the future, supplicating the pardon of his sin, and the grace not to yield to temptation. Amen.

Here ends the Rule of our Holy Father St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, and illustrious Doctor of the Church.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN, O.S.A.

¹⁹ Titus ii. 7.

²⁰ 1 Tess. v. 14.

²¹ James i. 17.

MR. HAGUE'S PHILOSOPHY

MANY of our readers will, we are quite sure, have felt some surprise that we should have admitted into the last number of the I. E. RECORD, Mr. Hague's article, entitled, 'What is a Reasonable Faith?' We confess that it was not without some misgivings that we consented to accept this paper, particularly as we had not before us the second or constructive part of Mr. Hague's essay. After some correspondence with the author we agreed to accept the contribution in the confident anticipation, for which we thought we had sufficient grounds, that Mr. Hague's second article would set at rest any anxiety that might have been engendered by the first. To make sure, however, we asked Mr. Hague to send us the second or constructive article which he promised. We were informed that the article was not yet written out; but a synopsis of it was supplied which, as far as it went, was reassuring. In the circumstances we felt justified in inserting the first part.

Mr. Hague is a young Catholic gentleman who has devoted much time and energy to philosophical studies. He is a distinguished graduate of the only philosophical school in the country that Catholic laymen can attend, and we felt persuaded that his criticism of arguments and theories pretty general in Catholic ecclesiastical schools could not fail to be interesting to the clergy. Laymen who devote themselves to such studies are not very numerous amongst us, and it seemed to us that the few who do deserve every encouragement. The objections, moreover, which Mr. Hague has urged against the usual arguments for the existence of God¹ were not new nor original. They have, to our own knowledge, been urged hundreds of times in the philosophical schools of ecclesiastical colleges. What Mr. Hague has done is to give them a dress of his own and to develop certain aspects of them more fully than others.

All this was quite legitimate; and whilst finding fault with

¹ Few Catholic theologians or philosophers would recognize as theirs some of the arguments Mr. Hague attributes to them.

individual arguments which at one time or another have been rejected as inconclusive by Catholic philosophers of high standing, it was still competent for Mr. Hague, in our opinion, to construct an argument that to many minds would be more cogent than any of them.

Before accepting the first paper, however, we took the precaution of drawing Mr. Hague's attention to the Canon of the Vatican Council, which lays down expressly that the existence of God, Creator and Lord of the Universe, can be known, with certainty, by the light of human reason.² Mr. Hague informed us that he was acquainted with the Canon of the Vatican Council, but that, as its terms were general, and did not specify the particular form of a *a posteriori* argument which it regarded as cogent, he took it to mean nothing more than that the belief in the existence of God is borne in upon the living mind through life. That is an interpretation of the Canon which we regard as quite allowable provided we hold that the knowledge is so borne in upon the mind as to amount to a certainty and exclude all reasonable doubt. We have now before us Mr. Hague's second paper, and we are clearly of opinion that it does not satisfy this condition. The probability that induces a prudent man to take his chance on it is all that Mr. Hague will apparently allow as the result of any process of reasoning. That, however, is not enough. It does not bring Mr. Hague's conclusion within the definition of the Council. We have no doubt that Mr. Hague could persuade himself, and possibly persuade others, that his argument is quite in harmony with what has been defined. We can only judge by the impression it has made on us. We do not, of course, for a moment suggest that Mr. Hague subjectively dissents from the teaching of the Church or consciously maintains a doctrine opposed to it. We simply note the fact that his argument, as it was supplied to us, would lead any intelligent reader to believe that it falls short of what the Council requires. If we have in any way misinterpreted Mr. Hague's meaning, or failed to understand it, he has only to make it clear and bring it mani-

² The words of the Canon are: 'Si quis dixerit Deum unum et verum, Creatorem et Dominum nostrum, per ea quae facta sunt, naturali rationis humanae lumine certo cognosci non posse, anathema sit.'

festly within the limits of the definition. We shall then be only too glad to insert the concluding part of his paper. We merely refer to the matter now to explain why the conclusion does not appear this month.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN IRELAND¹

AT a time when education, its need, and methods, are being eagerly discussed amongst us, the editors of this pamphlet have done well to put in such convenient form much useful suggestion, and all the legal knowledge of the subject which will be generally required. Fifty years have passed since Ewart succeeded in introducing into English legislation provisions for the foundation and maintenance of Public Libraries in the Three Kingdoms. There were many then, as there are some few still, to oppose his principles on the ground that for the toilers in any country indiscriminate reading would be injurious rather than beneficial, would bring unrest and dissatisfaction rather than the peacefulness which was foretold. Mental inertia, also, so characteristic of all communities when theoretical and much lauded principles of thought are to be reduced to concrete existence, mental inertia was against the success of the movement; while an inadequate conception of the connection between increased opportunities of, and stimulus to, reading, and practical as well as theoretical education, delayed the application of the newly acquired legislative powers. But the work was at last begun. It has met with magnificent success in England. Its libraries, whether in number or contents, are second, perhaps, only to those of America. They have done for the people almost all that was prophesied for them by their originators. Scotland and Wales, also, have taken advantage of the opportunity to do something like a

¹ *Public Libraries in Ireland.* I. General Aspect, by M. J. Gill, B.A.
II. Legal Aspect, by W. J. Johnston, M.A., LL.B.

proportional part for their inhabitants; while in foreign countries particularly those most prominent in the industrial world to-day, America and Germany, the inspiration caught in great part, if not entirely, from England, has fructified most wonderfully, and can justly claim at least a share in the extraordinary development amongst the masses of these two peoples.

Amid this general, if somewhat delayed, enthusiasm, Ireland, as is usual in such matters with our distressful country, forms an exception, though to some extent it too has done its part. Dublin, with Kildare Street, and some Public Libraries, and with Trinity for the few elect that still remain with us, does not complain much, though we doubt if the scheme has been applied so as to produce an appreciable effect among the masses for whom it was intended. Belfast, we never count among Irish cities; and Cork, the only other portion of the country which can decently claim that description, having come but lately into the movement, is wretchedly equipped: one-fourth of its penny rate is appropriated to support its music school, and the remaining three-fourths is absurdly small for a city with the pretensions and abilities of the Southern Capital. Mr. Carnegie has come to its relief at last. The library authorities there, too, are displaying some activity by agitating for a removal of the penny limit of taxation, and also claiming some voice in the management of this late magnificent gift. Other centres, too, Waterford and Limerick, for example, have taken a part in the establishment of libraries for their communities.

Having done so much, practically all that the law allows, we cannot be blamed for having completely neglected our opportunities. We have done something, but it is little, comparatively and absolutely, because of our general national poverty; and that little has not produced its full effect because of want of enthusiasm, itself the result of misdirection, in education, generally, and the absence of any established relationship between the library and the school.

Our rateable value is wretchedly low even in our largest centres, and, consequently, the proceeds of the rate levied for libraries is almost totally insufficient for their successful

working. This cannot, however, be remedied by pamphlet, at least immediately. The penny limit, indeed, might be increased. There is a movement for such an increase in Cork. It has already been granted in parts of England. Manchester and Cardiff have showed their enthusiasm in the matter by taxing themselves $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound, with the consent of the authorities; and this, in spite of the fact that the penny rate would bring in such a generous annual income. But we doubt whether such a movement is feasible just now in Ireland generally. Poor as we are, our taxes from all sides make us poorer still. And though we should be ready to make sacrifices for education (and what people have made more than we?), the limit of a people's sacrifices should be defined, at least in such matters, by those who know through experience what it is to bear and make them. Our object, we think, should rather be to utilise, and make more generally appreciated the libraries already existing in such places, and to extend them in those parts of the country where hitherto, owing to legal restrictions, they could not be established.

It is to the legislation regarding these latter districts that the most important portion of this pamphlet is devoted. Up to last Autumn urban districts alone could apply the Library Acts, giving power to levy a rate for the foundation and maintenance of such institutions. But now, by Mr. Dillon's Amendment, every rural district council has power to adopt them for its part of the country; and, what is more, should those legislators be not convinced of the necessity for using the powers granted them, and therefore fail to originate a scheme, any twenty voters of the district can demand from the chairman that a vote be taken from house to house by ballot. If the majority thereof be in favour of the library the district council must then, perforce, nominate a committee, whether of themselves or of outsiders, to see about the erection and maintenance of the institution.

This extension of legislative powers might seem ridiculous in face of the statement made above regarding the poverty even of large cities regarded as rateable quantities for any new scheme of progress. If our large centres give such wretched incomes for the purchase of books and incidental

expenses of a library, what can be expected from rural districts, when their extent has been so limited as to be easily workable? This is a matter in which we derive some consolation from the sister country. For in almost every meeting of the English Library Association complaints are heard of the insufficiency of the penny tax in country districts for the upkeep of a library that could be considered useful. Local initiative and skilful management can do much to ensure success even here. A gentleman from Buckinghamshire, opposing the proposal to put these powers of library formation back in the hands of county councils, gave an example from his own district, where, with an annual income of £9 from the penny tax, the library possessed no fewer than two thousand books, etc. Here, however, as in the former case, we cannot help thinking that were libraries established in virtue of the new powers granted by the Amendment, the sum received annually would, in most places at least, purchase, perhaps with the help of private donations, books, etc., sufficient to start a really successful library if two things were attended to: the people's tastes, and the proper relation between the library and the school.

Public libraries should certainly be started, and at once, in rural districts. We have Parochial Libraries, which have done much in various places. We have the Catholic Truth Society, which has made so many church doors through the country veritable public libraries, and those of a very efficient character. Above all, we have the Gaelic League which, by the stimulus it has given to self-improvement among the young and old through the country, has made the homes of many humble people brighter by the little tales, etc., which it has published. But a public library in a country district would do the work of all those sources of education, and would do it more cheaply and more regularly. More books would be bought for the people; they would be distributed more efficiently; and all would be directed by a central committee which would preserve unity of purpose, and would give the best opinion of the district to all alike.

Better and cheaper as they thus would be, public libraries have an aspect which cannot but recommend their establish-

ment to all interested in industrial development amongst us. Some pioneers of technical education are beginning to see that the ultimate success of their efforts will depend almost as much on the intellectual development, the speculative education, of the workers, as on their mechanical skill. Or, to make the statement more like a truism, they have found that a man with a well trained mind, in general matters, will make a better carpenter or bootmaker than one who is not so endowed. This looks like a first principle in psychology, but it took some people a long time to learn it. Long ago, when Bishop Grundtvig laid the foundation of Denmark's industrial prosperity; he established schools which were practically public libraries, containing merely the old sagas of his country which, when read to, or ultimately read by, the people, trained and stimulated the mind as no other works could do, and fitted them to understand how best to use their hands with that ambition which no mere manual training can ever give.

In every portion of the country at present, thank God, there are some ardent Gaelic Leaguers.² It is they alone, we think, who will have the enthusiasm, and the foresight to start such institutions by the powers the law has given. They alone can understand, from the history of the Gaelic League, that a few books, chosen in harmony with a people's native and only lasting tastes, will stimulate more deeply and more practically than thousands of these volumes which have been thumbed for years in private and public libraries. They, too, not over rich themselves, will understand that such an institution must help the cause both of language and of country by bringing the old literature, as well as other things, up to the doors of the very poorest homes.

If the libraries are to be a success, if they are really to be public, if the people are to come to them and be interested in their contents, these contents must be in agreement with the people's deep-seated tastes and instincts. Our National Schools have been failures merely because they deliberately went against this obvious principle of education.

² It would be worth their while to see that the books required in existing libraries be not dangerous; that the Catholic representatives do their duty; and that Catholic booksellers get a proportional share of the orders.

They have produced a generation that can write and read, but care very little about doing either ; for whom a library in very many cases would be as interesting and as useful as a sun-spot. We might contrast with their listless inmates, the enthusiasm of those who flocked to the lately suppressed schools of Colonel Moore, though in the latter no portion of a superior education course, nothing in fact but Irish history, Irish language, and, perhaps, some Irish music were being taught. Such a fact, and others that may be read in Gaelic League pamphlets, ought to convince our librarians, at least in country districts, that Conn of the Hundred Battles is far more interesting for a peasant than Hall Caine will be ; and that the Sorrows of Deirdre will do more to make a man something of a better carpenter than those of Satan or Tess of the D'Urbervilles, or others of that ilk.

We should not, however, wish to be misunderstood. Many cases might be cited against us in which efforts have failed to interest out country people in the language and literature of the past. Such cases, indeed, are only too numerous ; but their existence is due to the non-observance of the principle for which we plead. To learn Irish, just as other languages, means drudgery more or less. No one likes drudgery. Every one longs for some relief. Such relief would come from judicious intermingling of Irish history, legend, etc., in English. This, when told to the learners, or read by them after a few stimulating remarks, would certainly keep alive some enthusiasm and so ensure success. These are the people's tastes, and though the rate gathered in a country district must necessarily be small, in the hands of an intelligent librarian, school-master or other, it would procure all such Anglo-Irish, Irish books, etc., which will be needed and sufficient to interest the young, and help the old to continue after school years that system of self-improvement and interest in literature which once known amongst us, has now been forgotten for more than sixty years.

In America, and, to some extent, in England, the relation between the school and library has been for some time admitted and developed. While at school the boy and girl must know the library and love it, or it will never, or but

seldom, be frequented by them when grown up. We Irish, even where public libraries exist, cannot in any sense be called library-lovers. Education has not given us much taste for reading. We did not love the English kings when we were at school; and the Ode on a distant prospect of Eton College did not in the least make us anxious to peruse the works of past pupils of that lately distressed institution. Then we thought, when young, that a library was a distant kind of place to which only geniuses who wrote books should ever go. We never saw a public library, and never cared to. We were rather afraid thereof. How different would it have been with many of us if we had even a bowing acquaintance with the august stranger. And we might have had it so easily; which is all the greater pity. We remember reading with astonishment what Thackeray said of some ragged boys he saw in Cork, who spoke so eloquently in their rambles up the Dyke or talking on the quays of ancient voyages and ancient histories; and we remember hearing, with scarcely less surprise, that the sources of their information was the library attached to the Christian Brothers' schools upon St. Mary's Mount. If we want to make this new movement a success, we must have the library, or portion of it, in the school; we must interest the youngsters in it by some very informal lectures; and if the district be large enough or wealthy to build a house to hold its books, we must take the young people to it; we must, that is the librarian or the teacher, in a lecture, or a chat, introduce them to some interesting subject and show them how to look it out and read about it for themselves. One day, then, we may hope to have a people that will go to libraries and find some counter attraction to that of the billiard room, the public house, or the gaming booth.

The London School Board has adopted, or is to adopt, a rather novel expedient to get its people to read and so improve themselves when school years are passed. They are trying to create a race of story tellers. They want to let the people hear the best portions of their literature in that form; and then it is hoped that thus interested they will go farther, that is to the library, for more fare of a like kind in

books. It is somewhat funny to see London looking for story-tellers. The National Board has killed many of the thousands such as we once possessed, and the mere suggestion to its august members that any such ignorant creatures should enter its academies would probably cause much consternation. It is no harm to suggest it, anyhow, particularly to such as would wish to help towards the development of the library movement in country districts. There are few such districts in Ireland which do not possess excellent story tellers in English and Irish. They may not be able to read themselves, but, like the whetstone for the sharpening of the knife, they will be found most efficient agents to stimulate the minds of young and old to take an interest in the history and literature of their country ; and then, when the time has come to encourage them, indirectly as we have stated, through the medium of books, to become better hands in the service of their country.

P. SEXTON, D.D.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

DE OBLATIONIBUS INTRA MISSARUM SOLLEMNIA COL- LIGENDIS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Quid dicendum de illis sacerdotibus qui intra Missarum sollemnia ab altari discedunt ad oblationes colligendas, oblationibus ad propagandam fidem exceptis?

PAULUS.

Questio duo amplecti videtur quorum unum ad Liturgiam spectat et liceitatem respicit missam interrumpendi, alterum vero ad disciplinam pertinet ecclesiasticam et ipsam praxim oblationes his in adjunctis colligendi dijudicandam vult. Quod ad primum, tum Theologi¹ tum Scriptores Liturgici² una concedunt voce aliquando Missam, vel ante Canonem inceptam vel post Communionem peractam, ex causa legitima licite interrumpi. Ita, ex gr., intra Missam communiter peraguntur Ordines et Professio religiosa et Conciones. At vero quum alicubi usu venit ut Evengelio sive Communione peracta sacerdos concionem habeat etiam exutâ casulâ quaeritur an illi insuper liceat Ecclesiam modo supradicto circumire ad fidelium oblationes accipiendas. Sunt auctores,³ iique gravissimi, quibus talis agendi modus quam maxime displicet. Audiantur verba quibus utitur Concilium Plenarium Baltimorense hac de re:—

Gravissima sunt verba Concilii superioris quibus damnavit perversam agendi rationem illorum sacerdotum qui ipsa intra Missarum sollemnia ab altari recedunt, aedemque sacram circumeunt, a singulis fidelibus elemosynam petentes. Tanta vero apparet quorundam pertinacia ac in observandis etiam strictissimis legibus socordia, ut qui constituti sumus legum

¹ Cf. St. Lig., Lib. vi., n. 352. Bonacina, Disp. iii., 95.

² Vide De Hert, vol. ii., p. 235. Quarti, p. 2, t. 3.

³ Con. Sabetti, *Theol. Mor. Comp.*, par 344, quaer 3^o. Laurentius, *Inst. Juris Eccl.*, p. 897.

ecclesiasticarum custodes, alta voce decretum Antecessorum nostrorum de novo promulgare et inculcare constringamur. Notatum itaque 'turpissimum abusum' Ecclesiae sacrisque ejus ritibus injuriam, quique Catholicorum ruborem et indignationem, acatholicorum vero irrisiōnem et contemptum provocat reprobamus et prorsus extirpandum decernimus. Qua in re singulorum Episcoporum conscientia oneratur,'⁴

Haec equidem verba revera gravia sunt. Attamen non una est omnium regionum disciplina et alia alibi expediunt, ideoque ut certius habeatur utrum praxis de qua agitur, spectata consuetudinum indole quae apud nos vigent, deceat necne melius consulendum eis quorum 'Conscientia hac de re oneratur' eorumque judicio omnino obtemperandum

P. MORRISROE.

⁴ Conc. Plen. Balt., iii., n. 293.

CORRESPONDENCE

DR. RICHARD O'CONNELL, BISHOP OF KERRY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Regarding certain statements made by Mr. W. H. Grattan Flood in his letter on my article on Dr. Richard O'Connell, I would wish to make the following reply.

1°. There is no place in Killarney known now as Sheep Hill. Fair Hill, the place of execution referred to, was indeed formerly called Knockaun-na-Gaerach, but this, like many other old place-names, is altogether forgotten; and the visitor to the fair town by Loch Lein would just as successfully ask the oldest inhabitant for the site of Sheep Hill, as for the Douros of Ptolemy, the geographer.

2°. Archdeacon Lynch does not quote a tradition, but as a contemporary makes the definite statement that Dr. O'Connell was buried in Aghadoe—'Catholici noctu in Cathedrali ecclesia de Achadeo sepelierunt illum.' Before writing my article, I had seen the statement contained in the Rinuccini MSS., giving Muckross Abbey as the place of the Bishop's burial, but I thought then, and still think, that the account of Archdeacon Lynch is the true one. Just as a modern bishop of Kerry is buried in his Cathedral in Killarney, and not in the Franciscan Church—so it was with Dr. O'Connell. It is not probable he was buried in Muckross, while Aghadoe was so near, and so much more suitable.

3°. Though it is indeed true, as Mr. Flood states, Dr. O'Connell was at Bordeaux in 1602; he was staying there, awaiting a favourable opportunity of returning to Kerry, as a guest of the congregation of Irish priests established there in 1600—not, however, as a student. The Irish College in Bordeaux was not founded until 1605, when Dr. O'Connell was already for some years labouring as a priest in Kerry.—Faithfully yours,

DENIS O'CONNOR, C.C.

Milltown, 14th June, 1903.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, ROME

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have read with interest your article on 'The Beginnings of the Irish College, Rome.' I am not sure that Dr. Gibbons intends it as a criticism on his quotation from

my *Month* articles, but I am sure he will not expect me to discuss a matter which enters only incidentally into the question I am there considering. All that I wished to say in that paragraph was that the Marefoschi Visitation was carried out under conditions which made it impossible to feel confidence in its conclusions, and the *Sommario* which Dr. Gibbons epitomizes seems to me to confirm that view. I leave alone its details, to judge of which would require access to documents, some of which are beyond my reach, and others of which may be no longer extant. I confine myself to a broad fact which any one can appreciate. This *Sommario* is not merely the compilation of one 'who was no partisan of the Jesuit cause'; it is the very Report of the Marefoschi Visitation, which the Cardinal had published at the time, that it might serve as one stroke in the intended discharge of lightning. Yet what does it do? Within the space of a century and a half of the history of any college whatever there will always have occurred incidents of administration to which, rightly or wrongly, exception has been taken by persons affected, and out of which disputes have arisen, and perhaps consequent official visitations. But it will always be unfair in some later age to pick out these untoward incidents, to remove them from their natural *situs* among innumerable other incidents of an opposite kind, to mass them together as though they were representative of the whole, and then use them as a justification for inflicting the gravest personal injury on a generation of administrators unborn at the time when they occurred.

In conclusion, let me thank Dr. Gibbons for correcting me on one point. It was, as he says, Mgr. Sersale, and not Mgr. Alfani or Mgr. Caraffa, who was Cardinal Marefoschi's lieutenant in the Visitation of the Irish College. The other two prelates worked under him and his fellow Visitors at the Roman Seminary, and elsewhere.

SYDNEY P. SMYTH, S.J.

31 Farm-street, London, W.

MISSION HONORARIUM

REV. DEAR SIR,—While reading the letter of 'Honestus Tertius,' under the above heading, in your last issue, it occurred to me that if he had thirty years' experience in missionary work, he would have considerably modified his calculations and conclusions, and perhaps have supplied reliable data for a solution of the delicate question which he essayed to

examine. My reason for saying so will best appear from a brief review of some of his statements and arguments. Here are his words: 'What is a just stipend?' According to your correspondent ('Honestus Secundus') it ought to be, in this country at least, £15 per week, of Mission or pseudo-Mission (namely, Parochial Retreat). That is: suppose a Father is engaged in work for 26 weeks, or half the year, he ought to be maintained, and receive £390 for the work of half a year, etc. This is a good illustration of the truism, that you can prove almost anything by figures, if you separate them from the circumstances to which they refer. Suppose a Father is engaged in work for 26 weeks, and receives £15 per week of Mission or Parochial Retreat, does it follow that he is maintained and receives £390 *for the work of half a year*? Yes, but only upon four conditions, no one of which has ever been realized in fact. *First*, that the Father works the whole 26 weeks in a single parish without one day of rest; *second*, that a Father *could* do this; *third*, that he could get it to do, and *fourth*, that he has no travelling expenses to pay. The first of these conditions may be dismissed as chimerical, because no pastor would allow a Father to give them a Mission or pseudo-Mission of 26 consecutive weeks; and certainly would neither maintain nor pay him for giving it.

The second condition is equally chimerical. Are 26 weeks of Mission or Parochial Retreat the work of only half a year? The Parochial Retreat in Ireland invariably consumes 10 days of the Missioner's time, including the Saturday going to, the Monday returning from it. Twenty-six Retreats must, therefore, occupy 260 days, whereas a half-year contains only 182 days and a fraction of a day. How squeeze 260 days into 182? Besides the Parochial Retreat always includes two Sundays, and therefore 26 Retreats must include 52 Sundays. How get 52 Sundays into half a year? Thirteen Retreats are, therefore, all that would be *physically* possible in half a year.

But are even 13 *morally* possible. Retreats and Missions put abnormal pressure upon heart, nerves, brain, and health, from which it requires one, two, or even three weeks, to recover. Now, 13 Retreats in half a year would leave only four days between each two Retreats for recovery. Who could bear this strain regularly and constantly for half the year? Could 'Honestus Tertius'? I confess that I could not, and perhaps I am as strong and as healthy as he is. In giving these

Retreats, I have almost invariably delivered 21 discourses in eight days, and in addition had to spend in the confessional the hours which nature craved for repose. I have heard confessions as many as 16 hours the day before closing a Retreat or Mission. Could I or any other man continue giving such Retreats for half a year without at least one free Sunday between each two Retreats?

I once gave Missions and Parochial Retreats for eight months consecutively, without taking the free Sundays, but this was exceptional, and I paid for it by years of illness; and I could name more than one of my companions who sank into early graves for similar indiscretions, or if you prefer to term it, zeal which did not count the cost.

If you allow this one free Sunday, then only eight Retreats, including 16 Sundays, with eight free Sundays will be morally possible in the half year, that will be 24 Sundays with only two to spare out of the 26.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the Missioner has more to do between Retreats or Missions than recover his wasted energies. He has to return to the feet of his crucifix to prayer, spiritual reading, fasting, study, and the other observances of his Rule, in order not to lose himself while trying to save others, and to renew his spirit of devotion, if he is to communicate it to others; for in this it is true, to a very large extent, that 'Nemo dat quod non habet.' And he has besides, in most cases, to do home work in order to live; for, as will presently appear, he could not live by his professional labours as a Missioner while his vow of poverty cuts off any private means he may have possessed. If you allow him the space of two Retreats for home work you reduce the morally possible number to six. The third condition, that he can always get this amount of work to do, has still to be considered. In this the Missioner is like the unmarried woman, he cannot propose, but must wait to be asked; and frequently he is not asked. Because the half year for Retreats and Missions is usually confined to about three months before Christmas and three more before the conclusion of the Easter duties. When a hot wave of fervour passes over the parishes, he may be asked to do more work than he can; when it does not so pass, he has no alternative but to join the ranks of the 'unemployed.' If he gets five Parochial Retreats or their equivalent in Missions to give in the half year it is about as much as he is invited to

give on an average. There are exceptions, I know, but you cannot have general calculations upon exceptions.

Now, let us do a sum in proportion. As 26 weeks of missionary labour are to 5 Parochial Retreats or their equivalent in Missions: so are maintenance for 26 weeks and £390 to maintenance for five weeks and £75—for that is all the Missioner would receive for the average work of half a year, even if he were paid £15 per 'week.' But he actually receives only about a third part of this. For 'Honestus Tertius' does not forget to inform us that parish priests 'follow the established custom of giving £5 per week to each Father giving a Mission, and (they) pay, at a somewhat higher rate to one or two priests giving a Parochial Retreat.' This *established custom* therefore makes the Father's income for Missions about £25 a-year, but the 'somewhat higher rate' for Parochial Retreats brings it up to about £30 for both Missions and Retreats. And as a fact, £30 a-year is about the average income of a Missioner from his professional labour in Ireland, and considerably less across the water. And out of this he has still to pay his travelling expenses before he can count his net income. And, moreover, out of this net income, which is frequently under £20, his Order has yet still to feed, clothe, and lodge him 46 weeks out of the 52, and train him as an expert and a specialist. No wonder if he is passing rich on £20 a-year. These facts, I think, show the wisdom of the Church in providing other means than the pecuniary fruits of their professional labours, for purely Missionary Orders to live by, so that all their Missions and Retreats may be given for the love of God and of souls, and none for 'filthy lucre.' Mind, I do not attempt to answer the question, "What is a just stipend?" put by 'Honestus Tertius,' but only to remove erroneous impressions which might be conveyed by his figures.

The I. E. RECORD came into my hands late in the month, too late to allow of this letter being inserted in the following number. Perhaps it may never find its way into any number, and in that event it can grace the Editor's waste-paper basket, which is, possibly, the most fitting place for it. I speak under correction by others who may be better informed, but, so far as I know at present, this letter can be justly signed

VERITAS.

DOCUMENTS

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR THE CHURCH IN THE
PHILIPPINES

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

BULLA CIRCA NOVAM CONSTITUTIONEM REI SACRAE IN INSULIS
PHILIPPINIS

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

Quae, mari sinico oceanoque pacifico circumfusae, latissime patent insulae, atque a Philippo II Hispaniarum rege Philippinarum nomen sunt mutuatae, vix ab Hernando de Magalhanes, saeculo XVI ineunte, apertae sunt ; statim, Crucis sanctissimae simulacro defixo in litore, et Deo sunt consecratae et catholicae religionis quaedam veluti libamenta habuerunt.

Ex illo, Romanis Pontificibus, accedente Caroli V ac Philippi eius filii hispanorum Regum egregio dilatandae fidei studio, nihil antiquius fuit quam ut insulanos illos, idolatrico cultu viventes, ad Christi fidem traducerent. Quod cum, opitulante Deo, religiosis diversarum familiarum alumnis strenue adniten- tibus, secundissime cederet ; eo perbrevis annorum spatio, de- ventum est, ut Gregorius XIII de praeficiendo adolescenti Ec- clesiae Antistite cogitarit, ac Manilanum Episcopatum institue- rit. Coeptis felicibus, quae postmodum secuta sunt incrementa plenissime responderunt. Concordibus enim Decessorum Nos- trorum atque Hispaniarum Regum industriis, deleta servitus, incolae litterarum atque artium disciplinis ad humanitatem ex- culti, templa sumptu magnifico erecta et instructa, auctus dioe- cesium numerus ; ut Philippinarum gens et Ecclesia merito ex- celleret splendore civitatis, Religionis dignitate atque studio. Sic nempe, Regum hispanorum tutela datoque illis a Romanis Pontificibus patronatu, recte atque ordine in Philippinis Insulis res catholica gerebatur. Verum quam illic armorum exitus publicae rei conversionem haud ita pridem attulit, pariter et sacrae intulit. Nam, demissa ab Hispanis ditone, patronatus etiam hispanorum Regum desiit. Quo factum est ut Ecclesia in potio- rem libertatis conditionem deveniret, parto quidem cuique jure salvo atque incolumi. — Huic porro novae rerum

conditioni, ne inde vigor ecclesiasticae disciplinae in discrimen veniret, qui modus agendi, quae temperatio responderet, nulla mora atque sedulo inquirendum fuit. Hanc ob rem, Venerabilem Fratrem Placidum Ludovicum Chapelle, Novae Aureliae Archiepiscopum, Delegatum Nostrum, extraordinario munere, in Philippinas Insulas misimus, qui, rebus coram inspectis quaeque moram et sustentationem non haberent, ordinatis, ad Nos referret. Delatum officium is quidem pro fiducia Nostra explevit; dignus propterea quem merita honestemus laude. Postea contigit ex auspiciato ut regimen civitatum Americae Foederatarum per legationem singularem cum hac S. Sede consilia directe conferre suscepit circa modum nonnullas rem Catholicam in Philippinis Insulis respicientes quaestiones dirimendi. Coeptis libenti quidem animo fovimus et negotiatorum navitate ac moderatione iuvantibus, facile patuit ad compositionem quae nunc ipso in loco curanda erit. Quae igitur, auditis sententiis nonnullorum S. R. E. Cardinalium S. Congregationis extraordinariis negotiis praepositae, diuturnoque consilio agitata Ecclesiae rationibus in Philippinis Insulis conducere maxime visa sunt, praesenti Constitutione Apostolica edicimus et publicamus, sperantes fore ut, quae Nos suprema Auctoritate constituimus, publici Regiminis aequitate ac iustitia favente, studiose sancteque observentur.

I.—*De nova Dioecesium circumscriptione.*—Primum igitur de Hierarchia sacra amplificanda mens est ac propositum. Constituta quidem, ut diximus, a Gregorio XIII, Manilana dioecesi, aucto sensim fidelium coetu tum indigenarum, qui catholica sacra susciperent, tum ex Europa advenarum, Clemens VIII Episcoporum numerum, qui praecessent, augendum censuit. Quare Manilanam Ecclesiam Archiepiscopali titulo honestavit eidemque, tribus institutis dioecesibus, Episcopos Cebuanum, Cacerensem ac Neosegoviensem suffraganeos esse voluit. His porro, anno MDCCCLXV, additus est Episcopatus Iarensis. Attamen dioecesium harum ea est amplitudo ut, ob intervallum quo loca dissociantur, atque itinerum difficultatem, vix contingat Episcopis illas nisi summo labore quoquoque lustrare. Quamobrem suadet necessitas ut, nacti opportunitatem temporum, antiquas dioeceses arctiori termino definiamus, aliasque de integro addamus. Eapropter, Manilano Archiepiscopatu ac dioecesibus Cebuana, Cacerensi, Neosegovienti et Iarensi servatis, quatuor insuper adicimus et instituimus dioeceses; Lipensem videlicet, Tuguegaraoanam, Capizanam et Zamboangensem,

universas, ut ceterae, Manilanae Metropoli suffraganeas. In Marianis praeterea Insulis Praefecturam Apostolicam creamus, quae Nobis ac Successoribus Nostris, auctoritate nulla interposita, pareat.

II.—*De Metropolitano deque Suffraganeis Episcopis.*—Metropolitani titulo, qui potiatur, in Philippinisi Insulis unus esto, Archiepiscopus Manilanus; episcopos ceteros, tum qui antiquas obtinet sedes tum qui recens institutas tenebunt, eidem subesse oportet, suffraganei officio atque nomine. Quibus vero iuribus Metropolitano fruatur quibusque polleat muneribus, ecclesiasticae leges, quae modo vigent, edicunt. Quas quidem dum leges inviolate servari volumus, volumus etiam Metropolitam inter et suffraganeos integra esse semper sanctae amicitiae et caritatis vincula, eaque officiis mutuis, consiliorum communicatione atque episcopalibus praesertim coetibus pro locorum intervallis frequentius agendis, arctius in dies firmari et obstringi. Maximarum enim utilitatum parens est atque custos animorum concordia.

III.—*De Capitulo Metropolitano deque Capitulis Ecclesiarum suffraganearum.*—Canonicorum collegio honestari Ecclesiae Metropolitanae decus et splendor postulat. Quae vero stipendia Canonicis singulis, elapso tempore, ab hispano regimine numerabantur, unde in posterum peti debeant, Delegatus Apostolicus videbit ac suggeret. Quod si, reddituum exiguitate, numerus Canonicorum, qui adhuc fuit, servari haud quiverit, sic ad pauciores contrahatur, ut, minime subductis iis qui dignitatum nomine veniunt, ad decem saltem censeantur. Archiepiscopus autem tum dignitates dictas et Canonicatus, tum universa, quae in Ecclesia Metropolitana sunt, beneficia privo liberoque iure conferet: iis quidem exceptis, quae vel communi lege, Sedi Apostolicae reservantur, vel in cuiusvis patronatu sunt, vel concursus conditione obstringuntur. In ceteris porro cathedralibus templis constitui Canonicorum collegia vehementer optamus. Quod quamdiu perfici haud poterit, Episcopi viros aliquot, pietate, scientia, gerendarum rerum usu conspicuos, e gemino clero delectos, Consultores habeant, prouti silicet in diocesis aliis, Canonicorum coetu similiter carentibus. Ne vero eiusmodi cathedralibus aedibus, quae Capitulo carent, sollemnium sacrorum dignitas desideretur, Consultores, quos modo diximus, Episcopo operanti abstabunt. Qui si ratione aliqua praepediantur, Episcopus alios e clero cetero, tam saeculari quam regulari, digniores sufficiet.

IV.—*De sede vacante in Diocesisbus suffraganeis.*—Dioecesis suffraganea quaevis, Collegio Canonico expers, si Episcopo orbari contigerit, eam Metropolitana administrandam suscipiet: qui si deerit, propinquiori Episcopo procuratio obveniet, ea tamen lege ut Vicarius quamprimum eligatur. Interea vero demortui Episcopi Vicarius generalis dioecesim moderetur.

V.—*De clero saeculari.*—Quoniam experiendo plane comperitum est, clerum indigenam perutilem ubique esse, curent diligenter Episcopi ut indigenarum sacerdotum numerus augeri valeat; ita tamen ut illos antea ad pietatem omnem ac disciplinam instituant, idoneosque norint, quibus ecclesiastica munia demandentur. Quos vero usus et experientia praestantiores ostenderit, eos ad potiores procuraciones gradatim advocent. Id vero maxime commendatum habeant qui in clero censentur, ne abripi se partium studiis unquam sinant. Quamvis enim communi lege sit cautum, ne qui militat Deo se implicet negotiis saecularibus; peculiari tamen modo, ob temporum rerumque adiuncta, hoc in Philippinis insulis ad hominibus sacri ordinis devitandum ducimus. Praeterea, quoniam animorum coniunctio praecipua vis est ad grandia quaevis atque utilia perficienda, eam, pro religionis bono, sacerdotes omnes, nulla exceptione, sive e saeculari clero sint, sive in religiosis familiis censeantur, inter sese studiosissime foveant. Decet sane ut qui unum sunt corpus unius capitis Christi, non sibi invicem invident, sed unius sint voluntatis, caritate fraternitatis invicem diligentes. Cui quidem caritati provehendae disciplinaeque simul vigori servando, meminerint Episcopi prodesse plurimum synodales conventus subinde cogere, pro opportunitate locorum ac temporum. Quod si faxint una erit facile omnium sentiendi ratio unaque agendi. Ne vero conceptus semel ardor in cleri hominibus deferbeat, et ut virtutes sacerdotio dignae retineantur et crescant, pium spiritualium Exercitiorum institutum vel maxime conducit. Curent ideo Episcopi ut quotquot in sortem Domini vocati sunt, tertio saltem quoque anno, in opportunum locum ad aeternarum rerum meditationem secedant, quo scilicet acceptas a mundano pulvere sordes eluant et ecclesiasticum spiritum instaurare queant. Satagendum insuper est, ut sacram disciplinarum studium frequenti exercitatione in clero vigeat: *Labia enim sacerdotis custodient scientiam*, quo nempe docere possit fideles, qui *legem requirent de ore eius*. Nihil vero ad hunc finem aptius quam collationes habere saepius, tum de re morum, tum de liturgicis quaestionibus. Quod si asperitas

itinerum, contractus sacerdotum numerus, aliaeve id genus causae conventus eiusmodi ad disceptandum impedian, optimum factu erit, si ab iis qui coetui interesse nequeunt praepositae quaestiones scripto enodentur et Episcopis statuto tempore submittantur.

VI.—*De Seminariis*.—Quanti faciat Ecclesia adolescentium seminaria, qui in cleri spem educantur, perspicere licet ex Tridentinae Synodi decreto, quo ea primum sunt instituta. Oportet idcirco Episcopos omnem operam industriamque impendere ut domum in sua quisque dioecesi habeat, in quam tirunculi militiae sacrae a teneris recipiantur atque ad vitae sanctimoniam et ad minores maioresque disciplinas formentur. Consultius autem erit si adolescentes, qui litteris student, aliis utantur aedibus; aliis vero iuvenes, qui, litterarum cursu emenso, in philosophiam ac theologiam incumbunt. Utrobique autem alumni perpetuo degant, quoad sacerdotio, si meriti quidem fuerint, initientur; nulla unquam, nisi ex gravi causa, facultate facta ad suos remeandi. Seminarii regimen Episcopus optimo cuique demandet, sive e saeculari clero sive e regulari, qui scilicet regendi prudentia usuque praestet vitaeque sanctitate praecellat. Quae autem a Nobis Nostrisque Decessoribus saepe sunt edicta, abunde docent quo pacto quove modo in sacris seminariis studia sint ordinanda. Sicubi vero Seminarium desit, Episcopus alumnos dioecesis suae in viciniorum diocesium Seminariis educandos curabit. Nulla insuper ratione permittant Episcopi ut Seminarii aedes ulli pateant, nisi iis adolescentibus qui spem afferant sese Deo per sacros ordines mancipandi. Qui vero ad civilia munia institui volent, alias, si res sinunt, obtineant aedes, quae convictus vel collegia episcopalia nuncupentur. Illud denique cavendum summopere, ex Apostoli praecepto, ne cuiquam Episcopi cito manus imponant; sed eos tantum ad sacra evehant sacrisque tractandis adhibeant qui diligenter explorati, debitaque scientia ac virtute exculi, ornamento dioecesi usuique esse possint. E seminario autem egressos ne sibi permittant penitus; sed ut vitent otia nec sacrarum scientiarum studia intermittant, consilium est quam optimum illos, quinquennio saltem a sacerdotio suscepto, periculo quotannis subiicere de re dogmatica et morum, coram doctis gravibusque viris faciendo. Quia vero aedes Romae patent etiam iuvenibus e Philippinis insulis qui maioribus disciplinis dare operam velint, pergratum Nobis eveniet si Episcopi delectos subinde adolescentes huc mittent, qui religionis scientiam, in ipso veritatis centro acquisitam, cum

suis, einde civibus utiliter communicent. Sancta autem haec Sedes pro sua parte curabit opportunis modis ad potiorem culturam melioremque ecclesiasticam formam clerum saecularem provehere ita ut apto tempore reperiaturs idoneus qui cleri regularis partes in pastoralis muneris procuratione suscipiat.

VII. — *De Religiosa puerorum eruditione deque Manilana studiorum Universitate.*—Verum non ad ecclesiastica solum seminaria Episcoporum industrias spectare oportet: adolescentes enim e laicorum ordine, qui scholis aliis celebrant, eorum etiam curis et providentiae demandantur. Est igitur Antistitum sacrarum officium omni ope adniti, ut puerorum animi, qui publice litteris imbuantur, religionis scientia ne careant. Quae ut cite tradatur, videant Episcopi ac perficiant ut et magistri tanto muneri sint pares, et libri qui adhibentur, nulla inficiantur errorum labe. Quoniam autem de scholis publicis sermo incidit, Lyceum magnam Manilanum, a Dominicanis Sodadibus Innocentii X auctoritate conditum, merita sine laude praeterire nolumus. Quod, cum doctrinae integritate praestantiaque doctorum floruit, necesse neque exiguas peperit utilitates, non modo ab Episcopis omnibus benevole haberi cupimus, sed in tutelam Nostram Nostrorumque Successorum ultro recipimus. Quare, privilegia et honores a Romanis Pontificibus Innocentio X et XI et Clemente XII eidem concessa plenissime confirmantes, illud Pontificiae Universitatis titulo augemus, quique gradus academici in eo conferuntur, eandem vim habere volumus, quam in ceteris Pontificiis Universitatibus obtinent.

VIII. — *De Regularibus.* Opportunitatibus novi in regione illi rerum ordinis concedens S. haec Sedes Apostolica statuit tempestivis provisionibus religiosi viri adesse qui recte intendunt ad vitae rationem sui Instituti propriam, cunctis nempe cunctino sacri ministerii operibus bonorum in vulgus exoptat, profectui rei christianae civilisque pacilli convictus incrementis. Alumnis ergo religiosarum familiarum curae commendamus, ut quae, nuncupatis votis, officia suscepimus, sancte implant, *namque nullum offendere possint.* Principimus ut clausurae leges inviolate servant; quapropter teneri omnes volumus de re illo, quod, editum a Congregatione super Episcopis et Regularibus die XX Iulii MDCCXXXI, Clemens XII decessor Nostrae litteris apostolicis *Super praeposita* die XXVI augusti citato anni confirmavit. Clausurae autem ea sit norma licet sint hinc, quae decreto alio edicuntur, a S. Congregatione Propagandae Fidei die XXIV augusti MDCCCLXXX pro XI approbante, inter-

posito. Ceterum Religiosi viri, quotquot in Philippinis versantur, illos summopere revereri atque observare meminerint, quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit regere ecclesiam*: et arcetissimo concordiae et caritatis foedere cum saeculari clero coniuncti, nihil antiquius habeant quam in opus ministerii, in aedificationem corporis Christi, sociatis studiis, vires omnes intendere. Porro ut dissensionum elementa penitus eradantur, in Philippinis, etiam Insulis observari in posterum volumus Constitutionem *Firmandis* a Benedicto XIV datam VIII id. novembris MDCCXLIV, itemque aliam *Romanos Pontifices* qua Nos VIII id. maii MDCCCLXXXI nonnulla controversiarum capita inter Episcopos et Missionarios Regulares in Anglia et Scotia definivimus.

IX.—*De Parocciis*.—Quae parocciae curionibus et Religiosis Familiis sint demandandae Episcopi videant, collatis sententiis cum earumdem Familiarum Praesidibus. Quod si quaestio de ea re oriat, nec privatim componi queat, caussa ad Delegatum Apostolicum deferetur.

X.—*De Missionibus*.—Ad cetera argumenta, quibus Ecclesia magistra opportune cavetur ne fides morumque integritas atque ad aeternam animorum salutem pertinentia detrimentum capiant, accedunt equidem summaeque sunt utilitatis spiritualia Exercitia quaeque vulgo Missiones audiunt. Optandum quapropter omnino est ut, in provinciis singulis, singulae saltem condantur domus, octo plus minus Religiosis viris excipiendis, quibus sit unice praestitutum urbes subinde ac pagos lustrare dictaque modo ratione, sacris concionibus populos excolere. Quod tamen, si fidelibus utile, necessarium profecto illis est, qui Evangelii lucem nondum hauserunt. Ubi igitur agrestes adhuc gentes occurrunt immani idolorum cultui addicti, sciant Episcopi et sacerdotes teneri ad earum conversionem curandam. Quare inter illas etiam stationes fundentur pro sacerdotibus qui apostolico munere fungantur, nec solum idololatrias ad christianam sacra traducant, verum etiam pueris instituendis dent operam. Hae porro stationes sic erunt ordinandae ut deinde opportuno tempore ad Praefecturas vel Vicariatus Apostolicos evehi queant. Ne autem qui ibidem sacris occupantur necessaria ad victum promovendamque fidem desiderant, hortamur ut in dioecesi quaque, incolumi quidem Lugdunensi Instituto quod a Propagatione Fidei appellatur, peculiare coetus instituantur virorum ac foeminarum, qui fidelium symbolis colligendis praesint, collectasque Episcopis tradant, Missionibus acquo iure ex integro distribuendas.

XI.—*De disciplina et aspectu.*—Conciliandae clero fidelium existimationi nihil conducit efficacius, quam, si quae sacerdotes dicunt verbo, ea simul opere compleant. Cum enim ut Tridentina Synodus inquit, a rebus saeculi in altiore sublati locum conspiciantur, in eos tamquam in speculum reliqui oculos coniciunt ex hisque sumunt quod imitentur. Quapropter sic decet omnino clericos vitam moresque suos omnes componere ut habitu, gestu, incessu, sermone, aliisque omnibus rebus, nil nisi grave, moderatum ac religione plenum prae se ferant; levia etiam delicta, quae in ipsis maxima essent, effugiant, ut eorum actiones cunctis afferant venerationem. Sed enim pro hac disciplinae ecclesiasticae instauratione proque plena Constitutionis huius Nostrae executione Venerabilem Fratrem Ioannem Baptistam Guidi Archiepiscopum Stauropolitanum, Delegatum Apostolicum extraordinarium ad Philippinas insulas mittimus, Personam Nostram illic gesturum. Cui propterea opportunas tribuimus facultates; insuper etiam in mandatis dedimus ut provincialem Synodum quam primum per adiuncta licuerit, indicendam ac celebrandam curet.

XII.—*Animorum pacificatio ac reverentia in eos qui praesunt insulae.*—Restat modo ut ad Philippinarum incolas universos paterna caritate sermonem convertamus, eosque maiore qua possumus contentione hortemur, ut unitatem servent in vinculo pacis. Postulat hoc christianae professionis officium: *Major et namque fraternitas Christi per sanguinis, sanguinis enim fraternitas similitudinem tantummodo corporis refert, Christo autem tractantes unitatem cordis animaque demonstrat, sicut scriptum est, Act. IV, 32: Multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum et consensus.* Postulat religionis bonum, quae prima fons et origo fuit earum laudum, quibus Philippinarum gentes superiori tempore floruerunt. Postulat denique sincera caritas patriae, quae ex publicis perturbationibus nil nisi damna capiet ac detrimenta. Eos qui imperium tenent ex Apostoli praescripto, reverentur, *omnis enim potestas a Deo est.* Et quamvis longinquo oceani spatio a Nobis seiuncti, sciant se esse in fide Apostolicae Sedis, quae sicut illos peculiari complectitur dilectione, tutandarum ipsorum rationum nunquam curam abijciat. Decernimus tandem has nostras litteras nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis aut interceptionis vitio, sive intentionis Nostrae alioque quovis defectu notari vel impugnari posse et semper validas ac firmas fore, suosque effectus in omnibus obtinere, ac inviolabiliter observari debere, non obstantibus Apostolicis atque in synodalibus, pro-

vincialibus et universalibus Conciliis editis generalibus vel specialibus sanctionibus, nec non veterum sedum Philippinarum et Missionum inibi constitutarum et quarumcumque Ecclesiarum ac piorum locorum iuribus aut privilegiis, iuramento etiam, confirmatione Apostolica aut alia quacumque firmitate roboratis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque, peculiari etiam mentione dignis; quibus omnibus quatenus supra dictis obstant, expresse derogamus. Irritum quoque et inane decernimus si se cus super his a quoquam, quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter, contigerit attentari. Volumus autem ut harum litterarum exemplis etiam impressis, manuque publici Notarii subscriptis et per constitutum in ecclesiastica dignitate virum suo sigillo munitis, eadem habeatur fides quae Nostrae voluntatis significationi, ipso hoc diplomate ostenso, haberetur. Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae erectionis, constitutionis, restitutionis, dismembrationis, suppressionis, adsignationis, adiectionis, attributionis, decreti, mandati ac voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem haec attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die XVII Septembris MDCCCII. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo quinto.

L. ✠ S.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

THE THIRD ORDER OF OUR LADY OF SORROWS

DECRETUM. INSTITUTUM FRATRUM TERTII ORD. S. FR. A B, MARIA VIRGINE PERDOLENTE, ILLUSQUE CONSTITUTIONES APPROBANTUR

Anno Domini 1889 auctore rev. P. Aloisio a Masamagrell Ordinis Fr. Minorum Capulatorum, in Archidioecesi Valentina in Hispania, Archiepiscopo probante, ortum duxit Institutum Fratrum Tertii Ordinis S. Francisci Capulatorum a Beata Maria Virgine Perdolente. Peculiaris finis sive scopus enunciatis Fratribus propositus in eo est, ut ipsi primum quidem propriae consulant sanctificationi per vota obedientiae, paupertatis et castitatis, certamque vivendi normam suis in Constitutionibus praescriptam, tum vero urgentem Christi Domini caritatem enixe explicent praesertim erga perditos adolescentulos; ita nempe ut eos e vitiorum coeno erutos opportunioribus modis erudire ac pie educare satagent. Cuncti autem eodem victu

cultuque utuntur, sub regimine Moderatoris Generalis sexto quoque anno eligendi, et exacto novitiatu, recensita tria vota, prius ad tempus dein in perpetuum, ritu simplici nuncupant. Porro, aucto celeriter sodalium numero, praeter domum principem in praeiata Archidioecesi Valentina existentem, aliae etiam domus in dioecesibus Placentina et Matritensi-Complutensi, nec non in Archidioecesi Hispalensi canonice erectae fuerunt. Quibus in locis memorati Fratres, superna favente gratia, adeo bonum Christi odorem effuderunt eamque tulere iugiter salutarium fructuum ubertatem, ut non modo Sacrorum Praesulum, sed etiam saecularium Principum benevolentiam, favorem et admirationem sibi affatim conciliaverint.

Quum autem nuper Instituti Moderatores humillime supplicaverint SSmo. Dno. Nro, Leoni Divina Providentia PP, XIII ut Institutum ipsum eiusque Constitutiones Apostolica Auctoritate approbare dignaretur, Antistites locorum, de quibus supra, datis ultro litteris, eorum preces summopere commendare non dubitarunt. Itaque Sanctitas Sua re mature perpensa attentisque praesertim commendatitiis litteris praeiatorum Antistitum, in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium Praefecto die 18 huius mensis, memoratum Institutum cum suis Constitutionibus, uti Congregationem votorum simplicium sub regimine moderatoris generalis approbare et confirmare dignata est, prout praesentis Decreti tenore benigne approbat et confirmat, salva Ordinariorum iurisdictione ad formam Sacrorum Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria praeiudicatae Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium, die 19 Septembris 1902.

A. Card. DI PIETRO, *Praef.*

O. GIORGI, *Aud.*

CARMELITE TEACHING BROTHERHOOD

DECRETUM. APPROBATUR INSTITUTUM INFRASCRIPITUM CUM SUI
CONSTITUTIONIBUS

Anno Domini 1885, auspice r. p. d. Marcello Spinola et Maestro, nunc Archiepiscopo Hispalensi, ortum duxit Institutum Sororum, quibus cognomentum vulgo: *Esclavas Concepcionistas del Divino Corazon de Jesus*. Quae quidem Sorores id sibi uti peculiarem finem sive scopum proponunt, ut primum propriae consulant sanctificationi, per observantiam votorum obedientiae,

paupertatis et castatis, certamque vivendi normam suis in constitutionibus praescriptam ; tum ad eruditionem piamque educationem puellarum, praesertim pauperum, sedulo incumbant. Cunctae autem vitam ducunt perfecte communem sub regimine moderatricis generalis, et, exacto novitiatu, recensita tria vota, prius ad tempus, dein in perpetuum, ritu simplici nuncupant. Complures iam sunt Instituto domus canonice erectae tum in Archidioecesi Hispalensi, ubi et domus princeps constituta est, tum in dioecesi Malacitana. Porro ubicumque commoratae sunt enunciatæ Sorores, superna favente gratia, bonum Christi odorem jugiter effunderunt effuderunt, uberemque, ad Dei gloriam atque animarum salutem, tulere fructuum copiam.

Cum autem nuper Moderatrix Generalis, omnium Sororum nomine, SSmo. Dno, Nro, Leoni Divina Providentia Pp. XIII humillime supplicaverit ut praefatum Institutum eiusque Constitutiones Apostolica Auctoritate approbare dignaretur, Antistites Hispalensis et Malacitanus, datis ultro litteris, eiusdem preces summo opere commendare non dubitarunt.

Itaque Sanctitas Sua, re mature perpensa; attentisque praesertim commendatitiis litteris praedictorum Antistitum, in audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium Praefecto, die 25 Januarii 1902, memoratum Institutum, uti Congregationem votorum simplicium, sub regimine moderatricis generalis, cum suis Constitutionibus, approbare et confirmare dignata est; prout praesentis decreti tenore approbat et confirmat, salva Ordinariorum jurisdictione ad formam SS. Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium die 1 Februarii 1902.

FR. HIERONYMUS MARIA Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*,

L. ✠ S.

AL. BUDINI, *Subsecr.*

CARMELITE TEACHING BROTHERHOOD

DECRETUM. APPROBATUR INSTITUTUM FRATRUM CARMELITARUM A DOCTRINA (DE LA ENSEÑANZA) CUM SUIS CONSTITUTIONIBUS.

Anno Domini 1892 in Archidioecesi Tarraconensi canonice erectum fuit Institutum—de Hermanos Carmelitas de la Enseñanza—vulgo nuncupatum, quod iam multos ante annos ortum duxerat, auspice religioso viro fel. rec. Francisco Palau y Quer. Peculiaris finis sive scopus praefati Instituti Sodalibus propo-

situs in eo est, ut ipsi primum quidem propriae consulant sanctificationi servando vota obedientiae, paupertatis et castitatis, certisque inhaerendo Constitutionibus; tum vero sedulo incumbant ad eruditionem piamque educationem parvulorum et, sicubi opus est iuniorum opificum. Cuncti autem vitam ducunt perfecte communem, sub regimine Moderatoris Generalis, et exacto novitiatu, recensita tria vota, prius ad tempus dein in perpetuum, ritu simplici emittunt. Porro, istiusmodi Sodalium propositis laboribusque dexter adfuit bonorum omnium largitor Deus; ita ut ipsi non mediocrem fructuum ubertatem, ad eiusdem Dei gloriam atque animarum salutem iugiter tulerint.

Quum autem nuper Moderator Generalis, optimis instructus commendatitiis litteris, SSmo. Domino Nostro Leoni Divina Providentia PP. XIII humillime supplicaverit ut Institutum ipsum et Constitutiones, quibus regitur, Apostolica auctoritate approbare dignaretur, Sanctitas Sua, universa rei ratione mature perpensa, in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium Praefecto die 17 Martii 1902, praedictum Institutum cum suis Constitutionibus, uti Congregationem votorum simplicium sub regimine Moderatoris Generalis, approbare et confirmare dignata est, prout praesentis Decreti tenore, benigne approbat et confirmat, salva Ordinariorum iurisdictione ad formam SS. Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria praefatae S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium, die 17 Martii 1902.

FR. HIERONYMUS MARIA Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

AL. BUDINI, *Subscrips.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

TRACTATUS DE DEO UNO (Summa I., i.-xiii.), DE SANCTISSIMA TRINITATE (Summa I., xxvii.-xliii.), et DE BEATISSIMA VIRGINE MARIA MATRE DEI. Auctore Alexio Marie Lépicier, O.S.M. Parisus: P Lethieleux, editore, 10, Via Dicta Cassette.

WE feel great pleasure in recommending to our readers those three theological works of Father Lépicier's. As his name may not be familiar to some of our readers, it may be well to state that he is at present lecturer in Dogmatic Theology in the Propaganda Schools, Rome. He is a past student of the same schools, and studied under the present Cardinal Satolli when His Eminence was lecturer there. After his ordination he spent some time on the London Mission; and was recalled to occupy the vacant chair when his illustrious teacher was sent as Papal Delegate to the United States. The volumes that we now present to our readers are some of the lectures that he has been delivering to his students for the past eleven years.

The two works, *De Deo Uno* and *De S. S. Trinitate*, are profound and exhaustive commentaries on the '*Summa*' of St. Thomas; but the third work, *De Beata Virgine Maria*, is a good deal more than a mere commentary. We feel that it would be very presumptuous on our part to criticise this admirable book after the high praise it has received from the Pope himself and from Cardinal Rampolla. In a letter addressed to Father Lépicier, expressing his thanks for the copy sent him, the Pope says 'that although it would be beyond the power of man to adequately treat of such a subject, yet he has so treated it in the present work that he is inferior to none in erudition and solidity, and has easily surpassed many. There is a quality of the book,' continues the Pope, 'that is deserving of the highest praise: that while adhering strictly to the scholastic method (as was right), still he has treated his subject matter not in a dry manner, but with a certain spiritual sweetness, by which the reader is drawn to the love of the Mother of God at the same time that he receives mental instruction.' Cardinal Rampolla speaks of it in equally high terms. He says that 'he has

been reading it in the intervals he has had from his many duties ; that whilst he has admired the solidity of its doctrine, drawn from pure theological sources, and the scientific method with which it is expounded, he has been struck by the peculiar spiritual unction that is met throughout, which fills the reader with devotion towards the Mother of God at the same time that it reveals the love that must have guided the mind of the author.' Seeing from the frontispage that the book has received such high praise, we need scarcely say that we went through it with more than usual interest.

Although Father Lépicier departs in this book from the order of St. Thomas, in the '*Summa*,' yet, as he himself states in the opening chapter, the writings of the Angelic Doctor, and especially the '*Summa*,' form the nerve and muscle of the book. Hence that solidity of doctrine referred to by Cardinal Rampolla. After proving his thesis, the writer illustrates it, almost in every case, with references to the Church's ceremonial, with quotations from the saints and the fathers, with the poetry of Dante, and, in many instances, also with the eloquence of Bossuet : and this we believe to be the principal charm of the book.

We read a few questions with very special interest. We should commend the question on the dogma of the Immaculate Conception for special excellence. In this question, to which he devotes fifty-six pages, Father Lépicier shows not only all the qualities of a great theologian, but unconsciously reveals the fact that he is a rare linguist. At the end of the questions there is a very interesting appendix. After showing from a collation of a number of passages from the writings of St. Thomas that the Saint was opposed to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, Father Lépicier thus concludes that ' St. Thomas was inclined all the more towards that belief in proportion as the singular dignity of Christ and the universality of the Redemption seemed thereby to be safeguarded. Still St. Thomas cannot have held that doctrine more than as probable, since, undoubtedly, it could not have escaped his great mind that there was a lack of demonstrative force in such a reason : for there is none of the reasons adduced by him that cannot be solved by the principles laid down by himself.' Two other very interesting questions are those regarding the kind of vow of virginity made by Our Blessed Lady, and the nature or cause of her death. On the whole, we have nothing but the highest praise for this book (though indeed it needs no commendation from us) ; and we

feel certain that it will be hailed with welcome by every priest and every student of Theology.

We have written at such length of the work on Our Blessed Lady that we have little space left to say all that we should wish of the other two works. In them, Father Lépiciér follows strictly the order of the '*Summa*'; he carefully analyses the logic that guided the Angelical in arranging and sub-dividing the various questions; and when there occurs a more than usually important article, he brings it into prominence, and gives it a due treatment. Father Lépiciér is a thorough philosopher. He seems to have a very intimate acquaintance with Aristotle, whom he quotes in the original Greek where there is occasion; and he has a happy way of making pagan philosophers clearly express Catholic dogma. We should quote as an example of this his commentary on Art. 2 Ques. ii. of the '*Summa*' (*utrum Deum esse, sit demonstrabile*), which is practically the declaration of the Vatican Council, *cap. ii. De Revelatione*). This dogma he makes both St. Augustine and Cicero expound; and of the two Cicero is the clearer and the more to the point. Another example might be taken from the work *De S. S. Trinitate* from his commentary on Art. 1 Ques. xxxii (*utrum per rationem naturalem possit cognosci Trinitas Personarum Divinarum*: which would be the truth defined by the Vatican Council, Sess. iii., *cap. iv.*), in which he gives a very interesting interpretation to certain passages of Aristotle's and Plato's writings, quoted by St. Thomas as objections against the Catholic dogma.

In conclusion, we have little hesitation in saying that, if judged even on the merits of those three works, Father Lépiciér may be ranked with Cardinal Franzelin as a dogmatic theologian, and with Bilot, Cardinal Satolli, and Billuart as a commentator of St. Thomas. However, we hope that his theological publications will not end with those, but that we shall soon have the pleasure of announcing other publications on some other parts of the '*Summa*.'

T. H.

FOOTPRINTS OF EMMET. By J. J. Reynolds. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.

TO our thinking there is nothing in fiction which does not yield place to Mr. Reynolds' book. It is a quarto volume of 127 pages, yet its perusal occupied but two sittings; had it been

possible, the interest which we felt in this beautiful biography would have prevented us from leaving it down till we had read it from cover to cover,

There are so many things which come to us to say—all of them fully merited—that we are loathe to enter into what can be but a partial appreciation of the book. We can only say : Get it and read. Whether it was some yet undiscovered fount of patriotic feeling stirred within us by the pathos of the noblest and most generous of young lives, yielded up ungrudgingly for such pure and lofty motives, or rather, as we think, the all-embracing sympathy for youthful, ingenuous, whole-souled patriotism in its struggle with the unhallowed chicanery of statecraft plotting against the unwary and sparing not even the innocent in its greed of power. Whatever it be, we followed these “Footprints” with an absorbing interest.

One cannot fail to be struck by the book's simple, telling style, at times rising to an eloquence, which mirrors the author's admiration and love for his hero and his abhorrence of the base means by which he was lured to destruction and to a traitor's doom. The book is profusely and elegantly illustrated from photographs, but we are not afraid to prophesy that few, after reading the book, will be content with even photographs, but will, if possible, visit the scenes which have been hallowed by associations so pure and noble. No one who reads can fail to learn a lesson in love of country.

D. J. O'D.

PRAELECTIONES DE MISSA, CUM APPENDICE DE EUCHARISTIAE SACRAMENTO. Fr. S. Many, Presbyter S. Sulpitii. Paris: Letouzey. 1903.

PRIESTS who have not leisure and opportunity for consulting many books will be glad to put this one into their libraries. It is a complete treatise on the Mass, written from the canonist's standpoint by one who has studied the subject for years. Every question regarding the time and place for saying Mass, duplication, stipends, sacred vestments and vessels, etc., is fully and clearly answered ; while in all cases the relevant decisions of the Roman Congregations down to the present day are given. This is followed by an exhaustive treatise on the Blessed Sacrament and Holy Communion, and by an Appendix containing various Decrees about the celebration of Mass. The learned author modestly says that his intention has been to

supply his brother-priests with all the Canon Law on these subjects, and it is evident that he has succeeded. There can be no more useful book for conferences. Father Many has been for a long time Professor of Canon Law in St. Sulpice, and his book is in every respect worthy of that famous centre of learning and piety.

G. R.

COMPENDIUM JURIS REGULARIUM. Fr. Bachofen, O.S.B. Benziger. 1903.

THIS well printed work of 400 odd pages 8vo will be found both useful and opportune. All the more important enactments of Canon Law regarding religious orders in common are set down here, and then explained clearly and briefly. It has been neither possible nor desirable to enter into the details of cases that scarcely ever occur, nor has it been the author's intention to treat of the legislation peculiar to any religious order. His object is to furnish all regulars with a manual that explains the essential obligations of their state. For this purpose he treats of the nature of religious life, the novitiate, the vows, the divine office and Mass, etc. One whole chapter is devoted to modern Congregations. Throughout the volume references are given to standard works in which fuller information on certain points may be obtained. Here the author's wide reading becomes apparent, he seems to be thoroughly acquainted with every source of knowledge. We have compared him with Bouix, Scherer, Piat, Wernx, and others, and find him thoroughly reliable. But it is only fair to Father Bachofen to say that for all ordinary cases the information he himself gives will be amply sufficient. His work will be especially useful to heads of religious houses, masters of novices, and confessors of nuns.

T. S. B.

EPITOME EXEGETICAE BIBLICAE CATHOLICAE. Fr. Hetzenauer, O.S.F.C. Innsbruck: Wagner. 3s. 1903.

THE learned author is already well known on account of his critical edition of the New Testament and his excellent work on the principles of Biblical criticism. The one he now publishes on hermeneutics will, we expect, add to his fame. The principles of the science are clearly explained and then illustrated by well chosen examples. Many of these are taken from

his own commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. The writer's aim is to guard students from the evil influences that are so widely spread at the present day. This is done by showing them the fatal consequences to which all the systems of rationalistic interpretation, or rather misinterpretation, necessarily lead. Another and a still more important object is to put concisely before students the teaching on Scripture that has emanated from the present illustrious occupant of the Holy See. The Encyclicals of Leo XIII. are quoted wherever opportunity offers. The author also uses for his purpose all the current literature of Germany, and in this respect his work will be found to supplement some of the manuals already in use. In conclusion, it may be remarked that his hints to preachers on the use and abuse of Scripture are eminently practical.

T. S. B.

THEOLOGIA DOGMATICA AD MENTEM DIVI THOMAE
AQUINATIS. Fr. H. M. Mancini, O.P. Romae: Propa-
ganda. 1903.

IF we may judge from the first volume which has just been published, this work, when complete, will be one of great utility. The author's lucid style and judicious arrangement make the two tracts, *De Deo Uno*, *De Deo Trino*, easy and attractive to the average student. Everyone knows that considered in themselves they are the most abstruse in all dogmatic theology, so that to write on the questions they contain in a manner serviceable to young students demands especial qualifications on the part of an author. It seems to us that Father Mancini possesses them in a high degree. The long and varied experience gained while he was professor of dogmatic theology in Viterbo, in the diocesan seminary of Nepi, and then in the college of the Minerva in Rome, have familiarized him with the best method of imparting knowledge. As regards the matter of his teaching, it is enough to say that it is the theology of St. Thomas. All the merit of the author consists, as he himself would be the first to acknowledge, in his obedience to the Popes and to the legislation of his own Order, by faithfully adhering to the teaching of the Angelical Doctor and by adapting its explanation to the needs of the present day, as well as to the capacities of young students. The numerous quota-

tions which he gives from the *Summa*, etc., will serve as an introduction to the study of the text, if this should subsequently be found desirable, but at any rate from the beginning of his course the student will have a sense of security and of satisfaction. He will know that what he is being taught has come originally from the Church's greatest theologian, and he will know that he is being taught what Leo. XIII. wished him to hold.

In theology, as in other branches of science, it is well to keep to the best books, and these should as far as possible contain in compact form all that a student is likely to require. He cannot consult the works of specialists, for he has neither the time nor the knowledge requisite. The value of Father Mancini's first volume would therefore have been enhanced if it contained even more definitions of Popes and Councils and more passages from Patristic sources.

R. W.

BIBLISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT. Friburg: Herder. 12s. annually.

THROUGH the kindness of the celebrated publishing firm, the second number of this valuable periodical has reached us. The contributions which it contains are all of the greatest use to Scriptural students. Among them, Nikel's article on the relations at present existing between Assyriology and exegesis, and Belser's learned essay on the One-Year theory of Our Lord's public ministry, will perhaps be the most interesting to the majority of readers. The comparative criticism of the Hebrew texts of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus appeals to a smaller circle of students, but by them it will be found invaluable.

A special feature of Herder's *Biblische Zeitschrift* is its bibliography. One seldom sees so complete a catalogue in any department of science or of literature. Works published since 1902 on exegesis and kindred subjects (archaeology, philology, etc.), in every language, the current articles in all the Biblical periodicals, and in the organs of learned societies, etc., are here named in classified sections and in alphabetical order. The utility of such a work to both students and professors is too obvious to need comment. It should ensure for this admirable serial a place in all our libraries.

R. W.



'FATHERS, EASTERN AND WESTERN'

IN his *History of Christian Dogmas*¹ Neander writes: 'Christianity entered a world that was foreign to its nature, where it had to acquire a certain form; and this form was in part dependent on existing tendencies;' the truth of this statement is nowhere, perhaps, more manifest than in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, both Eastern and Western.

A comparison of Eastern with Western patristic literature unveils a curious phenomenon, and one to which all readers of the Fathers will be well advised to give their attention.

In the first place, we find the Fathers of the Eastern Church with a style of composition and method of treatment quite different to those of the West; and, secondly, even the subject-matter of which they treat is not the same; the former being apparently much more in their element when handling subjects that enter into the field of philosophic thought, and which, in consequence, demand more care and accuracy in the use of terms; while the Westerns are more concerned with the practical issues of theology; for them the concrete rather than the abstract seems to possess the greater attraction.

These facts are not to be summarily accounted for by saying that the Fathers of one age naturally fell into one groove, and that it was equally natural for a later age to

¹ C. i., 33.

cultivate a line of thought and argument somewhat different ; because the similarity alluded to is found to exist on the one hand in writers of succeeding ages, while the contrast is evident in the case even of contemporaries.

In accounting for this we have to look to the place where, rather than to the epoch in which they flourished. The division of the Church from the earliest times into East and West is familiar to all, and each of these sections has been responsible for its own particular method of enunciation or exposition of revealed truth. There is no intrinsic reason why an Eastern Father should differ from a Western ; but, apart from the fact that the rise of this or that heresy would naturally call into existence then and there, special treatises on the particular doctrine attacked—with the result that the patristic writings of the East would differ from those of the West according as heresy in the East differed from the West—we have to bear in mind that the whole atmosphere of Eastern thought was permeated by an influence that never penetrated in any appreciable degree to the West. The centre of that influence was the catechetical school of Alexandria.

During the first four centuries, Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, was the principal seat of Christian philosophy and literature. Founded by St. Mark, the favoured disciple of St. Peter, the patriarchal see of this city was the first in order and dignity after that of Rome—the see of St. Peter himself. Its Christian school, founded early in the third century, had produced a Clement, a Dionysius, and an Origen. The see numbered amongst its illustrious occupants the glorious names of St. Alexander, St. Athanasius, and St. Cyril ; and the list of those who pursued their studies, and whose views were largely formed in this *Sedes sapientiae* is a long and imposing one.

The whole atmosphere of Alexandria was charged with philosophy. Three hundred years B.C. had Ptolemy Soter, one of Alexander's captains, founded an academy called the Musæum, in which a society of learned men devoted themselves to philosophical studies and the improvement of all the other studies ; he also gave them a library which was

prodigiously increased by his successors. It was there that Grecian philosophy was engrafted on the stock of ancient oriental wisdom; there that the Jewish mind, four centuries before Christ, was first brought into contact with Greek philosophy and speculation; there also that Christianity and paganism met with every facility for mutual discussion and criticism. The result that followed is a most important factor in the history of Greek patristic literature.

When once the first principles of the Christian faith were brought face to face with heathen wisdom and civilisation, it was inevitable that they should be largely affected by their new environment. Not that the framework of revealed doctrine could ever be enlarged or diminished or even modified—truth can never make any compromise with falsehood—but as St. Augustine has it: 'Quisquis bonus verusque Christianus est, Domini sui esse intelligat ubicunque invenerit veritatem;'² and doctrines hitherto undeveloped or unexplained would naturally be sifted, tried in the crucible of philosophic analysis, and assume new shapes and colours accordingly.

In the face of the old standing philosophies the question naturally arose, How was the Church to act? What was to be her attitude towards science as she found it? What the relation of the new faith to already existing systems of thought? The policy of the Church was that of assimilation rather than of absolute antagonism or annihilation. Greek philosophy was not to be regarded as altogether hostile; it was not to be denounced as profane; it was to serve as a help rather than a hindrance to the accurate expression of revealed truth.

The Church's champions recognised their opportunity, pressed into service the current philosophic terminology, and boldly endeavoured to lay hold of and assimilate all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which had been accumulating in the ages before Christ. Under the Church's ægis they were well qualified to accomplish what the eclectic school of philosophers had tried to do, but in vain. They were better calculated to sift the true from the false, to build up a

² *De Doctr. Xtnâ.*, II., 18.

secure edifice of truth, and to bring to their theological studies something better than mere speculation or the ephemeral teaching of the particular schools of thought that happened to be flourishing at the time.

There was, of course, a certain element of danger in the close proximity of the home of pagan philosophy, especially when we remember that every conceivable sect was recognised at Alexandria; for a general permission had been given by Alexander to the promiscuous crowds assembled in that flourishing emporium of the East—whether Egyptians, Grecians, Jews, or others—to profess their respective systems of philosophy without molestation. Hence we are not altogether surprised to find that Origen, who followed and favoured the eclectic method of philosophising, thought to form a coalition between the Gospel and Aristotle, while others reasoned in the same way as to Stoicism, and the majority as to Platonism.

History does, indeed, record some defections, but in the main the danger of being overwhelmed by the tide of pagan philosophy was never more than a nominal one. In this connection the following passage from Neander³ is not without interest:—

The Alexandrian Fathers, on account of their studying the Grecian philosophy, exposed themselves to the danger of being taxed with heresy by the other parties. Clement frequently rebukes the ‘ignorant brawlers,’ who, as he says, are frightened at philosophy as children at a mask. He endeavours to show the advantages and necessity of studying it for the teachers of the Church; that they ought to know it well even to controvert it and prove its injurious effects. Philosophic culture, he asserted, was also a necessary preparation in order to be able to develop Christian truths in a scientific form. What the ancients said of the relation of dialectics to philosophy that it is a ‘fence for truth,’ applied also to the relation of the culture so gained to Christian truth—not that any addition was made by this means to its contents, but an instrument was gained for defending it against the Sophists.

These considerations serve to account, partially at least, for the characteristic structure of the writings of the Greek

³ *Op. Cit.*, C. i., p. 63.

Fathers. The external influences to which they were subject are stamped on them throughout with unmistakable clearness; and they are redolent of pagan ideas remodelled and Christianized, of the dialectic training, the accurate method of treatment, and the accepted terminology of the pagan schools of philosophy.

Eastern thought concerned itself with the ineffable God-head, with the intrinsic essence of the Divine Persons; 'De Deo uno et trino' of modern theologic text books rather than 'de Deo Creatore.' Hence we find that the earliest treatises of any importance on the Trinity and the various relationships of the Three Persons are, almost without exception, products of the East.¹

The baptismal formula, involving a belief in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, could not be suffered to remain in its undeveloped simplicity. What is the precise nature of this newly-preached triune God. What is implied in the eternal Sonship of Christ? How is the Son co eternal with, and yet begotten of the Father? and how explain the dual nature of God and Man in one Person? if God how is He also Man, and if Man how can we predicate of Him in relation to the Father the term *ὁμοούσιος*. So also with regard to the Holy Ghost; in what relation does He stand to the First and Second Persons of the Trinity?

These and the like are questions which came spontaneously to the Grecian mind, and to which it demanded an answer. The fundamental mysteries of the newly-revealed Gospel were well calculated to challenge controversy, and certain it is that at Alexandria, which has been styled 'the missionary or polemical Church of antiquity,' they were welcomed, as every new departure was, as supplying fresh material for discussion and speculation; and from the time of St. Clement of Alexandria, who was the first to philosophise on Christianity, or more accurately, perhaps, whose writings

¹ The line of contrast between East and West cannot, of course, be drawn with mathematical accuracy. It was inevitable that there should be a certain amount of overlapping. Occasionally we find a Latin Father treating what we will call for brevity sake, an Eastern subject, and *vice versa*: e.g., Hilary and Augustine, *De Trinitate*; Origen, *Contra Celsum* and *de Principiis*, etc.

opened the way to Christian philosophy, the controversy waged eager, keen and subtle, beginning with the Trinity and going on to a complete and comprehensive sifting and analysis of the 'Verbum caro factum.'

The latter we may regard as the characteristic feature in the works of the Fathers of the Eastern Church, who are always found to be most severe in their strictures on the platonising proclivities of the Arians. The doctrine of the Incarnation is with them the central doctrine of Faith; it is regarded as the high water mark of a spiritual evolution in the history of man dating from creation. It is a thing of beauty in itself apart from any consideration of its vivifying effects or the universal redemption that it wrought; whereas it was the last idea that most frequently and cogently appealed to the Western mind, where the doctrine of the Fall is the starting point of all theological teaching, and the mystery of the Incarnation is invariably regarded as the remedy for a catastrophe. It was not the transcendent beauty and attractiveness of the truth itself, it was the practical aspect, the reinstatement in forfeited rights, the payment of an adequate ransom, that appealed to the Latin mind.

Thus, there was modelled in the East a cast of thought quite different to what obtained in the West; and we see it not in this doctrine only. The same contrast colours throughout their respective theologies.

Where, for example, a Western would regard faith as the natural submission of the intellect to well established motives of credibility—the assent of the will to external authority or to dogma guaranteed by the teaching of the Church, 'Erunt mihi testes'—the Eastern regards it more in the nature of spiritual vision, the insight of the soul into eternal realities illuminated by the spirit of God, 'Est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium';⁵ so again with the former, salvation and eternal life are the distinct rewards of a life of virtue, unending happiness waiting upon the good, eternal woe and misery being the just lot of the evil doer.⁶ Not so with the Greek writings, where the

⁵ Heb. xi. 1. ⁶ Vide e.g., Lactantius, *De vita beata* and *De ira Dei*.

claims of retributive justice are not primarily dealt with; such an elementary idea would not sate the glowing imagination of an Eastern. Eternal life was to him the climax and the crown of a spiritual evolution; the *terminus ad quem* of the *status viæ*. 'The path of the just, as a shining light, goeth forwards and increaseth even to perfect day.'⁷ The Eastern preferred the definition given by Christ: 'This is eternal life, to know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent.' It was to him the knowledge of God and of Christ, which by a slow but harmonious development brought the will of man into perfect conformity with the will of God. He loved to regard the life of the soul on earth with all its privileges of adopted sonship, as the natural preliminary, an incipient phase almost of the life beyond the grave—with this difference only, that now we see in a dark manner, then face to face.

Thus a milder and more spiritual conception of God and of revealed truth shaped the minds of men, and it was mainly at Alexandria that these ideas were formulated. Indeed, in a measure we may regard that city as the birth-place of Christian theology. Both Jew and Greek found a home there; and in consequence the type of Christianity that flourished within its walls was a combination of two influences. Each of these nationalities furnished its own quota. The Jew contributed the element of worship, the Greek mind that of wisdom, of culture, art and science. As the Jew had the Law so the Greek had philosophy as a schoolmaster or tutor to bring him to Christ; and in the writings of the Greek Fathers we see how these two perfectly distinct elements were welded together into one harmonious whole.

How different the chain of circumstances that held good in the West, and the class of patristic literature it produced. Within certain limits, the contrast is that almost of Moral Theology with Dogmatic. The training different, the conditions of life different—owing mainly to almost uninterrupted persecution—the demand for literature of an apologetic and explanatory type rather than philosophic, all combined to

⁷ Prov. iv. 18.

call forth efforts to which it is doubtful whether an Eastern mind could ever have adequately responded.

One of the characteristics of the Roman nation, perhaps the chief outside that of its military organisation, was its passion for litigation; and there existed in consequence all the educational machinery for a thorough cultivation and appreciation of the qualities which go to make the skilled jurist—a knowledge of law, the science of rhetoric, and the art of persuading. These potent external influences are stamped indelibly on the writings of the Fathers of the Western Church. As the Easterns were reared in an atmosphere of philosophy so the Westerns were in an atmosphere of law. In the West the law was the mental food of the ambitious and aspiring; it seems almost to have been the sole aliment of intellectual activity. Greek philosophy had never been more than a transient fashionable taste of the educated classes of Rome. As soon as they ceased to sit at the feet of the Greeks and began to ponder out a theology of their own the theology proved to be permeated with forensic ideas and couched in a forensic phraseology. It is certain that the substratum of law in Western theology lies exceedingly deep.⁸

For the most part the Latin Fathers were men trained in Roman law; some of them were professional jurists who turned their attention to theology,⁹ and it was only in the nature of things that their theological productions should be seasoned in great measure by their legal training and environment. We do not refer merely to the frequent use of legal terminology, but their conceptions of doctrines, of the great truths of the Fall, Redemption, Eternity, are invariably influenced by the spirit of the law. Truth is the same everywhere, but it will appear to different minds in different ways. The military antecedents, for example, of the great St. Ignatius, are distinctly traceable in his *Exercitia Spiritualia*, and similarly with the legal antecedents of so many of the Latin Fathers. The legal atmosphere in which they moved is

⁸ *Cfr.* Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 358.

⁹ *E.g.*, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Lactantius.

responsible for the practical and concrete cast of the theology that characterises their work. In proof of this we have but to point to the magisterial conception of God so prominent in their writings. He was the Supreme Law-giver and Law-maker, just and stern; always ruling according to a strict code of equity, and enforcing His commands by a clear scheme of rewards and punishments.

The questions, accordingly, which for the most part agitated the Western mind were entirely foreign to Eastern speculation: the nature of sin, for example, and its transmission by inheritance, the debt owed by man and its vicarious satisfaction, the necessity and sufficiency of the atonement, above all, the apparent antagonism between Free Will and the Divine Providence.¹⁰ Sin was not so much an evil in itself as a transgression of statute law which entailed an adequate penalty. Similarly, the whole scope of the Incarnation resolves itself into one of atonement. Christ was not the *ΛΟΓΟΣ*, but the Divine Mediator, who alone could satisfy the offended Deity. His Passion and Death were required on principles of retributive justice and the law of equivalence. The Saviour supplied the remedy for a great evil by which man had forfeited his right to a supernatural destiny. It is mainly on these lines that the three great Carthaginians, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine created and gave to the West a type of theology quite distinct from what has been bequeathed to us by the Eastern Fathers.

There can be no doubt that the contrast we have been considering is attributable also in part to the rise of Eastern and Western heresies. Every heretical doctrine that drew off the minds of men to any noticeable extent from the truth invariably called forth a counter effort from the Fathers of the period. Thus it is true in a measure to say that heresy often furnished the subject matter of patristic literature. It is a significant fact that the more subtle heresies arose where subtle thought and accuracy of terms were the prevailing characteristics.

The cluster of heresies anent the Incarnation are all

¹⁰ Maine (*op. cit.*), p. 356

Eastern products; Arius denying the Divinity of our Lord and asserting that He was not born of the Father but made by and therefore inferior to Him: Nestorius teaching the duality of persons in Christ: Eutyches maintaining that He possessed but one nature, the Divine. Against these the busy pens of the Eastern Fathers were soon at work, notably St. Peter, Archbishop of Alexandria, St. Athanasius, St. Ephrem the Syrian, St. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, whose *Libri XII. Contra Eunomium* is one of the best controversial works against the Arians; Didymus the Blind, *De Trinitate libri tres*; St. Cyril of Alexandria.

Similarly the heresies of Arius and Macedonius gave rise to standard treatises on the Trinity. Most of the Greek Fathers of any note treat of this mystery, though the *Orationes Theologicae* of St. Gregory Nazianzen may be specially mentioned. So also the endeavour of Manichaeus to incorporate Zoroastrian dualism with Christianity, taken together with pagan polytheism, resulted in the production of numerous treatises on God the sole source of all created things.

The Western Church, however, turned its attention to the more practical questions of Sin and Redemption, Grace and Free Will, and the Constitution of the Church. Grace and sin were discussed with the Pelagians, and the schism of the Donatists brought out the doctrine concerning the Constitution of the Church.¹¹

Thus it is only to the West that we should look for a scientific treatment of the Catholic principle of tradition, and we find it in the valuable and important work of Tertullian, *De Praescriptionibus Haereticorum*. So also it is the West that furnished the first classic and standard work on the 'Unity' of the Church, a subject fully dealt with by St. Cyprian of Carthage in his valuable dogmatic work, *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, which was occasioned by and directed against the schismatic Novatian, the leader of those rigorists who wished to exclude the lapsed from being received back again into the Church.

¹¹ *Cfr. Manual of Theology*, Wilhelm and Scannell. Intro., p. xix.

Again, if we except the *Contra Celsum*—and the prodigious industry of Origen must render him an exception to any rule—there was nothing in the East to compare with the efforts of Justin M., Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius in showing the hollowness of heathenism, the folly and immorality of polytheism, and the injustice of persecution: all practical questions of the hour that called for immediate treatment, and upon which the very existence of Christianity seemed to depend. The bloodthirsty emperors might be brought to recognise the claims of justice by reasoning and hard facts, never by the highest flights of metaphysics.

Philosophic speculations, however subtle and keen, would never have penetrated the dread atmosphere of the amphitheatre. The early Western writers, more perhaps than any others, had to march with the times. There was no leisure for thought. What was done had to be done quickly, and the turmoil and vicissitudes of the times in which they lived have left an unmistakable stamp upon their writings. Quickness of intellect, adroitness, cleverness in dialectics, brilliancy of retort, the favourite use of the *argumentum ad hominem* and the *argumentum ad absurdum*, all these seem to be more in evidence than the patient thought, the analytic temper of mind required by more profound and speculative subjects.

It is a point worthy of notice—though sometimes unduly exaggerated—that the genius of the Latin language as contrasted with the Greek is, to some extent at least, responsible for their respective theologies. Maine speaks of the 'narrow and barren vocabulary of Latin Christianity,' and hazards the assertion that the Latin language and meagre Latin philosophy were quite unequal to the task of dealing with abstruse subjects, and accordingly that the Western or Latin-speaking provinces of the Empire adopted the conclusions of the East without disputing or reviewing them; whereas Greek philosophy in its later forms had prepared the way for the problems to which the Christian Church first addressed itself, and that Greek was the language she first made use of. Greek metaphysical literature contained the sole stock of words and ideas out of which the human mind could provide itself with the means of engaging in the profound controversies as to

the Divine Persons, the Divine substance, and Divine nature.

For our own part, however, we should be disposed rather to invert the order of cause and effect. A barren vocabulary might be an indication of jejune thought; it is not the cause of it. Thought is anterior to words, and where thought is, it will generally find a mode of expression in words; so that where we notice an absence of philosophic terminology it is more probably due to absence of philosophic thought. But this is mere theorising. As the *flora* of a district is determined by the soil, so was it with the growth of patristic literature; and it is almost superfluous to say that some knowledge at least of the life and times of a Father is necessary before being able to understand his works; and although the general contrast with which we have been dealing, between Eastern and Western patrology, is not, and could not be, accurate in detail, it is an accepted axiom and has to be borne in mind by all who devote themselves to the study of the Fathers.

G. E. PRICE.

STUDENTS AND TEMPERANCE REFORM¹

EVERYBODY acquainted with Ireland knows that in the movement for Temperance Reform the influence of the priest is supreme. If the Irish priesthood as a body marshalled itself and fought earnestly for a sober Ireland the fight could in all probability be fairly described as 'short, sharp, and decisive.' We have often heard: 'Like priest, like people.' There is another saying: 'Like student, like priest.' It is as true as the former; and its value is realized by none more strongly than by workers in the Temperance cause. Their thoughts travel often to the College of Maynooth, and their hopes for the future and final triumph of Temperance in Ireland are centred in Ireland's future priests.

It was the privilege of the writer to address the students of the College on the subject of Temperance Reform on the 17th of April last. What was said on that occasion may prove to have sufficient interest and utility to recommend it to the wider circle of readers of the I. E. RECORD generally. It may bring past and present, priests and students, into a closer relationship and a better understanding of what each and all can do to promote a great and holy work. It is submitted to the reader in the form in which it was delivered, changes of any sort being considered unnecessary.

INTRODUCTION.

In ordinary circumstances I should not take the liberty of addressing a special meeting of St. Patrick's Total Abstinence and Pioneer Association. But I thought that in view of the great work that is being done outside, in view of the rapid progress that is being made of late in combating the Drink Evil, in view of the success that is now, thank God, crowning the work of Temperance reform through the country, it would ill become us here in the College to allow the Easter recess to pass over us without taking stock of the situation. It will serve us in many ways to take a

¹ A Lecture delivered to the St. Patrick's Total Abstinence Society, Maynooth College.

general view of what others as well as ourselves have been doing, and are still doing, and are likely to do in the holy cause of Temperance, which all of us in common have at heart. It must be pleasing and gratifying to us to learn of the success of the work in which we are engaged. The consciousness of success is also a wonderful tonic for the weary or the wavering; and it stimulates to renewed activity and more genrous effort all earnest workers in any good cause.

PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT IN MAYNOOTH

Such are the motives that have induced me to address you. I know that all of you here, without exception, have your hearts set on promoting Temperance amongst the Irish people. And why? Because you are Irishmen and ecclesiastics. As Irishmen you would like to see your people prosper during life; as ecclesiastics you are consecrating your own lives to labouring for their happiness in the life to come. You know that the curse of Drunkenness breeds a twofold progeny of evils, temporal in this life, spiritual in the next; and for both reasons you are its declared enemies—all, without exception. I know, secondly, that the majority of you are members of St. Patrick's Total Abstinence Association, and therefore intend to practise total abstinence till you are at least five years ordained. I know, thirdly—and I must confess that I was astonished when I learned the numbers—that almost three hundred of you are *Pioneers*; Total Abstainers *for life*.

Fifty young priests have left this college within the past two years, devoted to the cause of Total Abstinence for life. At least three hundred are to follow them within the next few years, to preach, by word and example, an apostolate of Temperance to the Irish people. I wish that you could realize the full significance of that prospect. I am pretty sure that you do not and cannot yet realize it yet. Nothing at all that has happened within recent years gives such bright hopes for the complete success of the Temperance movement in Ireland as the establishment of this Pioneer Association amongst the students of Maynooth, with its prospect of giving

to the country what we may practically call a total abstaining Irish priesthood. Old and experienced workers in the cause—men who have reason to know the vastly superior influence of the total-abstaining priest in promoting Temperance—see in this new development the first sure signs of a widespread and thorough Temperance reform. They say it is almost too good to be true; they thank God for having witnessed the rise and growth of such an Association in Maynooth; and they anxiously enquire from me and others if our Pioneers are all deadily in earnest and determined to persevere.

To that question I shall have no hesitation in giving an affirmative answer, on your behalf, to all enquirers, provided you undertake to do one thing: to make yourselves up thoroughly on every phase and aspect of the Drink Evil. I have heard fears expressed that some of you may have taken the serious step of joining the Pioneer Association, perhaps somewhat prematurely, in a moment of enthusiasm, rather than from a firm conviction begotten of calm deliberation. It might be contended that if students were not asked or permitted to become Pioneers until towards the end of their college course, the dangers of falling away would be lessened. Well, now, for two reasons I think it desirable, on the contrary, that you should be allowed and even encouraged to become Pioneers as soon as you show yourselves willing. Firstly, because, by joining while young, you will have practically no sacrifice to make; being almost wholly unacquainted with the taste of drink, you will never feel the want of it, while you will certainly inherit the blessing deserved by the promptness and generosity of your action. There is no total abstainer firmer or freer or happier than the one who has either never known or entirely forgotten the taste of drink. Secondly, because the temptations to drink, encountered by students nowadays, during their Vacations, are not at all so numerous and strong as they were down to a few years ago. And this is no unimportant matter, the changed conditions which you have the good fortune to enjoy. Nowadays the total abstaining student is surrounded by fellow-students who are total abstainers like himself. He need not fear undue pressure from his friends amongst the *laity*. Thanks to the

Anti-Treating League and other like agencies that have been promoting a sounder and saner public opinion, drink is rapidly ceasing to be regarded as the measure and the symbol of friendship. When he is thrown amongst the *clergy*, as he very often is, a guest in their hospitable homes, he will probably not be the only total abstainer there, or, at all events, if he is, his principles will be respected. In such circumstances as these the Pioneer has little to fear.

But it was not always such plain sailing for the total abstaining student or young priest. Total Abstinence was not always the fashion. Quite the contrary. Not so very long ago the total abstaining student or young priest was a more or less rare phenomenon. He often found himself struggling alone against the strong current of an adverse tradition. He was in the way everywhere, a damper, as the saying was, on enjoyment. He had very little sympathy and less help. He needed to be a man of strong will and determination, a man with convictions and sound reasons for them, a man with the courage of his convictions, if he was to hold his own and persevere. Not all who left this College as members of St. Patrick's League since its establishment here in 1885, had the requisite convictions and courage to keep their five years' pledge. But when we think of the injury caused to the Temperance Movement by their failure, let us try to remember also the enormous difficulties they had to face. And when we find it so easy for the student to keep his pledge nowadays let us willingly recognise that our changed conditions are largely due to the untiring efforts of those who have gone before us on the mission, and, in spite of great difficulties, remained true to the pledges of St. Patrick's League. Pioneer work remains to be done still, and you will have ample opportunities for justifying your name; but those who have gone before you are pioneers in reality if not in name, and St. Patrick's Total Abstinence Association has done pioneer work. Nay, it has made matters so easy for you that I entertain little or no fears for the perseverance even of those who may have become Pioneers without weighing fully the gravity of the step they were taking, or the discredit their possible failure might bring upon the cause. It would be a different matter, though, ten or

twenty years ago. If a student in those days had the misfortune to become a Total Abstainer through mere impulse or enthusiasm, he would, in all probability, find himself face to face with the alternative either of breaking his pledge under pressure of unforeseen difficulties, or of preparing a determined defence of his position and giving good and valid reasons for the faith that was in him. In other words, he would have to make a thorough study of the whole Drink Evil, and convince himself, at least to his own satisfaction, that, in spite of all objections—even friendly and *bona fide* objections from his elders on the plea of health, or work, or youth, or any other plea—he was doing the right thing in becoming a Total Abstainer. Now, let me say candidly that though these difficulties are not now so numerous as they have been, still I believe that all of you who have taken the Pioneer Pledge need to be men of conviction, to study and master the whole Drink Question, to have an intelligent knowledge of it; and that not merely in order to be able to influence others, but even to safeguard and confirm yourselves in your own good purpose. The failure of any Pioneer to keep his pledge would be a disaster to the movement. There is no calculating its demoralizing effects. Personally, I should prefer to see a hundred stay outside it than one individual enter it and fail to persevere. It behoves those who have entered it, then, to fortify themselves by a knowledge of the truth about the Drink Question. They have taken the right step. But a full knowledge of the reasons and motives is the only sure means of dispelling doubts, regrets, and misgivings, and confirming them in their resolve.

You see, I would not urge on any one the hasty taking of any pledge; but what I do advocate for all alike, whether they have taken the pledge or not, is this, that all would open their minds impartially and let in the light of the truth about the Drink Evil. Many of you listening to me are not total abstainers; and of them I can say, and I wish to say, with reference to the Pioneer Association, what Dr. O'Riordan has said of the clergy with reference to the Father Mathew

Union.² 'It may take some time,' he said, 'before a very large number . . . see their way to join it. If they hesitate, I believe it is not from want of sacrifice, but from want of conviction they will delay. But they who hesitate for that reason are worth waiting for. Such hesitancy is a sign of sincerity and a guarantee of persistency. They who will not easily join it will not easily leave it. Those who refuse to be hurried along by influence or impulse, but persist in waiting till conviction comes, do not usually or easily look back once they have put their hands to the plough.'

If some of you are not total abstainers perhaps it is because you have not realized and brought home to yourselves, as I have, the enormity of the evils, temporal and spiritual, inflicted by the Demon of Drink upon our own people. You grieve, and what Irishman does not, at our people's poverty. Are you aware that of the £40,000,000 a year on which our people have to live they spend more than the one-third, £14,000,000 a year on drink alone? that the annual drink bill has been increasing steadily by nearly a million a year—last year's (I understand), beat all former records—while our population has been on a rapid decline? And we pay only eight or nine millions a year in rent. We are over-taxed by England at the rate of nearly three millions a year. But we pay over six millions a year in taxes for drink. You regret the decay of our industries, and the decay of manliness and self-respect in our people's character, and the prevalence of the gambling spirit, and of petty meanness and dishonesty and sloth amongst our people. Do you know how the drunkenness of generations is blighting the manliness and the working energies of our people through the fatal law of heredity? Do you know how drunkenness degrades and debases human nature? how it enervates and eats away the moral fibre of a people's character? how it even brutalizes them and reduces them—Irish Catholics—to that submerged condition of human wrecks to be found in such numbers in the slums of our towns and cities?

Then, too, as ecclesiastics, you cannot be indifferent to the

² Annual Report, 1902.

spiritual evils of intemperance ; to the sinfulness of the vice of Drunkenness in itself, to the multitude of crimes committed *through* Intemperance, surpassing far in number and in malice the sins *of* Intemperance. It is an impartial study of the temporal and spiritual evils of drink that has induced so many of us, and will, please God, induce more of us, as Irishmen and ecclesiastics, to become Total Abstiners and devote our lives to the cause of Temperance reform.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

Let us pass from what is being done amongst our selves to take a glance at the progress of the movement outside. You will find all the facts I have to lay before you to be of a very encouraging nature. The Drink Evil is an exceedingly complex one, and there is no panacea for it. In combating it, however, we may recognise two main lines of attack. One aims at controlling the drink traffic by legislation, the other at directly inculcating Temperance amongst the people. I believe that while the latter is the more important and fundamental method, it cannot dispense with the former, it cannot succeed fully without the former ; and hence the priest should take an interest in promoting Temperance Legislation as well as directly reforming the people. Moreover, Temperance Legislation, for this country at least, depends ultimately to a large extent upon the priest. It depends on, and is the outcome of public opinion ; and in this country public opinion on the Drink Question is just practically what the priest makes it.

Now, it goes without saying, that in the interests of the people the State should carefully control a dangerous traffic, like the drink traffic, by law. An enquiry into the nature and extent of this control in various countries at the present day would be a most interesting investigation. In some Continental countries, for example, the traffic is managed by the State itself, just like the postal and telegraph departments with us. In some of the United States the vote of the people has the power of determining how far, if at all, they will allow the sale of drink in their midst. This is known as 'local

option'; and in some cases it has made the sale of drink illegal in whole States.

Coming nearer home, we find a very important Act of Parliament passed last year for England. It makes public drunkenness, in itself, a crime punishable by law, and gives the police new and important powers in dealing with habitual drunkards and with publicans who sell drink to them. A Bill recently introduced by Mr. T. W. Russell to have that Act extended to Ireland was defeated on its second reading; and it is significant that the reason alleged by one of our Irish members for opposing it was simply this, that while he had requests and petitions from his constituents on almost all conceivable Parliamentary subjects, he had not been asked by any one of them to support this Bill, and hence he believed that it was not wanted by the people. You see, gentlemen, that the real Temperance Legislator is a strong and aggressive public opinion. Another part of the Act referred to deals with the ruinous evil of bogus clubs, and has been, I understand, extended to Ireland. The remaining part of the Act deals with the power of the licensing justices to control and limit the number of licensed houses, and, where necessary, to refuse the renewal of licences. Licensed houses had grown too numerous in England; they had passed 100,000, or 1 to every 320 inhabitants. The licensing authorities were influenced towards reducing the number, both by the Licensing Act, and, more especially, by the decision in a famous licensing case, known as the Farnham case. There it was decided that the justices had full authority to take the initiative themselves in objecting to the renewal of a licence and refusing to renew it. Well, both the Act and the case have now aroused the determined opposition of the Liquor Interest; and at present there is quite a storm of excitement and controversy about the whole licensing question in England. Deputations from the trade have been placated and reassured by Mr. Balfour, and their complaints have been received by the Lord Chancellor, and that in a manner which clearly shows that the present Government, however willing to promote Temperance, cannot afford to face the opposition or sacrifice the support of the Drink Interest. Of course it is true statesmanship to promote

Temperance, but the statesman can go no farther than the Drink Interest allows him as long as the Drink Interest is supreme. He is the servant of the public, depending on their votes for his power, and thus, once more, Temperance Legislation is seen to follow public opinion and to rest ultimately with the teacher and guide of the people—in this country, therefore, with the priest, who can reach and influence their thoughts and conduct.

THE DRINK INTEREST.

A very difficult question has arisen out of the refusal to renew licences---the question of compensation. Legally the publican holds his licence only for a year. In the eyes of the law he has no further vested interests. If his licence be allowed to lapse, without any fault of his own, and merely to lessen an excessive number of licences in a district, is he entitled to compensation, and if so, from whom? The licensed trade does not now ask for compensation from the public taxes, but it does demand legal powers to tax existing licences for a compensation fund. However, seeing that licences are discontinued only where they are in enormously excessive numbers, and where, therefore, the business cannot be honestly profitable, it is scarcely probable that Parliament will interfere to secure compensation to which there is neither a legal, nor an equitable right. Where one man or one firm is the owner of an immense number of 'tied' houses, and you know that is largely the case in Ireland as well as England, it will scarcely interfere much with his profits to take away a few of the licences. A writer in the *Nineteenth Century* for April³ sums up the existing state of affairs for England in those words:—

An admitted surplussage of public-houses ; their aggregation in the hands of a few capitalists ; remarkable instances of the suppression of surplus houses under the present law and by the present licensing authority ; a tendency under pressure to co-operate in the process on the part of the great brewers ; a strong probability that large reductions can be made without serious loss to anyone.

THE TRADE IN IRELAND.

Coming now nearer home we find over 25,000 licensed houses in Ireland, not 1 to every 320 of the population as in England, but 1 to every 150. Sixty years ago when our population was double what it is to-day we had only 15,000 public-houses in the country, or 1 to every 500. During the last decade of the old century over 200 new licences on an average were granted each year, while the population of the country was falling by a quarter of a million; or, as the *Leader* puts it, in honour of every 1,000 people who left the country we opened a new public-house instead of closing two old ones. Now there can be only one opinion about that state of affairs: it was a scandal and a disgrace to any Christian country. However, it will soon be to a great extent a thing of the past. The magistrates of the country are trying to undo it. The Irish Licensing Act of last year has, for the present at least, put a stop to the evil by forbidding the granting of any new licences in Ireland within the next five years.

In August, 1901, an Act was passed prohibiting the sale of drink to children under fourteen. It is only those who are familiar with the Drink Demon in our cities and towns that can realize the awful need there was for some such measure to safeguard the children.

There is a very important Irish measure before the present session of Parliament: a Bill to secure the early closing of public-houses on Saturday evenings. It will certainly stop an enormous amount of drunkenness if it succeeds in passing into law. Its ultimate success, however, is still doubtful. It has passed its second reading, although on that occasion eighteen of our Irish Members of Parliament opposed it. On that occasion, too, the favourite old protest of the Trade was trotted out that we Irish are not an intemperate people because we do not drink as much per head as the average Saxon. Now, that is a favourite objection, because it is based upon a fact. The Englishman drinks just a little more on an average than the Irishman. But what does that prove? Does it prove that the Irishman does not drink too much? At

all events, if he wants to take the Saxon as his model, he ought to learn from that model to drink after eating, to drink in a more rational manner. Another sufficiently telling answer to the objection is that the average Englishman's income is just three times as great as the average Irishman's, and that, consequently, he is in a position to spend not merely a little more, but three times as much, as the Irishman, on drink or on any other luxury. Our publicans, and our public men, too, when it suits their purpose, seem fond of a little make believe; but thoughtful Irishmen will no longer be blinded by such tactics. They are beginning to plead guilty and to feel ashamed of the National Vice; and, thank God, they are making a noble and generous effort at the present time to free themselves from its clutches.

THE ANTI-TREATING LEAGUE

We come to the direct Temperance work that is being done by priests and people throughout the country. The activity displayed and the interest awakened in favour of Temperance Reform has been universal. Many causes, no doubt, have conspired to bring about this happy issue. St. Patrick's League has been sending out from this College into the ranks of the clergy numbers of total abstaining priests who are zealous workers in the Temperance Movement. The Irish Revival, too, has caused many deep heart searchings and drawn forth many resolves to amend our common faults and short comings. It sees the futility of hoping for economic or social reform without sobriety and self respect. It has openly recommended to all Irishmen the work of Temperance Reform in general, and in particular the objects of the Anti-Treating League. Then, too, there is a change for the better in the attitude of the Press of the country towards the Drink Question; and you know that the importance of the Press, nowadays, in public movements of this kind, is exceedingly great. We have, at all events, one weekly paper that has always been a fearless and consistent enemy of our excessive drink traffic. It was in the pages of the *Leader* I first saw mention of the movement whose extraordinary success is one

of the most striking phenomena of Temperance Reform in recent years. I allude to the crusade against one of the most fertile sources of drunkenness in Ireland—to St. Patrick's Anti-Treating League. It originated in Wexford about a year ago, and was taken up enthusiastically through the country. It is still advancing day by day, rooting out a most pernicious custom and bringing the blessings of Temperance and peace everywhere it goes. I learned a few days ago from its founder, Father Rossiter, of the House of Missions, Enniscorthy, that its roll of membership is already well over 200,000.

THE EXCESSIVE DRINK TRAFFIC

Now, there is a rather delicate question to be faced by Temperance reformers in this country, especially in connection with the Anti-Treating League. And seeing that some of you will be in the thick of the fight outside in the very near future, perhaps I ought to refer to it here and tell you candidly what I think about it. And I shall take particular care to say nothing hard about the publicans, for of course they must have many very near relatives in this audience. You will, I am sure, have guessed the difficulty already. The fact is that there are far more publicans in this country than could live by their trade if the Irish people were temperate. The evident consequence is that as Temperance increases the number of people that can make an honest livelihood by selling drink must decrease, and some of them must seek other means of living. The Anti-Treating League has stopped excess to a degree unknown by any other Temperance Association; and the result is that its inauguration has caused a very appreciable and even distressing depression in the trade. The people are quick to take in a situation; and some of them say to the priest: Give the publicans a Total Abstinence League or a League of the Cross, or any other league, and they won't mind it, but don't speak to them of the Anti-Treating League; and when it is established in a parish the first awkward question the people ask you, is: And what will the publicans do now? How is the priest to face that situation? Well, he ought to guard against making enemies for

himself unnecessarily, while he stands firmly by his duty. His duty in this matter is to promote the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of the Irish people by the inculcation of Temperance. He can candidly recognise that in that great process of change individuals connected with the drink traffic will to some extent suffer and be the losers. But he ought not to give unnecessary offence by uncharitably rejoicing in their loss or suffering. He would do better to remember and to explain to others that many an industry more deserving than the drink traffic has already decayed in this country, and that those connected with such industries had to bear the loss. The country had to bear the loss too, whereas by a diminution of the drink traffic the country stands to gain. Then, also, he might point out that the large, wealthy drink traders may well afford to have their profits curtailed, and that even the small publicans need not suffer as much as people imagine. The small publicans usually carry on a grocery or provision trade as well as selling drink; and it is an unquestionable fact that where the Anti-Treating League has diminished the drink profits, it has given a new impetus to profitable trade in every other department. About diminishing the number of public houses there can be no real difficulty either. If all the badly managed public houses in the hands of unprincipled people in this country were suppressed as they ought to be, the problem of congestion would be practically, if not wholly, solved. It is of supreme importance that such a dangerous traffic should be entrusted only to honest, upright, honourable people. If the clergy spoke clearly of the sin of co-operation, and told the publicans that the trade had obligations as well as rights; if magistrates endorsed and cancelled, whenever possible, the licences of ill conducted houses, there would be a wholesome struggle for existence in which only a sufficient number of the fittest would be likely to survive. Finally, in places where, owing to excessive competition in the drink traffic, profit can scarcely be derived from an honest business, the priest ought to have no hesitation in recommending some of those engaged in the trade either to try to turn their hands to something else themselves, or at least to set something else before their children. I think there are grounds for

hoping that the Irishman will soon be able to make a comfortable living in his own country in many other ways besides running a public-house.

The total-abstaining priest, therefore, need not, and ought not be the declared enemy of all publicans as such. He will do more harm than good by adopting methods which may succeed very well in the hands of others. He need not, for instance, pass public judgment on the publican's claims to respectability. Money has always been the measure of what is called respectability. I suppose that is natural. When, therefore, the Temperance movement reduces the publican's profits to the level of the grocer's or provision dealer's, or butcher's or baker's, his pretensions to respectability will automatically descend in the same scale. Neither will the priest serve any good purpose by denouncing the 'trade' generally as dishonest, unprincipled, insincere. There are good, bad, and indifferent people in it as in every other trade. Of course, if it displays a grasping, or selfish, or insincere policy, it must bear the consequences. It has already been obliged to bear more than the groans and bruises of an indignant people at the Irish Language procession, for its attitude towards the national holyday this year. And if it should attempt openly or covertly to interfere with priests in the discharge of their duty towards their people, they must meet and fight it fairly and firmly in carrying out their appointed work.

OTHER TEMPERANCE AND TOTAL ABSTINENCE SOCIETIES.

Besides St. Patrick's Anti-Treating League there are, of course, innumerable other societies throughout the country, all aiming at the one grand object of suppressing the vice of drunkenness and making our people temperate. In fact, some people are afraid that we are having too many of them, and that they may do harm by clashing with one another. I do not share in that fear. All are wanted, and none are to be depreciated, even as the value of Temperance legislation is not to be depreciated by direct workers amongst the people. All aim at the same great end. If the means are different—*unusquisque in suo sensu abundet*. Let each society do its own

special work by its own special means and there will be no possibility of friction.

Without mentioning any of those societies in particular, suffice it to say that a general renewal and revival of interest and enthusiasm and activity has recently made itself felt amongst them all. And the most encouraging feature of that encouraging fact is this, that the Confirmation pledge is universally administered to the young, and that they are being more carefully kept in hand and looked after than heretofore. That will be the most fruitful, the most hopeful, the brightest sphere of your Temperance work on the Mission in the near future—your care of the young. In fact, I cannot help thinking and saying that the prospects of the Temperance Movement just at present are of the brightest and most inspiring nature. I have learned on enquiry from Father Cullen that the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association numbers already as many as 30,000 members. With that cheering fact, I pass to the one great want as yet almost unprovided for in the Temperance programme, namely,

ORGANIZATION AMONGST THE CLERGY.

I am not going now to argue in favour of organization. The advantages of a National Union of Total Abstaining Priests, with branches in each diocese, are too obvious to call for any argument. Temperance reform is a great religious and national work. No such work is successfully carried on nowadays on a large scale without combined and well-directed effort. Moreover, these diocesan societies of total abstaining priests would not only give to individual workers the opportunity of taking common counsel as to ways and means. They would also give to each that feeling of companionship, and mutual support, which is a very needful stimulus to perseverance in up-hill work. Those who have gone before you have felt the need of some such bond with their fellow workers on the mission. What a help, what an encouragement it would be to the young priest to be able to attach himself on leaving College to some such society in his diocese. Very few such societies exist at present, but they are coming into existence.

It does not need a large number of priests to lay their foundations. A nucleus can be formed by a few earnest men, and it will grow from year to year. I can only ask you to give your serious thought to this matter, especially those who are drawing near the beginning of their missionary labours. You are all aware, I am sure, that an effort has already been made to establish an organization of the sort I have referred to. The Father Mathew Union is already a few years in existence. It can count over two hundred members representing sixteen dioceses. It has published two annual reports, containing very valuable and very excellent contributions to the literature of the Temperance Movement, and altogether it promises to do admirable work. You will do well to learn all that can be known about it.

WHAT EACH CAN DO.

I have kept you a long time telling about the work that is being done outside. Let me, before concluding, put you a practical question: What can each of you do, in addition to what you have already done, in the holy Temperance cause? There is not an individual amongst you that cannot do something—aye much, very much, if he has only sufficient love for his people, and regard for their welfare, and zeal for their sanctification, to which, as an ecclesiastic, he has devoted his life. There is one thing at least that all can and ought to do, and I shall be amply repaid for addressing you if you do it. You can open your minds and let in the full light of truth about the ravages of drink in Ireland. Do not be afraid to learn the whole truth. Do not remain in unwilling ignorance lest a full knowledge of the facts might force you to a little self-sacrifice in a holy cause. At least, face the facts fairly and squarely. Inquire and discuss and argue. Learn and read and study all you possible can about the whole Drink Question. There is available an abundant supply of the most useful and valuable information in the Temperance literature already published. Make yourselves familiar with it. Procure all of it that comes under your notice. Lay up a store of it while you are students. You will want it for further use as priests. You will want it for present use also. Perhaps you still need to be

convinced of the necessity for a Temperance crusade in Ireland, and to learn the motives that would urge you to take a personal part in it. Or perhaps you need to confirm those convictions and to make them more operative. The pledge and the practice of Total Abstinence, taken in themselves, do not make a priest or a student what he can be, and what he is expected to be, an active promoter and apostle of Temperance. The practice of Total Abstinence preaches, of course, with an eloquence as forcible as it is silent. Still, as it is rather a prerequisite condition, fitting an ecclesiastic to do great things for Temperance, if he have the further courage and zeal to do them. It is a pity that some of our total abstaining priests and students, through some sort of feeling of modesty or humility, do not say and do more for Temperance in addition to giving it the passive support of their personal example. They need not make an aggressive parade of their virtue, but neither ought they apologise for being Total Abstainers, as if it were a weakness or a crime, and there are a thousand and one quiet ways of helping on the cause, ways which the pioneer will not fail to find out and make use of if he be worthy of the name.

P. COFFEY.

‘A REPORTED CHANGE IN RELIGION’

IT will be granted, I think, that popular religious opinion can be more safely judged from the provincial paper than from the theological treatise. The ‘mind of the people’ and the ‘mind of the Press’ seem by some strange process to create each other. It is difficult to measure the tendency of the Press generally on any particular subject, but one may safely say that were the sway of the Press absolutely supreme, Catholics in England might well despair of influencing English thought in the direction of Catholicism. The journalist has spurned ‘formula’ with contempt of its narrowness, but he has welcomed many a shibboleth with open arms and tears of enthusiasm.

Fortunately there exist tendencies of thought above the plane of the daily Press and beyond its horizon, and it may be that these will have in the future, some considerable part to play. An evidence of this is the volume, *A Reported Change of Religion*, by ‘Onyx,’ published some three years ago and recently reprinted. This book sets graphically before us, some views which are current outside the Church, with respect to religious doctrine and practice; and these opinions should be of importance to us, if only on the ground that they are the convictions of our nearest neighbour.

It is a truism that religious apologetic requires constant readjustment, for its province is to speak to the multitudes whose opinions are changeable. Under our present conditions many of us are compelled to become apologists in an informal way at least, and hence the very office we hold drives us to learn what we can of the aspirations, ideals, hesitations, and difficulties that move and fashion the *cor populi hujus*. And if such knowledge begets sympathy we find ourselves armed for God’s battle with a sword of double edge.

‘Onyx’ has shewn us, as in a panorama, many phases of modern religious thought. His book may be classed with Mallock’s *New Republic*. Though he has, as it seems to us,

chosen a clearer method of setting the views of his different characters before the reader. The book opens with a sort of ‘composition of place.’ We are to picture Bertram Bevor, an English gentleman of education and wide experience, opening a parcel of letters that await him at an hotel in Florence. While he has been travelling on the continent the *Times* has reported that he has become a convert to Catholicism. Hence his friends have written these letters, to lecture him, to congratulate him, to express disapproval or approval of the step he is supposed to have taken.

There are letters from people of all kinds and of different schools of thought. He is a well-known man at home, and the notice in the *Times* has proved interesting to Catholics, Protestants, and some who are neither Catholic nor Protestant. A golfing acquaintance confesses that he knows nothing of the practices of Catholics; he only hopes that the Church will allow Bevor to indulge in his favourite game on Sundays. Mr. Potts, an old servant of the family, tells him that he does not disapprove of the change of religion for he once knew a pious Irish servant ‘who was a very good, kind man, though not a very good gardener, for the best gardeners, as we all know, mostly come from Scotland.’ Another letter is from a neighbour, Mrs. Jerningham. She possessed two very pretty and well-behaved daughters, not yet married, and saw with a woman’s eye the disasters that might be in store, by reason of the Church’s law concerning mixed marriages. Still another letter—this from an old Evangelical clergyman, once Bevor’s tutor. He takes the strict Protestant view of his former pupil’s conduct and expresses an opinion on the Roman Church that we were beginning to regard as obsolete in clerical circles, until the controversy on the Education Bill proved that it still flourished.

The two commonest forms of Anglicanism are described in the two first letters Bevor opens. The first is from the Rev. John Bevor, a cousin of Bertram. John is described as a man of limited mind; self-centred, yet unreflective, with a natural inclination to mathematics and mechanics, and an aptitude for adopting wholesale other people’s views. He began his ecclesiastical career as an Evangelical, but

rapidly passed over to the sacerdotal party of the English Church.

But the sacerdotal idea, which assumes so attractive a form when it exhibits itself in a poetic personality, adding, as it were, strength to grace or style to natural beauty, did, when apparent in the prosaic and mathematical mind of John Bevor, rather repel than excite sympathy. Contact with him was apt to stir up any slumbering Protestant feeling in some minds, any latent tendencies towards Rome in others ; always a spirit of contradiction.

It stirred the spirit of contradiction especially in his father, a pronounced Low Churchman, who looked with dismay upon the Ritualistic practices his son had introduced into the family living, to which he had presented John when an Evangelical. John's letter is dictatorial, he sets forth the branch theory in a hard mathematical way. He is greatly grieved that his cousin has left the English branch of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church ought to be for an Englishman, John thinks, the Church of England in a High Church sense, Anglicanism in vestments. His argument practically amounts to this, that if his cousin wants Ritual—with him Catholicism is mainly Ritual—he can have it in his own national Church. His is a characteristic letter ; it will, I doubt not, awaken reminiscences in many a convert from Ritualism who reads it. He renounces his wicked cousin. 'Your action has placed a deep and wide gulf between us. We no longer belong to the same communion.'

Lord Cumnor, John's aggrieved father—Tory and Low Churchman—writes to his nephew a letter betokening no less annoyance. Yet, conversions to Rome must happen, he protests, so long as Ritualistic practices are permitted in the English Church. He has doubts whether a Catholic can be a loyal subject, or whether he is allowed by priests to register an honest vote at elections, but he has no doubt that Romanism and Ritualism—if allowed to do it—will, between them, degrade and destroy 'the national character and qualities to which British prosperity and Empire is due.' I mention the next letter—from Lord Cumnor's daughter—only because it contains a remark of true insight. 'I am afraid that

my father will never forgive you ; he has been so angry of late about Ritualism and John's services at Cowslip, which are getting worse and worse. Something in John specially irritates him ; I think it is that John is very like him in character, but has taken up diametrically opposite opinions.’ A true saying ; both father and son were Imperialists in religion, they both confused the British Empire with the Kingdom of God upon earth.

Far different in temper is Lord St. Dunstan's presentment of the High Church movement. He is described as a man of tender and romantic spirit, who has devoted all his energy to the cause of the re-union of England with the Holy See. He writes of himself as a man condemned to die outside the promised land. He is all too conscious of the difficulties which beset his cause, and the loneliness of his exile. While he sees others carried on to the safety of the harbour, he has doomed himself to the restlessness of sea and storm. He believes in the fundamental Catholicity of the English Church, her orders, and her sacraments. He is edified by the devotion of many of his own school, and encouraged by the success that attends the preaching of Catholic doctrine in Anglican churches, especially those that are built in the midst of large industrial populations. The substance of his hopes is expressed in this passage of his pathetic letter :—

But the cause dear to my heart is the restoration of the true Catholic faith, doctrine, and spirit, so long impaired and almost ruined in my native land. It seems to me that this glorious work can only be effected through the Anglican Church. . . . I trust also that the future will see the reunion of the Eastern Churches to the Chair of St. Peter, which is, so far as my weak mind can see, the only possible final centre or keystone of the visible universal Church. I cannot but believe that all this will be brought to pass in the eternal years ‘ by the Divine Will strongly and sweetly ordering all things.’ It will not, indeed, be in my day, and this cross I must bear with patience, I am convinced that it is right for me to remain upon the battlefield, though of all wars these civil wars in the English Church are most miserable.

The theological reason finds much to quarrel with in St. Dunstan's position, but his sincerity, the firmness of his

faith, and hope, and not least the hard desolation that he has marked out as his lot, cannot fail to touch the heart with sympathy. *Sunt lachrymae rerum.*

The description which I have given will be sufficient to indicate the drift and spirit of the letters of 'Onyx.' There are twenty-four in all, four of them being received from Catholics. Each one is of interest, but I must pass the other correspondents over, with the hope that some of my readers will be tempted to read the work for themselves.

The last letter in the book is the reply sent by Bevor to one of his correspondents, Gerald Beechcroft. In it he denies that he has been received into the Church and adds a clear and eloquent sketch of his spiritual history, and of his present state of mind with regard to the Catholic Church. He had received from his mother an interest in universal history, and a love of travel. His schoolboy days were spent at Eton, and when these were over he passed on to Oxford. In his time the religious vitality at the University was low; a lassitude had followed on the abnormal activity of the Tractarian movement. His faith while there was indefinite, he could scarcely be said either to believe or disbelieve. His taste did not lie in the direction of the economic studies then popular; he was attracted far more by the human interest in history and biography. Afterwards he embraced a diplomatic career and had opportunities enough to study human nature in Paris, Washington, and Rome. He observed Catholicism and Protestantism both at their best and at their worst.

At Washington, I found myself amid the most materialised society which the world has to show. There you see the *débâcle* of Puritanism, a far more serious affair than the corruptions of Catholicism, because it is irremediable. The Catholic Church remains always there, a father's house for prodigal children; but once the belief in the Book is gone, to what shall Puritans return?

He tells us of his stay at Rome, that he felt the attraction for Catholicism less at its centre than at distant points of its circumference. At the death of his father he came into possession of a country estate, and spent his time between

Denham Court and London. He did not marry—an unfortunate love affair inflicted a wound which even now is his Purgatory. While this brought sadness it also brought somewhat of illumination. His spiritual faculties, almost latent in times of contentment and gaiety, spring into consciousness at the rough touch of disappointment.

The world of pleasure grows dim and unreal, he is thrown back on his own thoughts and is now able to measure the influences that have been steadily, almost unconsciously, pushing him towards the Church of Rome. He has the mind of a citizen of the world, travel in his case has cured 'insularity,' his friends are for the most part Catholics, he finds himself far more at home in a Catholic church than in an Anglican one. In the beauty, and order, and mystery of the Catholic worship, he finds an anodyne to the wearying, distracting sorrows and failures of life. Yet Anglo-Catholic services do not satisfy him, they have about them a self-consciousness and unreality which repel him. 'If one is to be a Catholic at all,' he says, 'it is hardly worth while to dwell in this dubious territory. I have always preferred to live either in the centre of a great city or in the pure country, not in the suburbs.' In the continuance and unbroken history of the Church of Rome, in its world-wide association, in its universal character, in its assertion of mysteries that can be but dimly shadowed forth in the terms of human speech, in its appeal to the heart he finds much that satisfies his reason. Scandals in her past history reveal the vitality that is in her—'her power to return to the true order of ideas.' She has recovered herself from her direst disasters by a divine instinct—by her unquenchable faith in Christ and in her own destiny. 'Alone among the Churches she claims the world as her kingdom.'

Yet there are still difficulties in the way of a complete surrender. He revolts from 'systematic confession' and the 'whole practice of indulgences.' But in spite of these retarding forces, he still feels the attraction that draws him towards the heart and centre of Christian belief—the Church of Rome. It is to him like the spell of a personal fascination, alas! very much like an allurement of which he is but too painfully aware, but which in honour he knows himself bound

to resist. Is this attraction to Rome to lead him thither, or is he not bound to master and control it? He does not find yet a sufficient answer to this question, yet he must own that he has the clue to one. The fascination of Jesus Christ drew to his following the sinful and the humble. Asiatics, Greeks, slaves were brought under the healing influence that left the haughty and the self-satisfied unaffected and unconverted. He feels that a similar power is acting on him, yet he must needs stay without the City of Peace until the voice that bids him enter becomes more peremptory. For he knows that when God speaks plainly He can be disobeyed only under the penalty of utter ruin. 'It is my hope,—alas! how often defeated by my frailty—that I may attain to a condition in which I shall be able to feel more confidence in my spiritual instincts.'

There is something touching in this revelation of a human soul struggling with its difficulties, and most of all with its diffidence. Grace leads men each after his own kind. We priests especially find in dealing with the souls of men that there is no *homo ut sic*. Many wonder why logic does not lead more into the Church—and then we must answer with St. Ambrose, 'Not by logic hath it pleased God to save His people.' Of the sheep that enter the fold, it is the few that arrive there by the long white path of strict reason. Whatever be the philosopher's definition of the human mind, it reveals itself historically, and in fact as some force whose working is mysterious and incalculable. There are many elements that cut directly across the line of logic—dispositions, tastes, education, sympathies, intuitions. Nay, strange as it may appear to us in our metaphysical moods, the very completeness of the Church's logic has in some cases retarded rather than hastened conversion. This was so in the case of Coventry Patmore. Of the Catholic apologetic as urged upon him by Manning and De Vere he writes:—

Their position seemed to me to be so logically perfect that I was long repelled by its perfection. I felt, half unconsciously, that a living thing ought not to be so spick and span in its external evidence for itself, and that what I wanted for conviction was not the sight of a faultless intellectual superficies, but the touch and pressure of a moral solid.

Such absolute distrust of reasoning as this may be rare in the history of conversions, but for all that, it is frequently the heart that finally sets free the full force of the conclusions of the brain. Many who have come to the Church from afar can bear witness with what power she has wielded over them the divine magnetism she inherited from her Master, who called Matthew, and converted Peter, not by a syllogism but by a glance. There are multitudes who can in all truth address to the Catholic Church the words of the lover, 'Thou hast wounded my heart, O my beloved, with one single glance of thy eye.'

W. B. O'DOWD.

HAECKEL AND THE EXISTENCE OF GOD

PROFESSOR HAECKEL of Jena has ‘scientifically’ established the existence of God. It is a satisfaction to know it. If you exhaust, he says, the bell-jar of an air pump as far as possible, ‘the quantity of light within it remains unchanged ; it is the vibrating ether that you see ;’¹ and the ether (Theosophical) is ‘God the Creator, always in motion.’² Thus, ‘the mobile cosmic ether may be regarded as creating divinity,’³ and behold—‘the truly beatific union of religion and science, so painfully longed after by so many to-day,’⁴ is at last accomplished.

The system which, in the hands of Professor Haeckel, thus invites religion to take over the ether theory as an article of faith, is known as Monism. It conceives nature as a whole as absolutely one in matter, form and force, and proclaims that all phenomena from the falling of a stone or the formation of a crystal, to the flowering of a plant and the highest flights of the human intellect,—all obey the ‘great, iron laws’ of mechanical causation.

It is the aim and function of philosophy to organize and, as far as is possible, to unify knowledge in the highest degree ; and there is in man an intellectual craving to reduce everything to the fewest and most general principles. Now the Scholastic is a Monist in so far as he reduces the universe to One Principle as its First and Final Cause. But, apart from the question of origin and finality, it is further asked : Are all things in their intrinsic constitution fundamentally one ? The Pantheist, the Idealist, the Materialist answer in the affirmative, only differing as regards the nature of the unifying principle—God or Mind or Matter. The New Monism, however, of Professor Haeckel, while embracing the ‘stately’

¹ *Monism*, by Ernest Haeckel, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, Notes, p. 106.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86. The other quotations are practically all taken from Professor Haeckel’s latest work, *The Riddle of the Universe*.

pantheistic system of Spinoza, claims to be a mean between pure Idealism and the old, cruder Materialism. It does not believe that matter is the product of mind, or that matter is the source and principle of all existing things ; but it can as little believe in mind without matter as in matter without mind. Science has never yet discovered ' a single immaterial substance, a single force which is not dependent on matter, or a single form of energy which is not determined by material movement.' In the words of Goethe, ' matter cannot exist and be operative without spirit, nor spirit without matter.' Hence, ' according to the pure, unequivocal Monism of Spinoza : Matter, or infinitely-extended substance, and spirit (or energy), or sensitive or thinking substance, are the two fundamental attributes, or principal properties of the all-embracing, divine essence of the world, the universal substance.'

The modern mind is disposed to look with favour on what is new, especially if it can claim to rest upon various conclusions of science ; it does not take so readily to what is old and has been relegated by the heart and intellect of the human race to the limbo of dead and despised systems. It is well, accordingly, that Professor Haeckel should so clearly state that '*Pantheism is the world system of the modern scientist*' who is ' honest ' in facing the result of his monistic principles. No other system rejoices in so many philosophical absurdities as Pantheism. It dishonours God ; it is, as Schopenhauer said, ' merely a polite way of giving the Lord God His congé.' It puts the universe in the place of a personal God, and then you have the strange philosophic spectacle of an absolute and supreme cause which is ' infinite ' and yet finite ; absolutely necessary and ' eternal,' of ' unvarying constancy ' and of ' eternal persistence,' and yet changeable in its existence and its activity, in ' unbroken development ' and in ' periodic change ;' the cause of the order, beauty and harmony so visible in nature, and yet in itself working blindly, unconsciously, mechanically. Lastly, if there be any one truth more forcibly attested by human consciousness than another, it is the distinct, substantial, personal existence of each one. Who will believe that he is as much another as he is himself,

that he is merely a 'force or an idea,' an accident or a mode of the universal substance?

Again, take away the disguise of names and Monism is simply the old Materialism, with a few scientific hypotheses thrown in. To-day, says Mr. Mallock,^b the battle is not so much between a materialistic philosophy and a spiritualistic, as between a monistic and a dualistic interpretation of nature. Even so, to-day, as in the days of Epicurus, Monism maintains that mind and matter are not two essentially distinct substances. The common sense of mankind, on the other hand, has ever held mind and matter to be at the opposite poles of existence, substances incommensurable and inconvertible. It has never yet been explained how one substance can possess the two fundamentally opposed qualities of thought and extension, how it can be 'extended' and 'thinking' at the same time. Professor Haeckel offers no explanation, and can offer none, because, like the rest of his school, he does not lift his face from his scalpel. Professor Bain sought to reconcile the existence of those qualities in his 'double-faced unity' by means of 'a close succession in time;' whence it followed that those properties could be 'fundamental' and non-fundamental, 'principal' and non-principal, at the same time; or else you would have the absurdity of the same substance closely succeeding itself! Our own consciousness, however, refuses to permit us to believe that there is anything in our being which is neither mind alone nor body alone but which underlies both.

In its ethical and social bearings Monism stands still more condemned. Professor Haeckel declares that 'religion is generally played out,' that man has enough of religion when he has 'science and art;' he offers to the world the religion not of any age, but of free and eternal nature, and in the cult of 'the True, the Beautiful, and the Good' is man to find 'ample compensation' for the old beliefs in God, Freedom, and Immortality. He forgets, however, that it is Christianity which has interpreted nature, and that the Christian ideas of truth, goodness, and beauty are themselves the product

^b *Religion a Credible Doctrine.*

of those very 'buttresses of superstition' which can never be divorced from the human heart and without which the superstructure of society cannot endure. Finally, while endeavouring in his latest work, *The Riddle of the Universe*, to sketch the plan of a complete monistic world-picture, he is bold enough to admit that, even at the dawn of the twentieth century, all society, whether in the judicial, social, political, moral, or educational spheres, is based on lines that are utterly irreconcilable with the principles of Monism—is, in fact, from the monistic point of view, in a state of absolute 'barbarism.'

It is well to have those broad issues so clearly defined by Professor Haeckel. As the human mind steadfastly refuses to believe that itself is God or any portion of God, that mind and matter are not essentially distinct substances, that all matter is alive, that there is life in a stone and sensation in a tree, and rational thought in a bird or ape; as the human heart can never subsist without religion to lift it from the slough and prison-house of sense, nor society endure, so the philosophic system of Monism, despite its novelty of name and pretence of science, stands irrevocably condemned. It is only as claiming to represent the teaching of science, to furnish from scientific bases the true cosmological perspective in which the 'unity of world conception' will be visible, that, in a purely negative way, it is of any interest to the theologian. The latest work of Professor Haeckel's, which is at once a summary of the whole monistic argument and a determined attack upon the Christian position, has excited a little passing interest by reason of a statement in the Preface, that on each point where the representatives of religion came into conflict with the representative of science, Mr. Mallock 'awards the palm to the eminent exponent of Monism.' It may be possible to show, however, without undertaking to make any positive defence of the theological position, that 'the palm for crude thinking' rests indeed with 'one of the most eminent and thoughtful men of science in Europe,' as Professor Haeckel is described by Mr. Mallock.

I

In the famous 'Ignorabimus' speech delivered by Emil du Bois Reymond before the Berlin Academy of Sciences, in 1880, there are seven world-enigmas enumerated : (1) the nature of matter and force ; (2) the origin of motion ; (3) the origin of life ; (4) the (apparently preordained) orderly arrangement of nature ; (5) the origin of simple sensation and consciousness ; (6) rational thought, and the origin of the cognate faculty, speech ; (7) the freedom of the will. Professor Haeckel raises the counter-cry of *Non Ignoramus neque Ignorabimus* ; he affirms that the Law of Substance and the Law of Evolution supply a decisive answer to six out of the seven riddles, the last, the freedom of the will, having no real existence at all.

Now, the whole system of Professor Haeckel is based on what he terms the Law of Substance, 'the fundamental cosmic law,' which answers riddles (1), (2), and (5). This law appears to be a philosophic expression of the unity of two other well-known laws—the chemical law of the persistence of matter and the physical law of the persistence of force ; matter and force being, according to the monistic conception, inseparable manifestations of one universal being—substance. It establishes 'the eternal persistence of matter and force ; their unvarying constancy throughout the entire universe ;' and it is completed by the Law of Evolution, for the common substance 'is everywhere subject to eternal movement and transformation.' Put into a concrete form, it is a statement of the purely mechanical conception of nature ; all phenomena, from the simplest to the most complex, are reduced to the mechanics of atoms, and are brought into a mechanico-causal relation as parts of the great, universal process of Evolution.

Substance ! To most men substance is an impenetrable mystery, but to a man like Haeckel who, no matter how he may disavow it, is in reality a pure sensist, as he is, confessedly, in philosophy, a pure associationist, substance, should have no existence. What is this substance of which extension and spirit are qualities ? Is it *materia prima*, which, having some reality, might be likewise conceived as having some existence

of its own ? No, for *materia prima* does not exist at all by itself. Is it the 'root-orce' of Scholastic philosophy, the all-pervading initial principle which is at the back of phenomena ? No, for Scholastic philosophy insists upon the essential diversity of force-roots. Does it correspond with the Unknowable of Spencer which energises in and through all nature ? Alas, no ; for Professor Haeckel confesses—of course in the very last page of the very last chapter he has written—that he does 'not clearly know whether it—the thing in itself—really exists or not.' We had thought that Monism was to banish mystery as well as miracle. Yet here, at the very start, is mystery with a vengeance. Is it less unscientific to postulate a mysterious and 'enigmatic' substance than a personal God ?

Assuming, however, that something—the thing in itself—exists, the unity of this substance is likewise assumed without any attempt at proof save the unproved theory of monistic Evolution. There is, however, room for speculation. It is 'in the highest degree probable' that the sixty or seventy elements with which science is still confronted may be only different forms or combinations of two different primary elements—matter and ether ; but as to the further question of the relation of those two original substances to each other, Professor Haeckel says he 'must be content with an Ignoramus—if not even an Ignorabimus.' The plain truth is, Professor Haeckel knows nothing at all about the 'fundamental cosmic substance,' though he will be found to describe its hypothetical atoms, with all their qualities stated in order, as if they were as real and tangible as lumps of sugar. Least of all does he make any attempt to account for that union of mind and matter in one substance, which even Professors Huxley and Tyndall have solemnly declared to be 'unthinkable.'

At first sight it would seem that the principle that the sum of the energies of the universe is as invariable as the sum of the molecules, favours the theory of the 'eternal persistence of matter and force, and their unvarying constancy throughout the universe.' But, put into plain words, the argument comes to this :—since nowhere in nature can *the*

chemist discover an example of, or produce, a new substance or a new energy, since nowhere in nature can *the chemist* observe, or effect, the passing away of a single particle of existing matter or energy, therefore matter and force could never have been created, nor can they be annihilated, by an *omnipotent God* ! It is quite true, of course, that the chemist must look upon the existing quantity of matter and force in the universe as a 'given fact ;' it is equally true that if matter or energy could suddenly disappear in chemical processes, there would be an end to chemistry as a science. But how any man can therefore conclude that matter and force were never created by God, certainly takes the palm for crude thinking, even among those 'great and untrammelled spirits' with whom Professor Haeckel ranks himself. It is said that the Law of Substance 'knows nothing of a beginning.' That is so, only because physical science as such is qualified to pronounce merely upon the persistence of matter and force as they actually exist, and cannot enter into a question either of their origin or of their future. The foremost representatives of science itself—Huxley, Tyndall, Spencer—make such a distinct admission ; and in the face of this testimony Professor Haeckel's dogmatic announcement of the eternal persistence of matter and force is equalled only by the unanimous agreement of the whole school that, anyhow, matter was *not* created. Professor Haeckel says he is powerless to imagine a single particle of matter or energy coming into existence. It is not a question of imagination but of rational thought. The imagination may be baffled, but reason refuses to forego its irresistible demand for causality.

However, the necessity of a Creator or Prime Mover must be precluded somehow. And so we are told : 'movement is an innate and original property of substance.' Readily said, but the difficulties increase. A universe evolving from eternity would seem to allow even Darwinism too much time, and the Monist may find it difficult to answer why it is then that long ago the universe should not have reached the term of its evolution, why there should be any brute matter at all, and why conscious intelligence should be the possession only of 'a tiny grain of protoplasm in the perishable framework of

organic nature.' However, it may be freely admitted that, apart from Revelation, there is nothing impossible in the hypothesis of a universe created and existing from eternity; the greatest intellects have maintained that reason alone cannot demonstrate the beginning of the motion of the world in time. The first chief difficulty is this: if the original cosmic ether be, as Professor Haeckel describes it, neither gaseous nor solid, but an absolutely continuous, homogeneous mass, 'boundless and immeasurable like the space it fills,' how can it ever be in motion at all? To account for its differentiation into mass and ether, he has recourse to Vogt's pyknotic theory of countless, infinitesimal 'centres of condensation.' But, as even his champion, Mr. Mallock, clearly points out, it is equally impossible to conceive how the simple, homogeneous 'infinite space-filling ether' can be subjected to any process of condensation.* And it is equally impossible even to imagine how this absolutely continuous and homogeneous substance was capable of originating those 'centres of perturbation' in virtue of which 'great masses of centres of condensation *quickly unite* in immense proportions,' without some external act implying a Prime Mover.

The next difficulty is from science—the theory of Entropy. Professors Stewart and Tait† declare that to their minds 'it appears no less false to pronounce eternal that aggregation we call the atom than it would be to pronounce eternal that aggregation we call the mass.' As they enunciate the theory, the dissipation of the energy of the universe proceeds *pari passu* with the aggregation of mass, and therefore, since the large masses of the visible universe are finite, the process of the dissipation of energy had a beginning as it also will have an end.‡ To this theory, which, though of limited application, is of deadly significance against his system, Professor Haeckel can only reply—the Law of Substance, the (unproved) Law of Substance. There remains, of course, the possible hypo-

* *Religion a Credible Doctrine.*

† *The Unseen Universe*, Preface to Second Edition. 'The eternity of the atom is a doctrine which can only be held by ignoring the fundamental principles of scientific enquiry.' p. 94.

‡ *Ibid.*, cap. iii.

thesis, that even though the visible universe were allowed not to be a *perpetuum mobile*, its *present* form was the result of the clashing together of two bodies or systems drawn together from infinite distances in time and space. Lord Kelvin questions the hypothesis, and maintains that it can be proved mathematically that two such travelling masses could never meet at any point in space. But apart from that, the presence and motion of those masses themselves demand explanation, and then—even though a possible, is it a reasonable hypothesis? The *Iliad* might have been the result of a hundred billions of type churned together by a stick for an indefinite period, but who would put that forward as a real theory? And who would stake such a momentous issue as the existence of God on the bare possibility of the present universe having been formed by the chance clashing of two systems in space?

In spite of those difficulties and contradictions Professor Haeckel works along gallantly. When accounting for the differentiation of ether, he found it necessary not merely to presuppose eternal movement, but to endow substance with the ‘inherent, primitive properties of “feeling” and “inclination,”’ that is, ‘an inclination for condensation and a dislike for strain.’ Accordingly, he formulates the thesis, which, he says, is indispensable for a truly monistic view of substance: ‘The two fundamental forms of substance, ponderable matter and ether, *are not dead, and only moved by extrinsic force, but they are endowed with sensation and will.*’ Similarly, on the observation of ‘love and hatred’ in the chemical affinity of the elements, he ‘bases his conviction that even the atom is not without a rudimentary form of *sensation and will*, or, as it is better expressed, of feeling and inclination—that is, a *universal “soul” of the simplest character.*’ This is the first step in maintaining the absolute continuity of the universe; the rest will be easy when the Law of Evolution begins to work.

But observe the mode of procedure. Professor Haeckel gets the indefinite and far-removed antecedent of substance, which is ‘mysterious’ and ‘enigmatic,’ and which is none the worse for the fact that it is unknown whether the thing

in itself really exists or not. Then he puts into it all it is to account for after—motion, life, sensation, volition, extension and thought. He puts it into eternal movement, and lo ! the *Deus ex machina* grinds out automatically all the fictitious grist previously put into it, without it having been necessary to recur to any ‘miraculous’ impulse or interposition, or to such an unscientific theory as that of a ‘divine engineer’ fashioning the universe. To achieve still greater success, and to make the continuity of nature at least verbally more apparent, he applies the terms that are strictly applicable only to things spiritual and intellectual to things that are purely physiological and physical. You discover afterwards for yourself that the ‘soul’ is simply ‘a physiological abstraction ;’ ‘sensation,’ any and every response to external agencies such as light, heat, warmth ; ‘volition,’ any form of movement automatic or reflex ; ‘life,’ only a complicated chain of mechanical motion : ‘love and hatred,’ ‘like and dislike,’ terms for the purely molecular motions of plants.

Thus, at a glance, the whole monistic method of procedure stands revealed, and we come likewise upon the root-fallacy of the system. Science observes that life, its processes and phenomena, are connected with certain material changes and motions in the living substance of the body. But, does it therefore follow that wherever you have similar or corresponding molecular motions, there you have likewise, no matter in how elementary a form, life and its activities ? Is ‘life’ only a peculiar system of mechanics ? is the ‘soul’ to be sought for by microscope and scalpel ? does ‘sensation’ consist in nothing more than action and reaction to external stimuli ? is it to be concluded that all vital phenomena are so many functions of the cells ?

Professors Stewart and Tait bear witness that reasoning of that sort has not the slightest scientific warrant. The domain of science is to investigate and analyze matter and motion ; it can observe the effects of activities, but it can have nothing to say to the activities themselves. ‘Our scientific experience,’ says Professor Haeckel, ‘has never yet taught us the existence of forces that can dispense with a material substratum.’ Why, if it could,—it would

no longer be immaterial. The vital activity or immaterial principle does not come within the domain of science, which, let it be stated again, has to do only with what is extended and visible ; and to attempt to apply to it the result of investigations in the sensible world, constitutes, as the Abbé Picard says, ‘ the most hateful act of treason that can be conceived.’ Similarly, to make psychology, as Professor Haeckel does, a branch of physiology, to be examined by the same methods, is to directly assume that nothing exists which is not reducible to terms of matter and motion.

The persistent fallacy is this. There is no exercise of vital activity without certain motions ; ‘ sed aliud est quod hoc non fiat sine illo, aliud, quod hoc sit illud.’ Else, says Father Pesch, you should say that since an animal does not walk without feet, therefore walking consists in nothing else but having feet.⁹ Similarly, there is no sensation without a certain stimulation of vibration in the nerve, but the sensation itself does not consist in this stimulation or vibration. Similarly, again, the intellect cannot act without the sense, but no series of sense movements can ever produce or account for the conscious, internal, immaterial energy we call thought. ‘ The passage,’ says Tyndall, ‘ from the physics of the brain to the corresponding acts of consciousness is unthinkable.’ This is the death-sentence of Materialism and Monism. The Scholastic, perhaps, might fail on his side to explain how, as Mr. Mallock puts it, the spatial can act on the non-spatial, but he, at all events, does not gainsay the certain facts of consciousness.

What has science proved ? This only—that the soul is, in this life, inseparably united even to the smallest cell of the human body, that every mental process, even the highest act of reflex consciousness, has some physical counterpart. But, only when it is lawful to conclude that a condition or a concomitant is identical with a cause, that since light is necessary for seeing, it is the light and not the eye that sees, that Professor Haeckel himself is identical with his own microscope and scalpel, without which he could not make an analysis

⁹ *Institutiones Philosophiae Naturalis*, vol. ii., p. 217.

in the laboratory,—only then will it be lawful to conclude that there is a causal relation between nerve excitement and sensation or thought. What has science disproved? Merely the old Platonic or Cartesian view which makes the relation between soul and body to be something like that of an oyster in a shell or a pilot on a ship. The conception of psychic activity against which Professor Haeckel contends is, he says, that which considers soul and body to be ‘*two distinct entities*.’ Such is a specimen of his knowledge of the Scholastic theory.¹⁰

Now, even in regard to life, it is true to state that all that is best in biological science regards it as a thing apart, the great enigma whose mystery ever increases with deeper study, and whose processes mock every mechanical manifestation. Thus Beale: ‘There is more in life than the processes it controls;’ and Spencer: ‘It cannot be conceived in physico-chemical terms,’ and again, ‘there is probably an inconceivable element in its workings.’ Little use in asking Professor Haeckel to consider such testimony; it is better to ask him a question. If life is but a most complex system of mechanical motion, will there not be life wherever you have mechanical motion? Why, then, does not the cell of a dead body act vitally, although so far as science can see, it possesses the very same organization as before, and makes the very same mechanical response to the same stimuli? And if organic life be, as Professor Haeckel is found to assert, ‘in the last analysis but transformed sunlight,’ why is it that the sun might shine for ever on a rock without ever producing a blade of grass, while there are, we believe, plants that get on excellently well in the dark?

Professor Haeckel maintains, however, that the Cellular theory gives us ‘the first true interpretation of the physical, chemical, and even the psychological processes of life.’ According to this theory, ‘the activity of all organisms is,

¹⁰ It is scarcely necessary to state that Prof. Haeckel seems scarcely to have a single right notion about the religion and philosophy he attempts to confute; the ignorance and misrepresentation to be found in his works, and notably in his latest, may, to borrow one of his own epithets, be fairly termed, ‘colossal.’ Anyone who can speak of the ‘hypostatical union’ of the ‘three Divine Persons,’ or regard the Christian notion of a Personal God as that of a ‘gaseous vertebrate’——!

in the ultimate analysis, the activity of the components of their tissues.' Again, the old fallacy. What has been established is this,—that the cell is the all-pervading elementary organism out of which the body of every multicellular plant or animal, even that of man, is composed, and that every organism is developed out of a single simple cell. These facts only show how closely animal and plant life are connected in the physical basis of life provided for them; but when science advances further and declares that the cells themselves are 'the only actual independent factors of the life-process,' it draws a conclusion for which it has, and can have, no warrant. The cell, undoubtedly, is the important factor in physiological function, and it is by means of the reciprocal action of the cells that the whole organism subsists. But behind the cell is a force whose energies cannot be reduced to physical and chemical laws. Science can speak only about the molecular motion of each cell. It can declare that the molecular motion of the whole organism is equal to the sum of the molecular motion of all the cells; but to conclude that vital activity consists in the sum of those motions, is very like identifying a writer with his pen or a singer with his throat. The very best authorities in biological science declare that the cell is not the cause of organization or of life, but that life is the cause of the cell. Here is the emphatic statement of a man like the late Professor Huxley: 'The cells are no more the producers of vital phenomena than the shells scattered by the sea-shore are the instruments by which the gravitation force of the moon acts upon the ocean. Like these, they only mark where the vital tide has been and how it has acted.' Yes, the cells merely reveal the presence of the vital principle which energises through them.

Still more absurd, if anything, is Professor Haeckel's own theory of an individual cell-soul in every individual organic cell. This he regards as a logical consequence of the Cellular theory, and so it is, if the soul be really nothing more than 'the sum or aggregate of special cell-activities.' He finds that 'in the organism of the higher animals or plants, the numerous collected cells, to a great extent, give up their individual independence and are subject, like good citizens, to the soul-polity

which represents *the unity of the will and sensation in the cell communities.*'¹¹ It is very unfortunate. At once it occurs to ask, would it not be as easy to admit one principle which would do for the whole organism not only what the individual cell-souls cannot account for, namely, 'the unity of the will and sensation,' but also what they are said to do for each cell? Why is it that Professor Haeckel has to admit a 'common soul' to account for the unity of sensation which he observes in the development of the embryonic 'plastoderm'? Why is it that he has to admit a 'tissue soul' to explain the 'physiological individuality' of the tissues, their 'special irritability and psychic unity'? Are we to believe that there is a distinct, independent soul in every cell, that, for example, when a bullet is sent through a man's head, there is at once a departing soul from every cell in his body? Anyhow, the philosophical situation is interesting. What is this '*soul-polity*'? Is it merely a moral unity, or is it a new entity? If it is nothing new, but merely the sum of the cell-souls, it is as powerless to explain the unity and consciousness of sensation in the whole organism as any individual cell-soul. If it is a new entity at the back of the cells, co-ordinating, constituting, and unifying the whole organism, why it is the vital principle of the Scholastic.

Concluding this portion of the paper, it remains briefly to see how the Law of the Persistence of Energy contradicts the Scholastic view of vital activity. In the first place, as Father Maher points out, this law, as an objection to the interaction of soul and body, comes very badly from those who have obtained their very notions of 'causality,' 'energy,' 'interaction,' from the real activity of the mind itself and its immediate experience that it exerts a real influence over thoughts and bodily movements. As for the rest, independently of all mathematical explanations, it is sufficient to state that the action of a spiritual principle cannot, from the very nature of the case, be estimated as if it were a kind of working steam engine.

¹¹ *Freedom in Science and Teaching*. Chap. on 'Cell-souls and Soul-cells.' Italics are our own.

¹² *Psychology*, p. 520.

II

By the Law of Evolution Professor Haeckel claims to answer the three remaining world-enigmas—the origin of life, the (apparently preordained) order of nature, rational thought and the origin of speech. Now, no matter what its probability, the starting point of Evolution is not a proved fact, namely, that some species have been evolved from other species. Even though it were an absolutely verified hypothesis, the theory in itself would be in no opposition to the existence of God. There is nothing impossible,—nay, there is a new depth and grandeur in the idea of God Creator and Continuous Evolver. ‘Why should it be against reason,’ said Leibnitz, ‘that the word *Fiat* having left something behind it, namely Beings, the not less admirable word, *Benedixit*, should have left after it in those Beings the endowments of fecundity and the virtue of organization?’¹⁵ Evolution only enlarges the sphere which the Creator allows secondary causes to play, under His constant influence, in the development of the eternal plan.

Hence, to hold that the universe may have been in the beginning so formed that, on the evolution of certain preordained conditions, life, previously existing in the *virtutes seminales*, appeared, does not disprove life to be a force that is above the unaided powers of matter. The evolution of life, therefore, from non-living matter, even though it were proved, would of itself establish nothing against the doctrine of God; and the theologian might view with equanimity the spectacle of Mr. Mallock’s professor manufacturing germs on a platform before a daily audience. But to the Monist the destruction of the theory of Abiogenesis is ruinous; for once there is shown to be a distinct necessity for what Professor Haeckel terms ‘miraculous interposition,’ there is a rupture in the continuity of the universe, an end to the unity of world-conception which he had undertaken to establish.

In this matter of life it is very difficult to know where exactly to find Professor Haeckel. At one time, all matter is 'alive,' not moved by extrinsic force; at another, he speaks of matter as it is understood by ordinary people, and he is found to make 'inertia' one of the properties of the hypothetical ultimate atoms of the elements. At any rate, Professor Haeckel must recognise this universal experience of mankind, that want of spontaneous motion is a property of what is termed inanimate nature. This is not to deny that matter is subject to the laws of attraction, nor to affirm that the atoms are 'dead,' for all bodies have their own activity, and their very essence is the principle of their activity. Attraction and repulsion, which Professor Haeckel makes the sources of 'will,' are, however, very different from a vital act. On the Atomic theory, the action of molecules forms bodies, but observe,—there must be at least two molecules. The living organism has, however, a certain amount of initiative, and its activity consists in a new special and additional energy to which no mechanical impression corresponds. The atoms of Professor Haeckel, therefore, are not alive in any true sense. And as science shows there was a time when life began on this earth, the question of its origin demands an emphatic answer from the Monist.

And here the admitted finding of science is, *omne vivum ex vivo*, and its corollary, *omnis cellula ex cellula*.¹⁴ Striking as this fact is, however, it cannot be said to have very much force in the hands of the theologian, for, as Professor Haeckel contends: 'How can we know that in remote primeval times there did not exist conditions quite different from those at present obtaining, and which may have rendered spontaneous generation possible?' Let the appeal *ad Ignorantiam* be admitted. It comes very badly, however, from one who would regard 'blind faith' as the sin unpardonable in a scientist, and who is wont to arrive at conclusions about the past by assuming the continuity of the present. The contention, in plain language, is due merely to the necessities

¹⁴ 'The law of Biogenesis is justly regarded by Professor Huxley and others as the great principle underlying all the phenomena of organised existence.'—*The Unseen Universe*, p. 229.

of the doctrine of Evolution, and then we have the strange spectacle of the Evolution hypothesis, itself unproved, dependent on the equally unproved theory of Abiogenesis. Surely the contrary fact of Biogenesis in the present should create an equal presumption for its existence in the past. It is difficult, moreover, to believe that the present conditions which are so favourable for the growth of organisms, should not be equally favourable for their spontaneous generation. According to the Law of Substance, the forces of nature are 'of unvarying constancy,' and one would think that our scientific appliances should be varied and powerful enough to produce any set of conditions which might be thought favourable for the production of living protoplasm. However, it must have been so ; otherwise—'the miracle of an inconceivable creation' !

How does the argument from Order now stand as a proof for the existence of God ? The theory of Evolution has, no doubt, opened up a new way of approaching this question. Of old it was thought that the order and beauty and harmony of the universe, the manifest purpose-like adaptation of organ to function and of part to organism, were indications of an original divinely-ordained plan ; now it is contended that this is only the result of the 'great iron laws' of nature in unconscious, eternal evolution, and that reason is rather at the end of things than at the beginning. As it is obvious, however, that the idea of development is not opposed to, but in perfect harmony with, the idea of design, it is equally clear that the doctrine of Evolution in itself, as accepted by the Theist, so far from enervating, only gives a greater force and breadth to the old-world argument from Order. The problem for Monism, therefore, is : How can purpose-like contrivances be produced by merely mechanical processes without design ? Professor Hæckel replies that the theory of Selection gives the solution ; it is 'the great "selective divinity" which by a purely natural choice, without preconceived design, creates new forms.' We join issue.

In the first place, according to such authorities as Professors Huxley, Mivart, Spencer, Weismann, the theory of Natural Selection has been utterly discredited in scientific

circles ; it has failed to account for the facts of organic evolution, and one is left to wonder how the primal nebula itself could ever have been submitted to any process of selection. Let us take again the Condensation theory by which Professor Haeckel seeks to account for the differentiation of substance into mass and ether. Why should those centres of condensation be formed in one place more than another ; nay, why should they be formed at all ? And how did the atoms resulting from the union of those centres obtain those specific characteristics from which ultimately resulted the present visible universe ? Mr. Mallock points out that to say things are as they are because they were as they were, is only solemn trifling and no real answer to the question.¹

In the next place, we are asked to believe that the wondrous order, unity and complexity of the universe, which is before the eyes of every man, is only a counterfeit, due to the blind evolution of unconscious substance. So long as the human mind is constituted as it is, with its fundamental idea of purpose and its insatiable demand for adequate causality, so long will it be irresistibly led to see a Mind at the back of nature, a purpose that is in nature, yet not of nature. The forces of nature are, indeed, seen working necessarily, and an unbroken chain of mechanical causality stretches far and wide. But the scientist who relies only on sense experience can see but the outer connection, not the inner reason which leads the natural forces and agents to achieve a common end. The necessity of causality, the iron laws of nature, do not oppose finality. Before necessity begins, purpose is already at work, and the laws themselves—their origin, their adaptation to certain ends, and their adjustment to a plan running through the whole universe—demand explanation. ‘It is just as absurd,’ says Proudhon, ‘to refer the system of the universe to physical laws, without any regard to the commanding Ego, as to attribute the victory of Marengo to strategical combinations without taking the First Consul into account.’²

¹ *Religion a Credible Doctrine.*

² *Système des Contradictions Economiques : Prologue.*

Take the case even of a simple cell ; it is, we opine, an insoluble riddle to Professor Haeckel. From the beginning its destiny has been irrevocably fixed ; and science can detect no difference between one cell and another. Yet why is it that the cell of a mollusc will never become a fish, no matter how the environment be changed ? And how is the wonderful development of the germ-cell, its growth, subdivision and orderly disposition, to be explained, save alone by a Mind preordaining the cell-force to work out to this rather than to that specific organization. It is in vain to attribute to the cell the faculty of 'unconscious presentation,' which is defined to be an 'internal picture' or an 'idea ;' for how can there be an 'internal picture' which is not the result of conscious action, and who ever heard of an 'idea' that was unconscious ? The cell exhibits an 'internal picture' which is the realization of the divine plan ; it is the effect of the divine idea. But you might as well say that a machine possesses knowledge or intelligence merely because it exhibits them, as say that the cell has an 'internal picture' or an 'idea' of its ultimate and final organization. Neither is it to be explained by any number of those minute particles which Professor Haeckel calls 'plastidules,' Naegeli 'micellae,' and others 'biophors,' 'gemmules,' and so on. These particles are purely hypothetical. Besides, they themselves demand explanation, for, as Professor Mivart says, they are only the cell 'writ small.' They cannot be accounted for by molecules, for the mere juxtaposition in any order of molecules which are not really animated save by the forces of attraction and repulsion, can never form a living cell with its substantial unity and specific tendencies. Moreover, these 'plastidules' are nothing but names given to imaginary particles which are supposed in no way to differ from other material particles, except by reason of being infinitesimally small. How then can they claim to represent the *immaterial* principle of the living cell ? It is a shameless attempt to make what is material serve as a representation of what is itself imperceptible to sense.

With equal futility Professor Haeckel endeavours to account for primary and secondary instincts, and for the 'specific

energy' of the various sense nerves, whose structure, he says, is so remarkably purposive that they might well lead to the assumption of 'creation on a preconceived design.' The primary instincts (such as love, fear, hate) 'sprang up originally in perfect unconsciousness.' Sprang up!—be content. The secondary instincts are accounted for by the theory of 'lapsed intelligence,' which, while it asks us to attribute 'intelligence,' 'rational thought and resolution,' and 'purposive conscious action' to irrational life, such as birds and insects, has been, as a scientific theory, utterly discredited by Professor Weismann in scientific circles. Moreover, Professor Haeckel does not explain how one sense nerve rather than another first began to take over one set of stimuli rather than another. Granting that this was due to chance, the still more difficult problem of the transmission of the 'resulting modifications,' still remains as for the origin of instincts. Professor Weismann has shown that the assumption that modifications wrought in the organisms during the life of the individual are ever transmitted by heredity, is an unwarrantable assumption. And Professor Haeckel himself admits that there is no theory forthcoming to explain on purely mechanical lines the phenomena of heredity which is not 'based on pure conjecture.'

As Professor Haeckel understands the soul to be merely a function of the organism, it is obvious that he should maintain that the evolution of the mind is demonstrated by the evolution of the body with which it keeps pace. Hence all psychic life is treated as a purely physiological problem, and is linked in an unbroken chain of Evolution 'from the simplest sensations and instincts of the lowest life to the elaborate phenomena of consciousness and reason in the highest.' Thus the long standing barrier between man and the brute is removed; 'man's highest mental powers—reason, speech, and conscience—have arisen from the lower stages of the same faculties in our primate ancestors; they are themselves only 'a higher degree of integration, or centralisation, of association or combination of functions formerly isolated,' the result of 'abstract and more comprehensive groups of associations.' The whole theory is, in addition, upheld by some comparative arguments drawn from the mental life of a savage and from the prenatal and postnatal development of a child.

It is scarcely necessary to point out, at this stage, that this psychology is but the logical outcome of Professor Haeckel's whole theory of the nature of life, and that it is vitiated by the self-same fallacy. It is difficult to listen to any man who can attribute conscious and rational thought to birds and apes, who confounds the sensuous basis with the intellectual results of thought, and who is meshed in the contradictions which beset the Associationist School of philosophy. But, on any theory, would it not be natural to expect that the higher the principle of activity and the mental faculties, the more elaborate and highly organised should be the bodily organs which they use as instruments? Unfortunately, science has so far failed to assign any distinct property to the human brain which would account for man's intellectual superiority. To identify, however, and place in causal relation the brain structure and the mental activity, is again the wretched fallacy which dogs every system whose sole philosophy is experimental science. Let him disguise it as he will, Professor Haeckel is a pure sensist, incapable of accounting for the existence of any necessary or universal idea: he knows antecedent and consequent, but nothing of 'cause,' save as an 'assumption,' a 'conjecture,' a 'hypothesis.'

Professor Haeckel makes appeal to the savage. As the differences in bodily structure between man and the apes are not so great as those between the man-like apes and the lower monkeys, so, we are told, 'the difference between the reason of a Goethe, a Kant, a Lamarck, or a Darwin, and that of the lowest savage is much greater than the graduated difference between the reason of the latter and that of the animals from whom he was immediately developed.' The argument, whatever force it may have in regard to bodily development, cannot be maintained for the evolution of mind. The difference between the reason of a Goethe and of a savage is one of degree, and dependent mainly on education, environment or civilized surroundings: but the lowest savage who points an arrow or chips a stone, demonstrates the possession of a faculty which is infinitely higher than that of the brute. The researches of Anthropology have gone to show, not that the savage is only one degree removed from

the brute, but that he is as much man as the most cultured representative of humanity ; and it is maintained by the greatest experts that the savage is not one who is in any stage of progress but one who has distinctly retrograded. Even though this were not so, the legitimacy of Professor Haeckel's conclusion would still be highly questionable. As you do not judge of an organism from its initial form or stage of incipency, so man is to be adjudged in his natural and normal state, and man's natural and normal state is not the nomad but the social condition, not the uncivilized but, pre-eminently, the state of civilization. And as the savage is not typical of anything, neither is the baby typical of an intermediate phase of intelligence between brute and man.

Professor Haeckel appeals to the baby. We are asked to believe that the slow development of the human embryo,¹⁷ which repeats almost stage by stage the animal series through which it has passed, tells the history of man's growth to his present mental, as it does to his physical stature : and that the gradual dawn of consciousness in a child, slowly advancing from a mere sense knowledge of the world around him to a reflex knowledge of himself as a distinct and intelligent entity and the subject of various relations, is similarly a recapitulation of the evolution of the human intellect. The famous biogenetic law for which Professor Haeckel is responsible, that Ontogenesis is a brief and rapid recapitulation of Phylogenesis, has not hitherto come up for discussion, because, for the sake of argument, the Evolution theory it was supposed to demonstrate, was allowed. The truth is, however, that this so-called law, rashly dubbed a ' fact ' by Mr. Mallock, is in itself a pure analogy. It is not a perfect but a broken analogy, for there remain gaps in the embryonic repetition of the animal series, which it would be just as well for Professor Haeckel not to have attempted to explain. It is not a positive analogy, but one which is based on certain

¹⁷ Professor Haeckel has been often accused, with what justice we do not know, of having falsified the cuts of the various embryos he exhibits in such detail. Certain it is, at any rate, that, in the opinion of many scientists, the human embryo can be distinctly recognised as such in its first really notable developments.

vague and purely negative resemblances to certain lower types. Worst of all, it is not an analogy which is advanced to explain or illustrate an otherwise established truth, but it is an analogy adduced to demonstrate an otherwise unproved hypothesis. We are asked to believe that such an analogy can be so pressed as to make it appear that even rational life is a pure outcome of previous organic or material conditions. Surely no. Surely a conclusion of such importance as that of the evolution of mind and body, should be well established before any analogy is attempted. If there are facts of psychic life at all that can only be explained on the monistic theory, these facts should be studied directly in themselves, in the light of the individual, and not indirectly in the darkness of analogies vague, imperfect, uncertain. The monistic hypothesis begs the whole question at issue by assuming the inseparability of mental power and corporeal substance. What would the analogies prove? That the embryo first develops the general characteristics and that the lower forms, from the imperfection of their design, change the common characteristics less. That the thinking principle which ultimately manifests itself, began by exercising the functions of nutrition, growth, organization and feeling. Seeing that man's growth is from a single cell, seeing that the spiritual faculty is dependent on the sense organ and cannot act until the sense organ has reached a certain stage of development, and seeing that all the resemblances and differences in nature are explicable as the modifications of one fundamental design or world-plan, the extraordinary thing would be if the human embryo were not to touch various stages of animal life, and if the chief and characteristic human endowment of rational intelligence were manifested from the very beginning of its development. Reason appears at the end, but what proof is there that it was not also at the beginning? And what evidence is there for the additional assumption that the zero level of the infant's mental life is the same in kind as in brutes?

III

It may be useful to consider, with an eye to advantage as well as to truth, what is the real strength of the theological demonstration of the Existence of God. Now, the arguments, the five well-known arguments of St. Thomas, are undoubtedly convincing to every honest man, and when properly set forth, particularly in the light of the doctrine of Conservation, will be found to have stood the test of time, and to be as conclusive to the cultured philosopher as to the simplest intelligence. What is their value against the monistic philosophy? The main thing, of course, is to be able to prove a thing to your own satisfaction; but it is little likely that the theologian, armed with even the best arguments, will achieve very much success against a man like the Professor of Jena, whose reason is bound down by the iron chains of sense. For example, you urge the famous argument from Motion: it goes for little with a man who maintains that the universe is a *perpetuum mobile*, pulsating to and fro in an eternal rhythm of life and death. You urge the argument from an Infinite Series: Professor Haeckel says he 'can as little imagine a first beginning of the eternal phenomena of the universe as of its final end.' You advance the argument from Contingency: you are told that creation is a 'miracle' and 'inconceivable,' and that the world, space and time are 'eternal,' 'infinite,' 'immeasurable' (whatever those terms mean). You point to the great argument from Order, which appealed to Kant, and about which even Voltaire wrote:¹⁵ 'If a clock proves the existence of a clockmaker, and the world does not prove the existence of a Supreme Architect, I consent to be called "Cause finalier," that is to say, a fool'—Professor Haeckel declares that it is the result of the evolution of substance under the laws of universal causation. And so on and on. There is little use in talking metaphysics to a sensist, to one who confounds his imagination with his reason.

Hence, it is well to remember that the arguments of St. Thomas are much more likely to appeal to one trained in the

¹⁵ *Philosophical Dictionary*.

schools than to anyone else. They were never framed to meet, and need not be expected to meet, the difficulties that may be raised by the science of the changing time ; they cannot be expected to appeal with the same force to every man, or to have exactly the same force at different times. And it is right to have it remembered, too, that Bonaventure declared that to posit the world as eternal, on the previous supposition of the eternity of matter, was 'reasonable and intelligible ;' while Suarez described the arguments wont to be drawn from the repugnance of an infinite series, as 'slippery and uncertain.

Accordingly, there are many who believe that, in modern apologetics, the best way to establish the Existence of God is not so much from the old arguments of St. Thomas, or from the production of life, consciousness, sensation of new forces in the world, as from the doctrine of Man—the Soul, its powers as manifested in the perception of necessary and universal truth, Free Will, Immortality. These are doctrines that rest upon the infallible testimony of universal human consciousness, and the testimony of consciousness cannot be gainsaid, except by plunging the human mind into the abyss of absolute Scepticism. Prove any one of them and Monism is vanquished. Prove the existence of a Producer, a First or Final Cause, for one, and it is reasonable to suppose that it was the very same Cause produced the great scheme of things. Above all, prove the doctrine of Liberty, which may well be regarded as the central doctrine of religion as opposed to science, and, as Mr. Mallock admits, the case of the Dualist as against the Monist is gained. Thus, the doctrine of Man is an enduring bar to Monism. And let it be clearly stated that the Law of Substance and the Law of Evolution cannot eliminate man from the equation of a mechanistic universe.

JOHN MEEHAN,

CALENDAR OF PAPAL REGISTERS RELATING TO GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

A.D. 1362-1404

THE fourth volume of the Rolls Series of Calendars, containing Papal Letters referring to Great Britain and Ireland has recently been issued, and it may at once be admitted that it contains a mine of information of the very first importance to the student of ecclesiastical history. Not only are the 'Littere Secrete et de Curia' of Popes Urban V., Gregory XI., Urban VI., and Boniface IX. given, but also those of the anti-Pope Robert of Geneva (Clement VII.); thus, the ground covered, namely, from 1362 to 1404, is one regarding which Irish ecclesiastical history had hitherto been an almost *terra incognita*.

It will, doubtless, be of interest to many readers of the I. E. RECORD to give some of the salient features of the present Calendar, as regards Ireland. This is the more desirable as the volume contains 670 pages imperial octavo, and at least seven-eighths of the entries relate to England and Scotland.

Under date of 13 Kal. April, 1363, Thomas Minot was appointed Archbishop of Dublin, and, as a wrong date was given by error—'March' having been written instead of 'April'—letters of confirmation were issued from the Roman Chancery on 4 Ides of May. The editors take care to mention that Theiner copied the wrong date at page 323 of his monumental work.

On the 6th Nones of May, 1364, a relaxation, during ten years, of a year and forty days of enjoined penance, was given by Pope Urban V. to 'penitents who give alms for the repair of the Church of St. Nicholas, Blanchevillestown, in the diocese of Ossory.'

Under date of 12 Kal. Dec., 1364, there is a dispensation to John O'Grady, Archdeacon of Cashel, son of a sub-deacon, that he may on election accept the See of Tuam, vice Thomas O'Grady, translated from Tuam to Cashel. This

entry is corroborated by the *Annals of Ulster*, wherein John O'Grady is given down as son of Archbishop O'Grady of Cashel.

On September 1st, 1368, John Duncan, Archdeacon of Down, was appointed Papal Nuncio for Ireland and Collector of dues for the Papal camera, and, a few months later, he received indults for a portable altar, etc.

An interesting entry occurs in 1371, from which we get much information regarding Dermot O'Connor, O.P., Prior of Roscommon, whose existence was apparently unknown to Father Coleman, O.P., in his excellent edition of O'Heyne.

Another hitherto unknown item is the letter dated 7th of October, 1371, stating that Hugh, Bishop of Clonmacnoise (unnoticed by Ware or Monahan) was being sent by Pope Gregory XI. to King Edward III. to release Roger de Beaufort, the Pope's brother. We can therefore supply the hiatus in Ware between the years 1370 and 1385, by including Hugh as Bishop of Clonmacnoise, who had as successor a certain Philip.

Under date of 4 Kal. May, 1371, there is an Indulgence, for twenty years, of 'a year and forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who give alms for the Church of "St. Peter de Hulle," Dublin, which by reason of deaths and pestilence has been brought to ruin.' This church is described as 'without the walls of Dublin,' and is also called St. Peter's of the Hill.

During the year 1371, a contest had gone on between Hugh, Cardinal of St. Mary's in Porticu, and Matthew Crumpe, regarding the wealthy Archdeaconry of Meath, and Pope Gregory XI., on April 1st, 1372, wrote to King Edward and to Sir William Windsor, Viceroy of Ireland, 'to assist the Cardinal in his rightful occupancy of the said archdeaconry.' Finally, in November, 1373, Matthew Crumpe was left in peaceful possession, on condition of paying the Cardinal a yearly pension. Subsequently, when Cardinal Hugh adhered to the anti-Pope (Clement VII.), his pension was transferred to Lewis, Cardinal Deacon of New St. Mary's, and after him to Landulph, Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano. This was opposed by Thomas Sprot,

in 1388, as the successor of Matthew Crumpe; and finally, on the 3rd Nones of November, 1393, Pope Boniface IX. formally declared the Archdeaconry of Meath as non-reserved to the Apostolic See.

From an entry, under date of 12 Kal. Feb., 1373, we get a sidelight as to the succession of Abbots in Mellifont, Co. Louth, diocese of Armagh; all the more interesting as there is a lacuna in the list of Abbots published in the *History of Mellifont Abbey* (1897), from 1370 to 1472. It appears that on the death of John Terroure, in 1370, another John was duly elected and confirmed by John, Abbot of Citeaux, as Father General. Pope Gregory XI. ratified this confirmation, and Abbot John ruled till 1383.

In December, 1374, Archdeacon Duncan, of Down, was appointed Bishop of Sodor, and Papal Nuncio, being also made collector in his city and diocese for papal dues. He was succeeded as Papal Nuncio for Ireland by William, Bishop of Emly, who was also appointed Papal collector for Cashel, Limerick, Emly, Lisnore, Waterford, Cloyne, Killaloe, Ardferit, Cork, Ross, and Kilfenora.

Thomas Minot, Archbishop of Dublin, who repaired St. Patrick's Cathedral, and added a handsome cut stone steeple to it, died at London in July, 1375, and was succeeded by Robert de Wikeford, Archdeacon of Winchester, and Constable of Bordeaux. On the 4th of the Nones of May, 1376, Pope Gregory XI. issued a mandate to Archbishop de Wikeford to levy a subsidy in Ireland for the recovery of the lands of the Roman Church in Italy, namely, one year's tenth of the fruits and rents of ecclesiastical benefices.

So very little is known of the history of Cong Abbey in the fourteenth century that it is satisfactory to meet with an entry under date of 7th Ides of January, 1376, confirming the election of Thomas, Augustinian Abbot of St. Mary's, Cong, in the diocese of Tuam—to which he had been provided by Archbishop Gregory in 1375, on the resignation of Abbot Malachy.

Pope Gregory XI. died at Rome, March 27th, 1378, and was succeeded by Urban VI., who was duly crowned on April 18th. Robert of Geneva was, however, set up as anti-Pope,

under the title of Clement VII., and apparently he was favoured by the Scotch Church, as also by two or three dioceses in the province of Connaught. Robert, Bishop of Killala, and Thomas, Bishop of Elphin, were staunch upholders of the legitimate Pontiff, as appears from the *Regesta* of Robert of Geneva, and they excommunicated Gregory, Archbishop of Tuam, for not acknowledging Pope Urban VI. As is well known, Urban VI. died at Rome on October 15th, 1389, and had as successor Boniface IX.

One of the earliest appointments made by Pope Boniface IX. was that of Milo Carr, O.S.F., to the See of Clonmacnoise, on the 5th Ides of November, 1389, followed by the provision of another Franciscan, Thomas Horewell [Harwell], to Killala. On December 1st, Alan, Augustinian Prior of St. Michael's Mount, Skellig, diocese of Ardfert, was appointed Papal Chaplain; and on March 2nd, 1390, Patrick, elect of Kilfenora, was provided to that See, vacant by the death of Cornelius.

The obscurity which previously attached to the Deanery of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, from 1388 to 1395, is explained in the Calendar. Henry Bowett, Archdeacon of Lincoln, was Dean in 1388, and resigned on the 4th Ides of January, 1391, in favour of Landulph, Cardinal Deacon of St. Nicholas. In Canon Leeper's *Historical Handbook of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, the following Deanery records appear:—

1390. Henry Bowett *alias* Randulph, a Deacon Cardinal.

1392. William Chambre, Archdeacon of Dublin. The Deanery was sequestrated for many years, while the two last mentioned seem to have had the temporalities, though not duly elected.

'Apart from the error of making Bowett an *alias* for Randulph' (*sic*), William Chambre was never Dean of St. Patrick's. There was a dispute between Dean Bowett and Cardinal Landulph, which was settled through the mediation of Francis de Cappanago, Prior of St. Martin's, Siena, Papal Nuncio for Ireland. The Deanery was then valued at six hundred marks.

Robert de Wikeford, Archbishop of Dublin, died in August,

1390, and on November 14th, Pope Boniface IX. translated Robert Waldby from Aire in Gascony to the Irish metropolis. Archbishop Waldby came over to Ireland in the summer of 1392 as Chancellor, and was a vigorous defender of the colonists. As a proof of his loyalty, the Calendar gives us a *précis* of the Papal Nuncio's complaint against him, detailing that when Dr. de Cappanago arrived in Dublin, Archbishop Waldby made him take an oath not only to be faithful to King Richard, but 'to oppose and reveal to the King and Council anything against the fealty of the King and Crown,' on July 15th, 1393. The Nuncio returned to Rome early in 1394, and, having been absolved by the Pope from the oath of fealty, was again sent to Ireland as Nuncio, with more extended powers.

There are a few entries regarding the Irish monastery of 'St. James of the Scots, without the walls, Wurtzburg,' and the Irish monastery, Vienna, of which a certain Donald had been Abbot, in 1388. Henry was abbot of St. Mary of the Scots, Vienna, in 1393, and on the 4th Ides of April, 1395, Pope Boniface IX. issued a mandate to the Bishop of Freisingen 'to collate and assign to Patrick O'Hickey, monk of the said Abbey, the conventual Priory (value twenty-six marks of pure silver) of St. Peter without the walls, Ratisbon, dependent on the Scots monastery at Ratisbon, and accustomed to be served by the monks thereof, being of the Scots [Irish] nation.' Four years later, namely, on September 1st, 1399, an Irish monk of St. Mary's, Vienna, was raised to the dignity of Papal Chaplain. There is no mistaking the nationality of the Benedictine priest thus honoured, whose name appears in the *Regesta* as 'Thatco Ocuynn,' that is, Thady O'Quinn.

Robert of Geneva (Clement VII.) died at Avignon on September 16th, 1394, but there are no entries from his *Regesta* later than the year 1388. Unfortunately, his death did not end the schism, and we find that on October 11th, 1394, Peter de Luna was consecrated anti-Pope, under the title of Benedict XIII., who ruled till 1415, and died in 1424.

An entry under date of 8 Id. October, 1393, supplies the episcopal succession in the See of Kilmacduagh from 1358. Nicholas, Dean of Kilmacduagh, ruled from 1358 to 1370—

after which the see was vacant for almost twenty-three years, owing to irregular elections. In Dr. Fahy's admirable *History of the Diocese of Kilmacduagh* we read: 'A.D. 1395. Gregory Ileyan died. He was a Dominican.' From the *Regesta* of Pope Boniface IX it is certain that in October, 1393, Gregory, Dean of Kilmacduagh and Vicar of Ardrahan, was provided to the See of Kilmacduagh, and was consecrated as such in November. On the 16th of November of same year the Pope reserved to Denis O'Doyle [Odubgilla] the Deanery of Kilmacduagh, value thirty-three florins, the mandate being directed to the newly-consecrated Bishop, the Abbot of St. Augustine's De Petra, Kilmacduagh, and the Bishop of Clonfert—William O'Gorman—who had been translated from Tuam to Clonfert by exchange with Bishop Maurice O'Kelly. As Gregory, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, had neglected to have the letters of his provision expedited and lodged in the chancery within a year, fresh provision of the See was made for him on September 3rd, 1396.

Cardinal Landulph held the Deanery of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, from 1391 to 1395, but as he was so seriously impeded by Thomas de Verdon, Chancellor of Ireland, and denuded of his fruits to the extent of four thousand gold ducats and more, he resigned the position on the 8th of the Ides of September, 1395. This Thomas Verdon, who was Canon and Vicar-General, secure in the friendship of King Richard II., usurped the Deanery after the resignation of Cardinal Landulph. The English monarch also, in October, 1395, got the Pope to sanction the translation of Archbishop Waldby from Dublin to Chichester, 'quia major pontificatus in seculari substantia minor erat,' whence, on October 6th, 1396, he was promoted to the archbishopric of York.

Under date of February 19th, 1396, there is a striking example of pluralism in the Irish Church, in the person of John Reade, who was Canon of Limerick, Archdeacon of Cork, Dean of Waterford, Canon of Cashel, Canon of Waterford, Ferns, and Lismore, and Rector of Creslow, in the diocese of Lincoln.

As to the editing of the present volume by Mr. W. H. Bliss

and Mr. J. A. Twenlow, B.A., it is a distinct advance on the three previous volumes, but the Irish portion leaves much to be desired. Some of the Irish place-names are utterly wrong, whilst no serious attempt is made to deal with many of the personal names. For instance, 'Dampnach, in the diocese of Armagh,' is identified as 'Donagh, Co. Monaghan, or Donoughmore, Co. Tyrone,' whereas it is evidently meant for 'Tynan.' 'Villa Regum,' is equated as 'Kingstown,' instead of Athenry, Co. Galway. The Bishop of Ferns is called 'Done,'—ignoring his real name 'Denn.' 'Gilbert *alias* Comedius,' is an attempt to write 'Giolla in Comded' the name of Bishop Mac Brady of Ardagh. 'MacCamaill' should be 'MacCaghwell'; 'Wassr' is clearly a clerical error for 'Wafer'; 'Machengan' is 'MacGeoghegan'; 'O'Dea' should be 'Denn'; 'Odrochyn' is 'O'Drohan,' not 'O'Drugain'; 'Ofeargayl' is 'O'Ferrall'; 'Ohmayr' is 'O'Meara'; 'Oluchan' is 'O'Loughran'; 'Kynndow' is 'Rindown,' Co. Roscommon; 'Ylannagy' is 'O'Flanagan,' etc. All the same, students of Irish ecclesiastical history will find many varied topics of absorbing interest in the Calendar under notice.

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

A STUDENT'S LIFE IN ROME

I DO not intend to speak of that part of a student's life which is spent in the halls of the Gregorian or the Propaganda. The studies are pretty much as in all other colleges. The *Summa* of St. Thomas is the authorised text, and whether he is interpreted by Satolli or by Billot, it means the same thing in the end. This paper is rather concerned with the special features of life in a Roman college, with the environment, with the opportunities and the encouragements to strive towards self-culture which are proper to Rome.

In the ordinary course of events a student goes to Rome to begin his course of Rhetoric or Philosophy. He has gone through the grades of the Intermediate, or through a course of studies in some preparatory college. He has a fair knowledge of Latin and Greek, and a smattering of History. He is tolerably well prepared to appreciate the 'Eternal City.'

The free days in Roman schools are frequent, and on these the young student will be able to visit the ruins, the churches, and the galleries of the city. Again and again he will find himself among the arches of the Colosseum or in the Roman Forum. He will learn to know every altar and every monument in the great Basilicas. The faces of the Emperors in the Capitol Gallery, the matchless marble beauty of the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Laocoon*, the *Moses* of Michael Angelo, will all become familiar to him. Repeated visits will leave every detail of Raffaele's *Transfiguration*, Claude Lorraine's *Mill*, and Volterra's *Descent from the Cross* indelibly impressed on his memory. He will be drawn on to read about the ruins and the works of art he so frequently meets in his walks. Roman history will come to have a new meaning for him with the scenes where it was enacted before his eyes. Virgil, and Horace, and Catullus, all of whom he found tiresome enough in his earlier years, will be taken up again and read with delight and genuine interest. So also he will pass from the works of the great artists to the study of their lives. Almost without effort he will grow conversant with the fortunes of

Raffaello and Michael Angelo, of Giotto and Bramante. He will read Vasari, or Lanzi, or Kugler, and will have an interest in tracing the rise and development of the different schools of Italian painting.

He must learn to speak Italian. In his college there will be somebody capable of teaching it and of awakening in the student a love of the literature. He cannot escape reading *I Promessi Sposi* or *Le Mie Prigioni*; and when he has gone through them, in all likelihood he will be eager to read more. He will take up *La Divina Commedia*, though alas! it is probable he will not persevere long enough to conquer the difficulties of Dante, and to be caught by the charm and the grandeur of his musical verse. Many begin bravely, but few have the patience and earnestness to go through to the end of *Il Paradiso*. Even though he is so unfortunate as to neglect the great Florentine, 'l'altissimo poeta,' his knowledge of Italian will be every day increasing, and he will come to know a great deal about Italian writers, from Petrarca down to Carducci or Cavallotti. He will know their position in the people's estimation, and at the very least will be able to tell what they wrote and what their work is worth. And if the genius of the great masters of Italian song does not appeal to him, he can hardly help reading much of the writings of their inferior successors. Leopardi, Parini, Monti, Alfieri, D'Azeglio and De Amicis are names he will meet wherever he turns, and if only through sheer shame, he must read them to some extent.

Every day he will be in contact with students of different nationalities. He will meet Americans from New York or Boston, Frenchmen from Provence or Brittany, Bohemians, Poles, Armenians, Chaldeans, Maronites and even Chinese. They will talk freely of their country and its customs. They will be glad to learn English and to teach their own language to others. Looking back now there is nothing I so much regret as the opportunities for learning languages I threw away. A student in Rome can learn almost any language in the world with very little trouble. As an instance of the multitude of languages spoken in the Propaganda alone, I may mention that I once was present there at a Polyglot Academy,

and in thirty-seven distinct languages and dialects the students read pieces of prose or verse on the Magi at the Crib.

Occasionally the student will go down to the Catacombs, and will see for himself the tombs and the chapels of the early Christians. He will see the rude inscriptions of the second and third centuries, with their uncouth Latin and their vivid expressions of the Faith of our Fathers; he will see the symbolical representations of Christ under the form of the fish, or the shepherd bearing home the lost sheep. These visits will prepare him for the study of sacred Archaeology, a subject which forms a part of the curriculum in nearly all the Roman schools. And with the Catacombs may be mentioned the ancient churches of Rome, St. Praxedes, St. Sabina's, St. Pudentiana's, and many others which stand like beacons marking the progress of our Faith from century to century.

The cardinals may frequently be seen about the city, on their way to the sessions of their congregations or taking their evening walk on the Via Nomentana or the Via Salaria. The daily papers will tell of the arrival of Bishops from the remotest corners of the world and of their audiences with the Holy Father. And even little things like these will bring the student to a right conception of the greatness and universality of the Church.

He will see the Pope very often. In the halls of the Vatican he will see him passing towards the Sistine chapel, in St. Peter's he will see him on the anniversary of his coronation or amid the pomp and magnificence of a canonization. And when he has finished his course of studies and has received the sacerdotal power from the ordaining Bishop in the apse of San Giovanni, he will kneel at the feet of Christ's Vicar and will hear from his lips words of blessing and encouragement which will sustain him all the years of his life. I know it is conceivable that a student may come home from Rome little improved by such surroundings, but if he does it will be his own fault and his own misfortune. As Goethe says, the clearest print is illegible in the dark; and that many have eyes and see not is only too evident. But if one is awake to the realities of life and anxious to make the most of his talents, Rome is more apt to improve him than any other

place in the world. 'Eine Welt gar bist Du, O Rom!' sang the great sage of Weimar, and verily if Rome is not a world, it is the most cosmopolitan of cities, a city wherein one cannot help being educated.

A Roman student rarely returns home for his vacation. In the neighbourhood of the city each college has a villa whither all the students retire from July to the end of October. Very pleasantly the long summer days go by during these months of 'villeggiatura.' The Irish students go to Tivoli. They pass the morning walking among the shady olive groves or by the grand cascades of the Anio. About noon the sun beats so fiercely that it becomes unpleasant out of doors, and the mid day hours are spent reading or playing chess or billiards. In the cool of the evening all go out again, and many go high up among the hills to get a good view of the sun setting behind the cupola of St. Peter's. The broad waste of the Campagna, the purple tints of the Alban Hills, and the glorious, unclouded sunset behind Rome, form a scene of unparalleled beauty. I often recall it now, often, too, the old friends and the old days in Tivoli, and many things which made Rome a second fatherland and caused us to leave her with deep regret and certainty of future *Heimweh* for the 'Eternal City.'

The idea of the vacation in Tivoli seems hard at first to the young student. But as far as my experience goes there is less homesickness in life there than in a college in Ireland, where but a few hours' journey separate us from our friends, whom we see once or twice every year. There one learns to know more intimately the life of the Italian people. And the long walks and occasional excursions beget a love for the wild hills, and the green vineyards, and the quaint old world towns of Italy, which lasts as long as life itself.

Rarely a student goes home without seeing Naples. Capri, Sorrento, Castellamare, and all that lovely coast between the blue waters and the smoke-capped Vesuvius, that blending of the terrible and the beautiful, which, as Jean Paul says, makes Italy like a great epic, will never leave his memory. From Tivoli he will have visited Subiaco, where Benedict and his disciples laid the foundations of the monastic life in the West,

If he has learned to love Dante he will linger as long as he can at Florence, that dear old city which still retains much of its old charm, and which is so full of memories of the great poet who, owing to the persecutions of his own fellow-citizens, was experiencing in Ravenna how bitter is the bread of charity, and how hard a path are the steps of a stranger's stairs—'Com' è duro calle la scala altrui.' He will see the dome of Brunelleschi, and the belfry of Giotto, and the unspeakable treasures of the Uffizzi and the Pitti galleries, Santa Croce, and San Marco, and the green hills and rapid streams of Casentino, the recollection of which was ever with Maestro Adamo in the *Inferno*.

Anyone can see what opportunities for culture half a dozen years amid such surroundings afford. The pity is that in these years, the seed-time of life, boys are too prone to neglect such advantages. Many come to see what they have lost when it is too late, when the 'Eternal City' is far away and our life there gone 'in the dusk of down-gone days.'

J. KELLY, PH.D.

DOCUMENTS

LAST POEM OF POPE LEO XIII.

NOCTURNA INGEMISCENTIS ANIMÆ MEDITATIO

Fatalis ruit hora, Leo, jam tempus abire est
 Pro vestique viam carpere perpetuam.
 Quæ te sors maneat? Cælum sperare jubebant,
 Largus contulerat quæ tibi dona Deus.
 At summæ claves immenso pondere munus,
 Tot tibi gestum annos hæc meditare gemens.
 Qui namque in populis excelso præstat honore.
 Hei! misero pænas acrius inde luet.
 Hæc inter trepida dulcis succurrit imago.
 Dulcior atque animo vox sonat alloqui.
 Quid te tanta premit formido? Evique peracti.
 Quid seriem repetens tristitia corde foves?
 Christus adest miserens humili veniamque roganti.
 Erratum ah! fides eluet omne tibi.

PROLONGATION OF THE PRIVILEGE OF THE CRUSADES
 IN SPAIN

LITTERATA PROROGATIO PRIVILEGII SANCTÆ BULLÆ CRUCIATÆ PRO
 DITIONE HISPANICA

*Dilecto in Christo Filio Nostro, Alphonso XIII
 Hispaniarum Regi Catholico*

LEO PP. XIII.

Charissime in Christo Fili Noster, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Dum infidelium furor catholicos Principes et populos continuis bellis agitare ac variis Europæ regionibus ipsique Italiae extremum discrimen cum animarum perniciæ minaretur, ad tantum periculum prohibendum Philippus II. Hispaniarum Rex Catholicus, ab hac S. Sede Apostolicas literas accepit quibus plures gratias favoresque tum spirituales tum temporales ad certum annorum intervallum tribuebantur iis ex Hispanica ditione fidelibus qui ad praelia contra infideles

proficiscerentur aut militares illas expeditiones peculiari ope aut contributo in expensas necessaria pecuniae summa juvarent. Quod quidem Indultum nonnullis additis seu declaratis saepius a Roamnis deinceps Pontificius Decessoribus Nostreis ac semel atque iterum prorogatum fuit nulla licet urgente contra infideles praeliandi necessitate, eo tamen consilio ut eleemosynae ex concessionibus in Indulto comprehensis collectae ad pios usus erogarentur. Porro in solemnibus de Ecclesiasticis negotiis conventionibus quae cum Hispaniarum Regina Catholica, die XVI Martii, anno MDCCCLII, inita similibus litteris Apostolicis nonis Septembris eiusdem anni confirmata fuit, articulo XL cautum est ut, in posterum in ditione Hispanica, Ordinarii Praesules Bullae Cruciatæ proventus in sua quisque Dioecesi administret ad eos usus erogandos iuxta normam in ultima prorogatione Apostolici indulti praescriptam, salvis obligationibus quibus iidem proventus, vi conventionum cum S. Sede initarum, obnoxii sunt; in conventionibus autem additionalibus inita die XXV Augusti anno MDCCCLIX expresse cautum fuit ut in posterum Bullae Cruciatæ proventus omnes, salva eorundem parte S. Sedi ut superius debita, in expensas divini cultus exclusive impendi debeant. Quod vero attinet ad Apostolicas facultates adnexas officio Commissarii Generalis Bullae Cruciatæ et consequentes attributiones in eodem solemnibus Conventionibus articulo XI statutum fuit ut illae per Archiepiscopum Toletanum ex amplitudine et forma exercentur quas S. Sedes praefiniverit. Iam vero cum memoratae Bullae Cruciatæ Indultum novissime a Nobis prorogatum prima S. Adventus Dominica proxima praesentis anni MDCCCII finem sit habiturum, per tuum apud S. Sedem oratorem Catholicae Maiestatis tuae nomine preces Nobis sunt exhibitae ut illud denuo de Apostolica Nostra auctoritate prorogare velimus. Nos igitur considerantes proventus qui ex eodem indulto colligendi sunt in expensas divini cultus fore insumendos, et in levamen Hispanicarum Ecclesiarum quae ex praeterita temporum acerbitate tot tantisque detrimentis afflictæ sunt: desideriis tuis, quantum in Domino possumus, obsecundare decrevimus. Quare Apostolica Nostra auctoritate, tenore praesentium litterarum ad duodecim annos tantum qui a prima S. Adventus Dominica proximi futuri anni effluere incipient, concedimus et indulgemus ut christifideles utriusque sexus in Regno Hispaniarum et in insulis aliisque locis etiam ultramarinis civili ditioni Maiestatis tuae subditis commorantes, vel ad regnum insulas et loca eadem

divertentes, qui intra annum a consuetis publicationibus harum earundem litterarum de more computandum, sponte contulerint eleemosynam ab Archiepiscopo Toletano in officium Commissarii Generalis subrogato et harum litterarum executori pro vario eorundem christifidelium gradu et conditione taxatam et in supradictos pios usus erogandam, gratis favoribus et privilegiis frui possint quae nunc declarabimus. De hisce vero ab executeore praedicto summarium conficiendum erit quod unusquisque ex commemoratis christifidelibus accipere debebit ut privilegiis, favoribus gratisque perfrui queat. I. Ac primum quidem iisdem christifidelibus omnibus et singulis qui vere poenitentes peccata sua intra annum praedictum confessi fuerint et SSimum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum devote susceperint, aut si non valeant haec Sacramenta suscipere, id saltem corde contrito desiderent, Plenariam omnium et singulorum peccatorum indulgentiam et remissionem, quae proficiscentibus ad recuperationem Terrae Sanctae concedi solet, tribuimus ac largimur. Eos tamen qui peccata sua confiteri non possint, et si id contrito corde desiderent, supradicta Plenaria indulgentia tunc solum frui posse statuimus, si alias intra praescriptum cuique fidei ab Ecclesia tempus confessi sint neque in huius Nostrae concessionis confidentiam praeceptum illud explere neglexerint. Item eadem indulgentia suffragabitur per modum suffragii etiam animabus defunctorum pro quibus christifideles eleemosynam de bonis suis ab Archiepiscopo Toletano taxandam et in supradictos pios usus erogandam contulerint. II. Insuper omnibus et singulis christifidelibus praedictis ut ipsi, dicto anno durante, possint in Ecclesiis in quibus alias divina officia interdicto durante quomodolibet celebrare permissum fuerit, vel in privato oratorio ad divinum cultum tantum deputato, ab Ordinario visitando et designando, etiam tempore interdicti cui ipsi causam non dederint vel per eos non steterit quominus admoveatur, et illi qui facultatem ad id ab harum litterarum executeore alias habuerunt, etiam per horam antequam illucescat dies et per horam post meridiem, in sua et familiarium ac domesticorum et consanguineorum suorum praesentia, missas aliaque divina officia per se ipsos, si presbyteri sint, vel per alium celebrari facere ac tempore interdicti illis interesse, clausis ianuis et non pulsatis campanis, et excommunicati et specialiter interdictis exclusis, ita tamen ut si privato oratorio ad praemissa uti voluerint quoties id fecerint aliquas preces Deo pro exaltatione S. Matris Ecclesiae, propagatione Catholicac fidei, pace ac con-

cordia Christianorum Principum, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione fundere teneantur, nec non durante huiusmodi interdicto Eucharistiam et alia Sacramenta in dictis Ecclesiis vel oratorio, praeterquam in die Paschatis, recipere ipsorumque christifidelium tempore interdicti huiusmodi decedentium corpora, nisi forte excommunicationi vinculo innodati decesserint, cum moderata funerali pompa sepelire valeant.—III. Insuper ut intra limites tantum Hispanicae ditionis, non autem in aliis locis, iisdem christifideles prae dicto perdurante anno tam quadragesimalibus quam ceteris eius anni diebus quibus usus carnum, ovorum et lacticiniorum prohibitus est, iisdem ovis et lacticiniis atque etiam carnibus de utriusque tamen medici consilio, si necessitas vel infirma corporis valetudo aut alia quaecumque indigentia exegerit, uti et vesci, servata scilicet in reliquis ieiunii lege, libere ac licite valeant, Apostolica pariter auctoritate concedimus et indulgemus. Verum ad quadragesimale tempus quod attinet ab hoc indulto exceptos volumus Patriarchas, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Praesulesque inferiores, nec non regulares Ecclesiasticos Ordinum non militarium et Presbyteros saeculares qui ad sexaginta annorum aetatem non pervenerint.—IV. Item iisdem christifidelibus, dicto durante anno, quoties extra dies ieiunio consecratos voluntarie ieiunaverint, aut a ieiunio legitime impediti, pium aliud opus sibi a Parocho vel Confessario praescribendum peregerint et pro exaltatione S. Matris Ecclesiae, propagatione Catholicae fidei, pace ac concordia Christianorum Principum, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, pias Deo preces obtulerint, quindecim annos et totidem quadragenas indulgentiae et remissionis, dummodo saltem contriti sint, misericorditer in Domino tribuimus, eosdemque participatione donamus orationum, eleemosynarum aliorumque piorum operum quae, ipso illo die quo ieiunaverint, in tota militante Ecclesia peragantur. — V. Praeterea christifidelibus ipsis, dicto anno durante, in singulis diebus stationum Almae Urbis Nostrae quinque Ecclesias seu altaria aut in illorum defectum quinquies unum et idem altare, Monialibus vero cuiusvis Ordinis et Instituti regularis ac mulieribus et puellis in quibusvis Monasteriis seu Conservatoriis degentibus, si forte Ecclesias non habuerint, Cappellas ab Ecclesiasticis viris earum legitimis superioribus designandas respective devote visitantibus, et in eis pias ad Deum preces ad praedictos fines effundentibus, omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones et poenitentiarum relaxationes alias Ecclesiis tam intra

quam extra moenia memoratae Almae Urbis Nostrae ad quas Stationes fixae existunt concessas, eadem Apostolica Nostra auctoritate misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Immo diebus in quibus etiam pro Stationibus Urbis partialis tantum data est, concedimus ut memorati Christifideles vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione relecti supra memoratam visitationem peragentes, Plenariam indulgentiam omnium peccatorum suorum et remissionem unica tamen vice, singulis praefatis diebus, lucrare valeant. Omnes autem et singulas indulgentias quae in hisce Apostolicis litteris conceduntur, animabus christifidelium, quae Deo in charitate coniunctae ab hac luce migraverint, applicabiles decernimus et declaramus.—VI. Iam ut fideles praedicti sanctis indulgentiis facilius frui queant concedimus ut ipsi bis, hoc est, semel in vita et semel in mortis articulo, valeant sibi eligere presbyterum saecularem aut regularem, qui sit confessarius per Ordinarium approbatus, atque ab eo in foro conscientiae a quibuscumque peccatis et censuris cuique Ordinario atque etiam Apostolicae Sedi reservatis, excepto haeresis crimine et quoad ecclesiasticos excepta etiam censura de qua in Constitutione Benedicti PP. XIV. 'Sacramentum poenitentiae,' absolvi possint, imposita semper poenitentia salutari aliisque iniunctis quae de iure iniungenda sunt. Insuper ut vota simplicia per christifideles ipsos emissa, excepto tamen ultramarino castitatis et religionis, ab eodem confessario in aliis pia opera, ac adiunctum his subsidium aliquod executori harum litterarum supradictos pios fines transmittendum, commutari possint, Apostolica pariter auctoritate indulgemus.—VII. Ad haec ut iidem christifideles non tamen semel, sed bis, singulo ab harum litterarum publicatione anno, supradictam eleemosynam conferre, harum gratiarum summarium sumere atque hinc tam pro se, quam per modum suffragii pro animabus in purgatorio detentis, indulgentias, concessionem et indulta praedicta consequi, eisque, infra eundem annum, bis, ut praefertur, uti et potiri addictorum bonorum spiritualium participes fieri valeant, pariter in Domino concedimus.—VIII. Uterius eidem harum litterarum executori potestatem facimus ut super irregularitate cum his qui ecclesiasticis censuris ligati missas et alia divina officia, non tamen in contemptum clavium, celebraverint aut alias se divinis immiscuerint, et super alia qualibet irregularitate ex delicto proveniente dummodo quis in irregularitate huiusmodi per sex menses non insorduerit, et exceptis semper irregularitatibus ex homicidio aut simonia, vel apostasia a fide aut haeresi vel a

mala ordinum susceptione vel ex alio delicto scandalum in populum generante provenientibus dispensare valeat, imposita dispensatis congrua eleemosyna in supradictos pios huius Nostrae concessionis fines impendenda, aliisque iniunctis quae de iure iniungenda sunt. Itemque ut exceptis dignitatibus cuiusvis generis et Cathedralium aut maiorum ecclesiarum Canonicatibus, nec non beneficiis curam animarum adnexam habentibus, convalidare possit titulos aliorum beneficiorum sub huiusmodi irregularitateceptorum, et super fructibus ex illis interea perceptis compositionem decernere in eosdem pios fines erogandam.—IX. Eidem facultatem tribuimus permittendi personis nobilibus aut qualificatis ut missas, per horam ante lucem ac per horam post meridiem, per se ipsos, si presbyteri sint, celebrare, vel per alium ipsis praesentibus celebrari facere valeant.—X. Insuper ut ecclesiasticos viros qui ad restitutionem fructuum beneficiorum simplicium tantum, quae adnexam non habent animarum curam nec personalem residentiam requirunt, ex omissione recitationis horarum canonicarum tenebantur ad congruam compositionem super iisdem fructibus erogandam pro medietate Ecclesiis vel aliis locis quorum ratione horas praedictas recitare debent et pro altera medietate in supradictos pios fines admittere possit.—XI. Ad haec ut super impedimento occulto affinitatis ex illicita copula provenientis aliqua in eosdem fines eleemosyna iniuncta, dispensare possit cum iis qui matrimonium, altero saltem coniuge in bona fide existente, contraxerint, quo illi matrimonium ipsum, renovato secreto inter se consensu rursus contrahere, ut in eo postmodum remanere licite valeant, atque ut dispensare item valeat ad petendum debitum cum illis qui eiusmodi affinitatem post matrimonium contraxisent.—XII. Eidem quoque executori potestatem facimus ut pro foro conscientiae tantum super iniuste oblati, seu acquisiti, compositionem competentem decernere possit in praedictos pios fines erogandam, dummodo scilicet domini quibus restitutio esset facienda post debitam diligentiam pro iisdem inveniendis adhibitam, reperire non possint, et praestito a debitoribus iuramento de hac diligentia per eos facta, et dummodo iisdem debitores in confidentiam et sub spe huiusmodi compositionis illa non abstu-lerint seu acquisiverint.—XIII. Denique volumus et iubemus ut iuxta memoratae Conventionis articulum XL necnon iuxta alteram additionalem conventionem anno MDCCLIX Ordinarii per Hispanicam ditionem Praesules, in respectiva sua Diocesi, eleemosynas seu proventus administrent in visu huiusmodi Nostrae

concessionis percipiendas, sit ut administratio huiusmodi ecclesiastica porsus sit neque laicae potestati obnoxia, hoc est, a personis exercenda per dictos Ordinarios nominatis. Et quoniam in praecedentibus indultis atque in novissima Cruciatæ concessionem a Leone PP. XII Decessore Nostro decreta, statutum fuerat, ut ex eleemosynis inde collectis certae quaedam summae tum Nostris Patriarchalibus templis Lateranensi et Vaticano, tum Apostolico Nuntio ad catholicum Regem, tum Nostrae Secretariae Brevium statis temporibus solverentur: Nos pariter decernimus ut ex pecuniis ex Nostra hac concessionem colligendis, eadem ipsae summae per dictum Archiepiscopum Toletanum eodem prorsus modo persolvantur. Atque ad praecedentium eorundem decretorum tramites executori eidem mandamus, ut ad solutionem ipsam perficiendam peculiari etiam sponsione rite se obstringat. Item volumus et mandamus ut Archiepiscopus Toletanus summaria typis edenda curet, eaque reliquis Ordinariis iuxta illorum postulationes distribuat. Praeterea Aplica auctoritate concedimus ut idem Archiepiscopus executor, hasce litteras Nostras in vernaculam linguam vertere, illasque et in eis contenta seu compendium in quibuslibet Hispanicae ditionis locis viva voce seu scriptis aut typis impressis exemplis publicare et enunciare, ac tam ipse quam in respectiva sua Diocesi unusquisque Praesul, eleemosynas in pias supradictas causas colligere atque idoneos sibi in eam rem adiutores, necnon depositarios ratiocinatores, aliosque similes officiales, servatis tamen quae in praesentis Bullae seu Cruciatæ executione, ex Sanctae huius Sedis decretis et in utraque Conventionem superius memorata servanda sunt, deputare et cum idoneis facultatibus constituere atque praefatus Archiepiscopus ea omnia, quae faciliore earum litterarum executioni visa fuerint, peragere valeat. Haec omnia et singula concedimus et indulgemus, decernimus ac mandamus, non obstantibus Nostra et Cancellariae Apostolicae regula de non concedendis indulgentiis ad instar, aliisque S. huius Sedis et Conciliorum etiam Generalium Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus, aliisque decretis quacunque forma editis, quibus omnibus et singulis, illis etiam quorum peculiaris et expressa mentio esset habenda, specialiter ad harum Nostrarum litterarum effectum et plenissime derogamus ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus quoque ut harum litterarum exemplis etiam typis impressis manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae alicuius in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis,

eadem porsus adhibeatur fides quae iisdem litteris hoc ipso diplomate ostenso haberetur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die xv Septembris MCMII Pontif. Nostri Anno xxv.

ALOIS. Card. MACCHI.

L. ✠ S.

DECREE OF THE BULL OF THE CRUSADES

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

NOVISSIMAE IN TEXTU BULLAE CRUCIATAE DECLARATIONES

Beatissime Pater :

Cardinalis Cyriacus Maria Sancha et Hervás, Archiepiscopus Toletanus et Patriarcha Indiarum Occidentalium ad pedes S. V. provolutus, qua Commissarius Bullae Cruciatæ in universo Hispaniarum Regno, Sanctitatis Vestrae iudicio nonnullas proposuit immutationes, quas in textus eiusdem Bullae Cruciatæ inducere ipsi opportunum videtur.

Mutationes hae sunt :

1^o. In paragrapho 2^a : Bullae ultimo concessae substituenda videntur verbis '*etiam tempore interdicti*' verba sequentia '*non modo extra tempus interdicti, sed etiam tempore interdicti.*'

Ratio huius mutationis in promptu est, nempe : convenientia finem imponendi theologorum disputationibus, quod sensum et extensionem praedictae periodi, quae certe aliqua laborat obscuritate. Nam alii, cum in hispanicam linguam verbum '*etiam*' vertunt, id significare contendunt '*aun*' et exinde inferunt gratiam concessam, non modo extendi ad tempus interdicti, sed etiam ad tempus in quo tale non est declaratum interdictum. Haec sententia est fere communis, ut videre est in auctoribus qui de hac re tractant, eique favet ipsemet Commissarius Apostolicus Cruciatæ.

Non desunt tamen qui verbum *etiam* pro *igualmente* hispanice vertunt, ut iuxta eorum sensum gratia, de qua agitur, tantummodo applicari deberet in tempore interdicti, et non extra interdictum. Quaestio igitur manet solvenda, et facillime ut arbitramur, solutionem acciperet cum simplici mutatione proposita.

2^o. Item in paragrapho 3^a : periodum '*Verum ad quadragesimale tempus quod attinet ab hoc indulto exceptos volumus,*

etc. ita vel simili modo posset exprimi ' *Verum ad quadragesimale tempus quod attinet ab hoc indulto exceptos volumus Patriarchas...praesulesque inferiores, necnon regulares ecclesiasticos, Ordinum non militarium extra claustra commorantes et presbyteros saeculares qui ad sexaginta annorum aetatem non pervenerint. Sacerdotes vero regulares, intra claustra degentes, exceptos tantum volumus hebdomada maiori praeter Dominicam Palmarum.*'

Huius mutationis motivum resolutio est S. C. S. O. die 31 Ianuarii huius anni data, in qua decum fuit, ad consultationem Emi. Commissarii, sacerdotes saeculares (regulares dicere deberet) intra claustra commorantes, vi Bullae Cruciatuae, ova et lacticinia edere posse, in ieiuniis Quadragesimae, excepta tota hebdomada maiori.

3^o. Demum paragraphus 5^{us} ita redigi oportet, ut soluta sequentio appareant dubia : Utrum Christifideles visitationem altarium repetentes in diebus Stationum Urbis, ultra indulgentiam planariam pro defunctis, aliam pro se valeant lucrari. 'Utrum indulgentiae omnes quae in Bulla conceduntur, applicari semper valeant animabus in Purgatorio degentibus.'

Feria quarta die 7 Maii 1902

In Cong. Gen. feria IV habita ab Emis. ac Revmis. D. D. Card. Gen. Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto supplicii libello, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum S. O. voto, iidem Emi. respondendum censuerunt :

Ad I. Verba ' *etiam tempore interdicti* ' respiciunt solum tempus interdicti ; ideoque interpretatio extensiva indulti extra tempus interdicti sustineri nequit.

Ad II. Satis provisum per decreta S. O. fer. IV. 4 Martii 1891 et fer. IV, 23 Ianuarii 1901.

Ad III. Unicam indulgentiam plenariam concedi in casu. Et supplicandum SSmo. ut benigne decernere ac declarare dignetur omnes et singulas indulgentias in Bulla *Cruciatuae* concessas applicari posse per modum suffragii pro animabus in Purgatorio detentis ; idque expressis verbis dicatur in Bulla.

Et ad mentem : 1. Ut Emo. Card. Oratori iterum transmittatur exemplar decreti editi feria IV, 23 Ianuarii 1901, nec non decreti editi feria IV, 4 Martii 1891 relate ad Bullam *Cruciatuae*. 2. Ut idem Emus tempore opportuno transmittat ad Supremam hanc Congregationem S. O. exemplar authenticum Bullae *Cruciatuae* juxta novam formulam ad quam redigetur.

Insequenti vero feria IV, die 9 eiusdem mensis et anni Sanctissimus D. N. D. Leo Div. Prov. PP. XIII, in solita audientia R. P. D. Assessori S. O. imperitita, habita de omnibus relatione, responsiones Emorum. plene adprobavit, atque ut indulgentiae de quibus sub N. III defunctis applicari queant sucragii ad modum prout ab Emis. fuit propositum, benigne decernere ac declarare dignatus est. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

J. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I, Notus,

REGULARS AND THE BULL OF THE CRUSADES

RESPONSUM QUOAD BULLAM CRUCIATAE IN QUANTUM SPECTAT AD REGULARES

‘ In Congregatione habita feria IV, die 4 curr. mens. (Martii 1901) ad examen vocatis dubiis ab Em. Tua positis, litteris datis die 28 Februarii anni elapsi, circa interpretationem novissimi decreti, huius Supr. Cognis. super Bulla Cruciatæ, Emi. Dni. Cardinales una mecum Inqres Genles decretum ipsum in hunc modum evulgandum mandarunt : *Regulares utriusque sexus, exceptis iis qui voto speciali sunt adstricti, in jejuniis etiam quadragesimæ possunt vi Bullæ Cruciatæ edere carnes, ova et lactinia necnon ova et lactinia cum piscibus in eadem comestione miscere. Presbyteri vero regulares extra claustra commorantes, vulgo exclaustrados, præter Bullam Cruciatæ et Summarium carnis, tenentur Summarium quoque lactiniorum suscipere, ut Presbyteri saeculares. At Regularibus intra claustra degentibus, sive sacerdotes sint sive laic sive moniales, sufficiunt Bulla Cruciatæ et Summarium carnis, nisi sint ex Ordine Minorum S. Francisci, qui nulla bona possident, quibus sufficit Bulla Cruciatæ.*

‘ Precor E. T. summopere curare, ut hoc decretum, apostolica Summi Pontificis auctoritate firmatum, quo primum, possit, publici juris fiat, ejusque jam publicati exemplar ad me transmittatur in Tabulario supremæ Congregationis asservandum.

‘ Interim impensos, etc.’

THE JUS PATRONATUS

TAURINEN.—DISPENSATIONIS QUOAD IUS PRAESENTATIONIS

Remittitur arbitrio et conscientiae Ordinarii, ut, verificatis nonnullis conditionibus, derogari possit in casu dispositionibus testatoris quoad ius passivum praesentationis.

In Ecclesia Collegiata loci—*Savigliano*—Archidioecesis Taurinen.—*morte* titularis Pauli Bessè vacans reddita est praebenda Decanatus. Hoc beneficium est iuri patronatus *obnoxium* ex fundatione cuiusdam Philippi Torretta statuentis in suo testamento a 1823, ius patronatus *activum* favore Capituli Collegiati loci—*Savigliano*—; *passivum* vero, in primis, favore suorum agnatorum et cognatorum sed cum certo ordine. Videlicet primi vocati sunt 1) agnati de familia fundatoris 2) cognati in linea masculina (et hodie deficientibus agnatis, titulo COGNATIONIS ius passivum obtinet familia Bessè); 3) cognati in linea foemina; 4) sacerdotes orti in civitate *Savigliano*.

Equidem ultimus titularis Paulus Bessè, de Ecclesia benemeritus est quippe e faucibus fisci vindicare valuit praebendam canonicalementi uti narrant hodie Carolus Albertus et Angelus Bessè qui enixe adprecantur Sacratissimum Principem ut dignetur indulgere, beneficium hoc conferri cuidam Paulo Bessè annorum 22 at nondum s. ordinibus initiato et hinc non praedito qualitate a fundatore exquisita; utpote qui iussit, beneficium conferri Sacerdoti *celebranti*; eidemque idoneo ut, saltem intra annum, sacras confessiones exciperet.

Vicarius Generalis preces hisce animadversionibus commendabat:

‘Che l’aspirante Paolo Bessè, dell’età di anni 22 è studente del *secondo* anno di teologia e dimora a Busalla, Archidiocesi di Geneva, frequentando come esterno gli studi in Seminario e vestendo senz’abito talare secondo l’uso del luogo. Il suo Arcivescovo lo dice *buono*, *ma di poco ingegno e di poca salute*, nè è cosa sicura che gli sia conferita la tonsura per l’epoca accennata nel ricorso.

‘Che il canonico Bessè, teste defunto (qualunque sia stata la somma da lui spesa per la rivendicazione del beneficio dalle mani del governo, che l’aveva illegalmente soppresso) ha lodevolmente agito pel bene della Chiesa da bravo beneficiato e potè godere ancora a lungo il frutto delle sue cure.

‘Che il Capitolo della Collegiata da Noi esortato a differire

anche oltre il mese (come sarebbe volontà del testatore) la presentazione del soggetto annui benevolmente, desiderandosi da tutti le direzioni della S. Sede per procedere prudentemente in un affare a cui si è dato molta importanza.'

Ast ipsam mentem Emi Archiepiscopi cognoscere peropportunum esse duxi; quamobrem ei litteras dedi quibus Ipse reposuit *die 19 Iulii 1902* '... non ho in verità nulla da aggiungere. — Osserverei, poichè ne ho l'occasione, che qualora fosse esaudita la domanda, sarebbe risparmiato alla Collegiata di Savigliano ogni pericolo di noie per parte dei Signori Oratori, ma non intendo con ciò far pesare la bilancia più da una parte che dall'altra e mi rimetto pien amente alla sapienza deli Emi. Padri.

Re sane vera *negotium est gratiosum* et pendet a benigna E.E. PP. dispensatione quam concedent iuveni Paulo Bessè si derogent voluntati testatoris praescribentis, instituendum esse in beneficio clericum iam Sacerdotio initiatum eundemque idoneum, saltem infra annum a sussepto canonicatu, confessionibus excipiendis. — Facta enim hac derogatione, Capitulum invenit in ipsa familia cui spectat ius patronatus *passivum*, personam hoc iure *passivo* fruientem.

Ceterum ista requisita veluti *extrinseca* a testatore praescripta non comprehendunt neque supplere valent alia requisita *intrinseca* nempe moralia ex ipso iure *scripto* et *naturali* penitus necessaria, videlicet illas animi dotes naturales aut acquisitas vel divina largitate concessas, quibus praestare debet sacerdos ut, pro suo officio, utile gerat et commendabile ministerium. — Sane quamvis ab H. S. O. concedatur dispensatio quoad requisita *extrinseca*, nihilominus orator non obtinet *praesentationis actum* nisi Capitulum, per deliberationem capitularem, illum praesentet Ordinario pro *institutione*. Atqui Capitulares ius habent et onus perpendendi etiam requisita *intrinseca* cuicumque canonico necessaria. — De hisce requisitis autem Vicarius Generalis nobis refert: 'Il suo Arcivescovo lo dice *buono ma di poco ingegno e di poca salute* ne è cosa sicura che gli sia conferita la tonsura per l'epoca accennata nel ricorso.' Verumtamen si forte tonsura adhuc iuveni Paulo Bessè collata non fuisset, res modo esse non posset de praesentatione et institutione quae uti exploratissimi iuris est non competunt nisi clerico: beneficia enim ecclesiastica nisi a clerico obtineri non possunt.

Praeterea quum advertat idem Vicarius Generalis, *negotium*, in praesentiarum, versari — cui si è data molta importanza —

et innuat ipse Emus Archiepiscopus ; ' *qualora fosse esaudita la domanda sarebbe risparmiata alla Collegiata di Savigliano ogni pericolo di noie per parte dei Signori Oratori* ' inde patet, ipsum desiderium perpinguis praebendae non parum commovere animos et excitare studium ex utraque parte ; quippe ipsi capitulares perspecte intelligunt, locupletem praebendam, ex ipsa fundatoris *praesumpta* voluntate, ei concedendam esse, qui fructus non exiguos sacri ministerii rependere valeat.

Quare etc.

Responsum fuit : *Arthurio et prudentiae Emi Archiepiscopi, et ad mentem.*

A DOUBLE BENEFICE

PRATEN. ET S. MINIATIS. DISPENSATIONIS AB INCOMPATIBILITATE BENEFICII

Denegatur petita facultas cumulandi duo beneficia in casu.

Cum vacasset per mortem sui rectoris Ecclesia Plebalis loci *Cerreto-Guidi* dioecesis S. Miniatis subiecta iuri patronatus *activo* Capituli Cathedralis Pratensis, petiit et obtinuit Arthurus Ciardi Canonicus Cathedralis Pratensis ut in beneficio plebali ipse institueretur, legitima cum venia sui Ordinarii. — Quare idem canonicus Ciardi hodie petit a Beatissimo Patre sibi facultatem concedi detinendi, una cum beneficio plebali, canonicatum iampridem possessum, imo refert hac de causa se petiisse beneficium parochiale quippe praebenda canonicalis hodie vix pertingit ad centum et viginti libellas (Lire 120), cui onus inest viginti septem (27) Missarum. — Praeterea recolit, hanc tenuissimam dotem canonicatus gravi in periculo versari si, ob eius renunciationem, redeat ad manus patronorum *laicorum* quorum unus cum pene ad egestatem redactus sit et aere alieno gravatus, dos beneficii facile in manus recideret creditorum. Denique memorat, quandam controversiam haberi capitulum inter et Ecclesiam Plebalem, agitatam apud H. S. O. mense Septembri a. 1801, eandemque modo per appellationis instantiam, adhuc sub sub iudice manentem ; quamobrem opportunum est ut canonicus in isto beneficio instituitur. — Preces ita concludit orator. ' Per queste ragioni l' oratore domanda di ritenere il canonicato e di essere dispensato dal coro, essendo di ciò contento il capitolo stesso, intervenendo al coro n. 19 canonici e 11 cappellani. L' oratore poi affinché per la sua assenza nessuno dei Canonici rimanga onerato dell' ebdomada di cantare, dichiara di essere

pronto ad incaricare a proprie spese uno dei canonici ad adempiere ad un tale obbligo.'

Die 10 Iulii 1902 Capitulum Praten. in legitimo conventu unanimi suffragio consensum dedit '*perchè la Sacra Congregazione conceda al pre nominato Sig. Canon. l'esenzione dalla residenza e dal coro con obbligo di soddisfare per mezzo di un collega all' ebdomada di cantare.*'

Episcopus de sua sententia perquisitus haec retulit. 'Richesto di porgere schiarimenti del perchè alla Pieve di Cerreto-Guidi sia stato nominato un Canonico, rispondo che la nomina venne dal Reverendissimo Capitolo di Prato che è il patrono di quella Chiesa. Ci fu scritto e detto che i Capitolari di Prato facevano pratiche per ottenere al Ciardi Canonico, nominato alla Pieve, la grazia e che avrebbero allegate buone e salde ragioni.

'Per noi il Ciardi è l'uomo atto a rialzare il prestigio un po' scaduto della prefata Pieve e il popolo di Cerreto lo attende come una benedizione. Speriamo adunque che il privilegio sia concesso.'

Modo, pro meo munere, advertam dignam esse quae maxime perpendatur ratio quae ita exponitur ab oratore. 'Esistendo alcune questioni tra Pieve e Capitolo, tanto l'Ordinario di San Miniato quanto il Capitolo medesimo hanno riconosciuto vantaggioso che di quel beneficio ne sia investito un patrono.' Sane haec quaestio adhuc viget, quia die 7 Sept. 1901 Plebanus loci Cerreto-Guidi quaestionem movit Capitulo Praten. patrono, instans ut vectigal — *ricchezza mobile* — impositum a Gubernio super portione congruae lib. 858, nec non super alia praestatione lib. 418,32 a capitulo solutis parochio-plebano ex legitima conventione, (proui exponitur in folio praecitatae causae) sustineretur ab ipso capitulo, ne congrua nimis et praeter canonicam mensuram, extenuaretur. — Et H. S. O. huic proposito dubio: 'An portiones tum lib. 852,60; tum lib. 418,32 sint rependendae a capitulo immunes a quacunque taxa in casu rescripsit: "Affirmative. Capitulum petiit et obtinuit beneficium novae audientiae; et hodie res adhuc sub iudice est; quamobrem lis adhuc viget Capitulum inter et Ecclesiam Plebalem; et si interest Capitulo eique bonum est — hanno riconosciuto vantaggioso — parochum-plebanum fieri unum ex canonicis; at tamen hoc, ex adversa ratione, aequè bonum aestimari non potest ipsi praebendae: siquidem si onus taxae — *ricchezza mobile* — non amplius sustinetur a canonicis, minuitur in per-

petuum praebenda parochialis gravi cum iactura etiam boni spiritualis fidelium.

Itaque ut etiam *externè* salva maneat necessaria distinctio inter *actorem et reum* in iudicio, satius videtur, antea beneficio vacanti constituere *defensorem ex officio*, cuius sit tueri partes praebendae parochialis usque ad definitionem iudicii, qua edita definitione, postea integrum erit Capitulo quem mavult praesentare ad beneficium vacans.

Quare etc.

Emi Patres edixerunt : *Non expedire.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE ROSE AND THE SHEEPSKIN. By Joseph Gordian Daly.
New York: Wm. H. Young and Co., 63 Barclay-street,
\$1.00.

IT is always a pleasure to read a brisk College novel, there are so many things that bring back scenes of joy and sorrow, which we have experienced—for, even of the sorrow 'there's a joy in remembrance.' Yet, we confess to quite a lack of interest in the early chapters of this book—we read it as a duty. But virtue was amply rewarded in the pleasure we experienced in the greater part of what followed. If our interest in the incidents be a criterion of merit, we should rank *The Rose and the Sheepskin* very highly. Many things struck us as unusual, even unnatural, and the connection of events is not good. The treatment is vague, the characters unstable, undefined—we get no clear conception of them. The *good* boys are all too good, and the *bad* boys, of whom we get glimpses, rather too black. We admired the death-scenes; in fact, the author excels at description, though the settings are not always suitable. The style is generally simple and clear—qualifications which are not merited by the *titles* of the chapters.

The conceptions of the writer appear to have been very good, the spirit of the whole is excellent, and in spite of many defects of detail and a certain lack of finish, the impression left by the book is agreeable. It is a book that every student will read with pleasure. It is a good Catholic novel, which may be safely put in the hands of the youngest. Even 'Prefects' may learn a useful lesson concerning the tenor of their ruling.

D. J. O'D.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. An Explanation of its Doctrine, Rubrics, and Prayers. By the Rev. M. Gavin, S.J.
London: Burns and Oates, Ltd. 1903. Price 2s.

WHY are our people in country districts, even those who live in proximity to the church, so seldom present at the Holy Sacrifice on week days? In the smaller towns, too, the congre-

gation scarcely averages a score ; why is it so? This strange neglect, on the part of a people so religious, is accounted for neither by their poverty nor their lack of time, but rather by their ignorance of and want of reflection upon this most sacred and most lovable of Catholic mysteries. We suspect that the fault is not entirely theirs.

The object of Father Gavin's work is ' to increase love for Holy Mass,' by rendering its every prayer and ceremony more intelligible. Whence we should rejoice to see it in the hands of our people, or at least placed within their reach in parochial libraries and their attention called to it, For *all*, it contains useful information and matter for reflection ; even the priest will find it a help to devotion, as well as a fund of useful knowledge for his instructions on the Mass. It is an unvarnished setting forth of everything in or connected with the Mass—from the Vesting to the Last Gospel. The explanations are brief, but interesting and pointed. The Latin text of the prayers and readings, with an English translation, is always followed by a running paraphrase, from which controversy is altogether excluded. The early chapters give a brief account of the Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, its essence, and the consecration of the Altar ; and in the end two chapters are devoted to the peculiarities of the Solemn and Requiem Masses. The book is intended for all classes, it ought to be popular with all.

D. O'D.

MANNA QUOTIDIANA SACERDOTUM. Sive Preces ante et post Missae celebrationem cum brevibus meditationum punctis pro singulis anni diebus. Dr. Jacobus Schmidt, Prelatus et in Eccl. Cath. Friburg. Can. Friburgi: Brigoviae. Sumptibus Herder. MCMIII. (3 vols. IV. ed).

WE very much admire the practical nature of the meditations proposed in Dr. Schmidt's work. The *points* only are given, but they are full—in fact, rather numerous, so that each one can select the point or points which are most suitable for his personal needs. The greater part of the volumes consist of prayers before and after Mass. Special prayers are transcribed, for each day, from Bopper's *Scutum Fidei* : they generally follow the line of thought proposed in the meditation. In the Appendix,

'A Short Method of Meditation, The 'Preparatio ad,' and 'Gratiarum actio post Missam,' ex Missali Romano, and from other sources, besides various indulgenced prayers, are given. Should one prefer a method of reading formal prayers, he will find all these, needless to say, excellent. It is not surprising that this deservedly popular book has already run to the fourth edition.

D. O'D,

THE PENAL LAWS. Dark Pages of English History. By J. R. Willington, M.A. London: Art and Book Co. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

THE task which the author has set himself is, I fear, a difficult one. He would teach the *tolerant, liberty-loving* Englishman that Catholics have not had a monopoly of persecution, even in English history. Besides general statistics from the penal times, he gives accounts of the most remarkable martyrdoms, as well as the several penal enactments of the different reigns, from the time of Henry VIII. till the rigour of Catholic pains and disabilities began to be relaxed towards the end of the eighteenth century. The book is readable and throws many a side-light on the beauty and divinity of that Catholicity which England foreswore at the bidding of sinful rulers. While not laying claim to any original research, it has the merit of giving a pretty full and concise treatment of a dark chapter of history. If it attains not its object, the fault lies not with the author or his case.

D. O'D

THE PILKINGTON HEIR. By Mrs. Sadleir. Price 6s. Benziger.

THIS story by the well-known Catholic writer will be read with interest. The time chosen is a stirring one, near the close of the war for American Independence. But that sharp struggle is only the background of the novel. As the narrative proceeds, we lose sight of the campaign. The scenes presented are from private life, and are graphically depicted. While the plot is by no means a complicated one, the doings of the chief actors are so well balanced, that there is not a dull page in the book. The characters of Mrs. Pilkington and the venerable French priest are particularly well drawn, indeed some of the finer

touches in the delineation could have come only from the pen of a skilled writer and educated Catholic. The book may be put into the hands of the young and innocent, it teaches by example the reward of virtue, and contains remarks full of sound practical wisdom.

J. O'D.

ST. CAJETAN. London: Duckworth and Co.

THE series entitled 'The Saints' has met with general approval owing to the admirable way in which it has been executed. We speak both of the French original and the English translation. The volume now before us contains La Clavière's *Life of S. Cajetan*, translated by M. Herbert, and is sure to be widely read. When he was already a Protonotary and Prelate, Cajetan gave up all chance of further preferment, in order to devote himself entirely to the service of others. From that time his name has been inseparably connected with the church of San Silvestro in Rome, which witnessed the proofs of his ardent charity. The spirit which animated him still lives in the Theatine Order, of which he was the co-founder with Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV., and two other servants of God. St. Cajetan's practice of evangelical poverty, his zeal in preaching the word of God, his tender love of the sick poor were beyond all human praise, and his life cannot be read attentively without producing most beneficial results.

J. O'D.

THE LIFE OF M. XAVIER WARDE. Boston: Marlier and Co.

In this country the Sisters of Mercy are so numerous and the work of their Order is so well known, that an account of its propagation in the great land beyond the Atlantic where millions of Irish Catholics have found a home, will be welcome to many. Needless to say, the same spirit animates the members of the Order everywhere. Yet, in its annals there can, we fancy, be found few, if any, brighter pages than those which record the devoted labours of the gifted nun who went forth from Baggotstreet, Dublin, to establish the convents in the United States. Her love of prayer and her rare prudence enabled her to triumph over every obstacle, and from her life many a lesson may be learned. The book will be a valuable addition to some parochial libraries.

J. O'D.

WREATHS OF SONG. By the Rev. T. J. O'Mahony, D.D., D.C.L., All Hallows College. New York: The Abbey Press, 114, Fifth Avenue.

OUR readers are already acquainted with most of the poems in this collection, and with the essay in the appendix, which appeared in our own pages. We are glad to have them all together in their final shape in one handsome volume. They are the result of years of thought and study, and of the reflection of a man of refined taste, of deep insight into the origin of things, and of all-round philosophical and theological culture. They will be specially welcomed by the generations of students now dispersed over the globe who once sat at Dr. O'Mahony's feet in the philosophical school of All Hallows College, and who look back to him with feelings of affection and gratitude for the inestimable services he rendered them in former days. Indeed we doubt if there be in Ireland anyone devoted to the service of the clergy who has won to a greater extent the hearts of his students. But it is not All Hallows men alone who will with pleasure and profit peruse Dr. O'Mahony's poems. They will be prized and welcomed by a much wider circle. If many of these poems had been written by Robert Browning they would be studied and admired by the public at large. The fact that they have been written by a Catholic priest may not recommend them to Protestants; but we fail to see why it should not recommend them to Catholics, and particularly to the clergy.

J. F. H.

THE VEILED MAJESTY, OR JESUS IN THE EUCHARIST. By Very Rev. W. J. Kelly, V.F. London: R. and T. Washbourne, Ltd.

The Veiled Majesty is a handsome octavo volume of 313 pages, containing a dogmatic treatment of the Blessed Eucharist as a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. It is a class of book one seldom meets with in English. The whole gist of the Catholic theology on the Blessed Eucharist is systematically given in terse and beautiful English, freed from the puzzling technicalities of language of the Latin class book. Christ's promise of the Eucharist, its fulfilment, the teaching of the apostles on the subject, the mind of the Fathers and of the Church generally from the earliest times receive a fulness of treatment that prove the

author a man of deep study and of wide acquaintance with Apostolic and Patristic literature. The style of the book is particularly attractive.

It seems intended for earnest and honest inquirers for the truth; all the chief objections against Catholic teaching are exhaustively dealt with in a way that cannot fail to satisfy a mind fairly open to conviction. We would recommend the work also to those who are already blessed with the gift of faith. It will certainly supply them with reasons for the faith that is in them.

A ROYAL SON AND MOTHER. By the Baroness Pauline Von Hügel. Notre Dame, Ind.: The Ave Maria Loretto Press. Price 75 c.

TRULY noble, religious souls were this royal son and mother. The simple, unadorned narrative of their lives appeals to all that is high and holy in the Christian heart. We only regret that the present work is not a great deal longer; gladly would we learn more of that high-spirited princess who, even when she knew not God, turned in disgust from the brilliant, empty society life, where she was so universally admired and highly appreciated, to devote herself to the less ambitious rôle of domestic duties and the education of her children. Similarly we feel disappointed at not being told more of the generous prince, who freely gave up all earthly possessions and ties to give himself as an humble missionary to the ignorant, uncultured adventurers of the backwoods of America. But it is a good sign to find exception taken to a book for being too short, and in truth the little volume before us, as far as it goes, brings out all that is elevating in the Catholic religion, so we have no hesitation in recommending it to all classes of readers.

J. C. K.

DORIS. A Story of Lourdes. By M. M. London: Art and Book Company.

If we abstract from the fictional names and the few romantic incidents that adorn the story, we shall find *Doris* a simple account of a pilgrimage to Lourdes. Nothing is forgotten—the pilgrim train, with its strange freight of invalids, all so afflicted yet so confident, the piety and mutual charity of the pilgrims, the attention and respect paid to ‘God’s sick’ throughout the

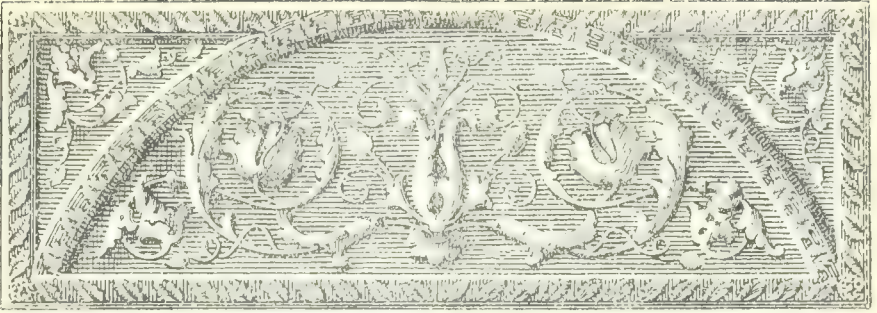
journey, are described with singular clearness. Similarly we realise some of the religious enthusiasm manifested during the three days at Lourdes, the unwavering faith with which the pilgrims pray for health for even the most hopeless of their number, and the whole-hearted fervour of their thanksgiving when their petition has been answered. And finally the return of the pilgrim train is no less interesting and soul-stirring. Many have been bodily cured, and know not how best to show their gratitude, while even those who have not been so favoured experience a profound peace, and feel that now they can bear their affliction with cheerfulness. A pilgrimage to Lourdes should be an experience dear to the heart of every Catholic, and as we cannot all enjoy such a privilege, we should be particularly grateful to 'M. M.' for giving us so detailed and graphic a description of it, thus enabling us to realize to some extent the manifold miracles wrought in that retreat of grace.

J. C. K.

COMFORT FOR THE FAINT-HEARTED. Blossius. Translated from the Latin by Rev. B. A. Wilberforce, O.P. London: Art and Book Co., 22, Paternoster Row. Price, 2s. 6d. net.

THIS book will be a useful guide to spiritual directors, whose special duty it is to encourage the timid, fearful, and scrupulous, because, as the preface has it, 'What ninety-nine out of every hundred—perhaps not excluding the hundredth—want above everything else is encouragement.' It will be a boon to calm the troubled soul in times of doubt, difficulty, or temptation, accomplishing this desirable end by clearing away the cobwebs of misapprehension and ignorance, and building anew on the solid foundations of reason, natural and theological, and common-sense. Its brief, pithy sentences will pierce to the heart and mind with greater effect than a large amount of elegant but obscure writing. As there is scarce a remedy which can 'minister to a mind diseased' that is not found in its pages, we are sure that it will enjoy an immense popularity. The translation is all that could be desired.

D. J. O'D.



SOME AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND RELIGIONS

IN the course of a lucid article in the *Catholic World*, January, 1897, by the eminent Orientalist, Mgr. Charles de Harlez, on 'The Necessity of studying Languages and their Monuments,' after an exhortation to our young students to pursue with ardour studies in philosophy, history, and the natural sciences, we read the following passage :—

But there is a fourth branch of the sciences whose bearing, from a religious point of view, is unhappily not suitably appreciated, nor its action in the world sufficiently recognised. I refer to the science of languages and their monuments, a science too much neglected, and yet one whose importance may not be slighted since these monuments contain that religious history of humanity which is to-day chiefly employed in judging the dogmas and achievements of Christianity.

The learned author is evidently referring not only to studies in Egyptology, Assyriology, Chinese, Coptic, and Syriac—of which he is himself so great a master—but also to other less well-known branches of the same subject, as farther on he says :—

The ancient inhabitants of America, Oceanica, and Africa are summoned, like those of Europe and Asia, to play parts that are never unimportant. Theories concerning the origin of man, the nature of his intelligence, his soul, and the original unity of the human species, are everywhere receiving light from philological monuments.

Hence it may not be inopportune to place before your readers a brief summary, as far as our knowledge at present goes, of the languages and dialects spoken in the countries round the north-western, northern, and north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza, and extending inland for a radius of about three hundred miles. Besides being of some interest to the philologist, it may serve as a basis or guide for future investigation in the same field by those who have time and opportunity at their disposal.

The region known as the Uganda Protectorate has attracted no little attention during the last twenty years. First, after its 'discovery' by Europeans in the reign of King Mutesa (1862), came a series of cruel persecutions of the Christians by his successor King Mwanga; then civil war broke out, followed by the hoisting of the British flag; the flight and capture of King Mwanga and King Kararega; the despatch from England of special commissioners sent out to investigate and arrange matters; the Sudanese mutiny and finally the appointment of the present child-king Daudi Chua. The construction of the Mombasa-Lake Victoria Railway—an immense undertaking not yet quite finished—attracted hundreds of Europeans and others to the soil of British East Africa. American engineers also came over in the service of the American Bridge Company, who by their energy and skill added a good deal to the success of the new railway. It may be allowed me to say, that personally, the present writer feels most grateful to the American bridge-makers and to all those Europeans who helped to construct the railway, because no longer shall we, Missionaries, have to tramp on foot the dreary 800 miles between Mombasa and Uganda's capital, as we had to do in 1895. Whereas it occupied us the four months to travel from London to Kampala, the same journey can now be easily accomplished in less than a month. And as the *bazurgu* (or white men) have already found their way to these inland countries in considerable numbers in the past, it is quite certain that they will come in much larger numbers in the future.

They will come, it may be, in the interest of science, or in the service of our King, or to seek their fortunes in ivory,

rubber, or the gold mines that have yet to be discovered, or God grant, to work for the salvation of souls as foreign missionaries. But in whatever capacity they may come, and if they wish to work in contact with the natives, a knowledge of one or more of the various dialects spoken in the Uganda Protectorate will, undoubtedly, be of the utmost importance for their success. It is therefore, as has been said, in the hope that a brief sketch of what I may call our local dialects may be interesting, and at the same time useful to such future immigrants that the present paper has been compiled.

Every European who lands on the East coast of Africa, between, say, Cape Guardafui and Delagoa Bay, becomes acquainted, more or less, with the language known as 'Kiswahili,' the *lingua franca* of East-Central Africa, Zanzibar, and Pemba. In the interior, however, while Kiswahili is most useful for carrying on intercourse with Arab and Swahili traders, it is but little understood and seldom spoken by the natives who have their own tribal dialects. In many instances these dialects differ from one another almost as much as Gaelic does from German or English from Italian; hence it is no slight task to master even one of them, especially those of the Masai-Nandi groups, with their deep guttural and nasal sounds.

In the following synoptic table an attempt has been made to arrange in groups the principal dialects spoken in the Lake Region, and along the banks of the Upper Nile. The region referred to lies between the fifth degree north latitude and the first degree south latitude; the Laikipia Escarpment on the east (near Kikuyu) and the Congo Free State in the West. The total area thus included is reckoned at about 150,000 square miles, according to the boundaries of 1901, with a population of 3,800,000. In addition to this tentative classification of the dialects under different heads, a comparative vocabulary of some well-known words in thirty-five dialects is given, and also the geographical position of the tribes speaking these dialects is stated as correctly as the exigencies of space permit.

I.—LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE TERRITORIES OF THE
UGANDA PROTECTORATE

BANTU GROUP.—Swahili, Luganda, Lunyoro, Lusoga, Lusesu, Lunyara, Luwanga, Lurimi (Kavirondo), Lukonde (Elgon), Lusokwia, Lugesu and Masaba dialects, Igizii and Lusinga, Lukonjo, Lutoro, Luhima, Kikuyu.

MASAI-TURKANA GROUP.—Masai, Turkana, Ngishu, Sûk, Bari, Karamojo, Teso, S. Karamojo, Elgumi or Wamia, Latuka.

NANDI-LUMBWA GROUP.—Nandi, Lumbwa, Kamásia or El Tuken, Andorobo, Elgony'.

NILOTIC GROUP.—Aluru or Lur, Acholi, Dinka, Shiluk, Dyur, Shangala, Lango or Lukedi, Ja-Luo or Nyifwa.

MADI GROUP.—Madi, Mundu, Logbwari, Avukyaya, Maharka.

WEST AFRICAN GROUP.—Lendu, Lega or Balega.

HAMITIC GROUP.—Somali, Gala.

The mystery of the parentage and the place of origin of the *Bantu* group of languages still remains unsolved—probably it originated like so many other tongues at the Tower of Babel. About 40,000,000 people speak Bantu language. It is spoken, more or less, from the Cameroons on the West to Zanzibar on the East, and from the borders of Somaliland on the North to Cape Colony on the South. It is much more closely inter-related than is the case in any other grouping of African forms of speech, or than are the Aryan languages.

The *Masai-Turkana* group constitute a very loosely knit family of languages, each of which, perhaps, resembles the others slightly more than it approaches dialects outside this grouping.

The *Nandi-Lumbwa* group are merely dialectical variations of one common speech.

The *Nilotic* group are considered to be related to the Masi-Turkana.

The *Madi* and *Lendu* groups have West African affinities faintly allied to Bantu.

The *Hamitic* group are spoken in the Protectorate only by soldiers and traders, but possibly Somaliland may be annexed any day now.

II.—COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY IN VARIOUS DIALECTS

| | God or great spirit | Moon | Woman | Sun | Man | Deaf |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|-----------|-------------|
| 1 Swahili | Mungu | mtu | mwana-muk | dyua | mwezi | shetani |
| 2 Luganda | Katonda | amuntu | nubazi | enjuba | omwezi | masitani |
| 3 Lunyoro | Duhanga | amuntu | mukazi | izoba | okwezi | clubare |
| 4 Lusoga | katonda | muntu | mukazi | enjuba | mwezi | omuevezi |
| 5 Lusese | katonda | amuntu | mukazi | ruuba | mwezi | musambwa |
| 6 Lunyara | olumbe | omuntu | omukazi | omwa | omusi | clubare |
| 7 Luwanga | edinwa | muntu | mukazi | embasa | mwesi | musambwa |
| 8 Lurimi | edinwa | omuntu | omukazi | mwasu | omwezi | musambwa |
| 9 Lukonde | mumu (?) | umundu | mukazi | nyanga | gumwezi | gumusambwa |
| 10 Lusökwaia | ikurei (?) | umundu | umukazi | inyanga | gumwezi | gumusambo |
| 11 Lugizii | eriuba | omuntu | omukazi | mubasu | umwenyi | uruswa |
| 12 Lukonjo | ruhanga | omundu | omukari | eriboa | omugesera | omulimu |
| 13 Lutoro | ruhanga | omuntu | mukazi | izoba | okuezi | omuevezi |
| 14 Lushima | ruhanga | omuntu | mukazi | izoba | okuezi | omuevezi |
| 15 Kikuyu | ngai | mundu | aragwa | huyu | moeri | ngoma |
| 16 Masai | ngai | ol donani | ngutok | angelon | ol labra | lol viyirwa |
| 17 Turkana | akirii | entunanan | nyoko | ekolon | elap | ol manañani |
| 18 Suk | elat | kito | diehto | ases | arawa | atwana |
| 19 Karamojo | agiwa | njo | apete | ankolon | elap | kamina |
| 20 S. Karamojo | akwit | etunanan | apete | aquolon | elap | adege |
| 21 Elgumi | akut | etunanan | apete | aquolon | elap | adiga |
| 22 Nandi | iparak | cito | korgo | asesta | arawet | akiria |
| | tororot | | | | | musiot |
| 23 Lumbwa | tororot | cito | korgo | asesta | arawet | musiot |
| 24 Kamasia | tororot | cito | korgo | asesta | arawet | musiot |
| 25 Andorobo | repta | cito | diehto | asesta | arawet | kagoma |
| 26 Altru | jok | dano | nyako | kieñ | awi | jok |
| 27 Acholi | jok | dano | nyako | kieñ | due | jue |
| 28 Lang'o o | zok | dano | dako | kieñ | due | jog |
| | Lukedi | | | | | wenyo |
| 29 Ja-Luo | kieñ | dano | nyako | kieñ | duwe | musango |
| 30 Madi | eri madri | ba | indzon | etu | imba | orri |
| 31 Loghwari | adogo | ba | isanje | etu | imba | eri |
| 32 Avukyaya | ori | ba | ckomva | etu | imba | avori |
| 33 Maharka | mböri | kumb | gide | ulu | dwiwi | gomoreme |
| 34 Lendu | ziwo | bale | dzaya | zi | bwi | orri |
| 35 Somali | ilahe | nin | inan | orah | dayah | seitan |

III.—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE COUNTRIES WHERE
SPOKEN

1. *Swahili*² is spoken by the mixed race of Arabs and negroes who inhabit Zanzibar, Pemba, and the mainland; and also by traders in the Protectorate. The name of the language—Swahili—is most probably a modified form of the Arabic *Sawāhil*, the plural of *Sahil*, a coast: hence coast-

¹ The three first names only in the above list are accepted, so far, as meaning the true God. Some tribes have several deities—mostly bad ones. Possibly other words for some of the above may be substituted on better knowledge.

² *The Lord's Prayer in Swahili.*—*'Sala ya Rabbi: Baba 'etu uliye mbinguni, dyina lako litakazwa, a dno wako mwenye utuloko lifanyike katika nchi kama wangu. Hukube leo mlate wetu wa hila siku, utondolee makosa yetu kama twetu. Hala wadukulu, wala wahuache kuumizwa na kishaushi, waliakini utuopoe maovuni. Amina.'*

people. It is, perhaps, the most widely-known of all the African languages. The greatest living authority at the present day on Swahili is a Catholic Missionary, Père Sacleux, of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, Zanzibar. His most ambitious work, a *Dictionnaire Français-Swahili*, 989 pp., printed and published at Zanzibar, 1891, is a monument of industry and research. When we were passing through Zanzibar in 1895, on our way to Uganda, Pere Sacleux very kindly presented a set of his Swahili books to our bishop and to each of the four fathers who accompanied him.

2. *Luganda*³ is spoken in the Kingdom of Uganda. Several books in the Roman characters have already been printed in Uganda, chiefly by the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missionaries. It possesses fifteen out of the original sixteen or eighteen prefixes; and all words end with a vowel. In referring to language, the prefix *Lu-* is used (in Swahili *Ki-*), e.g., *Lusoga*; *mu-* the sing. prefix of the first class used when referring to human beings, etc., *Ba-* = pl., e.g., *Musoga*, one native of Busoga, *Basoga*, many; (in Swahili the pl. prefix is *Wa-*); *Bu-* in referring to country = *Busoga*; but the names *Uganda* and *Unyoro* (through original error) are allowed by usage.

3. *Lunyoro* is spoken in Unyoro, and to the south of the Lower Semliki River; also towards the south-west coast of Lake Albert Nyanza.

4. *Lusoga* is spoken in the Province of Busoga, east of the Victoria Nile, and on many of the islands of the Victoria Nyanza along the north coast.

5. *Lusese* is spoken in the Sese Archipelago, north-west of Victoria Nyanza.

6. *Lunyara* is spoken round Port Victoria, Kavirondo, and east of the Sio River; about the Samia Hills; also in the islands off the north-east corner of Victoria Nyanza.

7. *Luwanga* or *Lukabarasi* is spoken in the Kabras or

³ *The Lord's Prayer in Luganda*, 'Sala ya Kitafe':—Kitafe oli mu ggulu, elinya lyo litibwe, obwakabaka bwo bujje, okwagala kwo kutukirizibwe mu nsi, nga mu ggulu. Otuwe lero emmere yafe ya lero, otusonyiwe ebibi byafe, nga fe bwe tusonyiwa abatwonona, totutwala mu kugezebwa, naye otulokol mu bubi. Amina.²

Ketosh country on the Upper Nzoia River, also on the borders of Nandi and Elgon districts.

8. *Lurimi* is spoken round Mumias in Kavirondo, and on the Middle Nzoia River.

9. *Lukonde* is spoken north-west of Mount Elgon as far as the borders of Labei.

10. *Lusōkwia* (Lugesu and Masaba dialects) is spoken in West Elgon.

11. *Lugizii* is spoken in the lower Nyando Valley, and in Kosova between the Mau plateau and Victoria Nyanza. *Lusinga* is spoken on the east and north-east coast of Victoria Nyanza.

12. *Lukonjo* is spoken round the south and south-east sides of Ruwenzori Mountain.

13. *Lutoro* is spoken in Toro and Busongoro, south of Ruwenzori.

14. *Luhima* is spoken in Ankole by the pastoral Bahima people.

15. *Kikuyu* is spoken in the Kikuyu uplands, East Africa, south of Mount Kenya.

16. *Masai* is spoken round Lake Naivasha and in much of Masailand. The Masai, as also the Nandi and Suk people, practise circumcision.

17. *Turkana* is spoken in the country of Suk (north of Elgon) and west of Lake Rudolph by the Turkana people, who are, perhaps, the tallest in the world, being many of them from six to over seven feet high—the land of the gold mines of the future.

18. *Sūk* is spoken in the country between Lake Baringo and Lake Sugota.

19. *Karamojo* is spoken in the Karamojo country, north of Mount Elgon.

20. *S. Karamojo* is spoken in Maroto, east of Lake Salisbury.

21. *Elgumi* or *Wamia* is spoken in Elgumi, west of the western slopes of Mount Elgon.

22. *Nandi* is spoken in the Nandi country, and with dialectical difference in Sotik, Lumbwa, Kam'asia, Elgony', and Sabei; in short, between North Elgon and the vicinity of Lake Naivasha.

23. *Lumbwa* is spoken south of the Nandi plateau and west of Lake Nakuru.

24. *Kamásia* is spoken in Kamásia and the western part of the Lake Baringo districts.

25. *Andorobo* is spoken by the wandering Andorobo tribe in Eastern Africa. They inhabit the forests in the Nandi and Mau districts, and live entirely by the chase.

26. *Aluru* is spoken in the country north and north-east of Lake Albert and the west of the Nile.

27. *Acholi* is spoken in the Acholi district east of the Nile.

28. *Lango* or *Lukedi* is spoken in the Bukedi country, north and north-east of Lake Kioga.

29. *Ja-Luo* or *Nyifwa* is spoken in South Kavirondo, along the north-east coast-lands of the Victoria Nyanza between Kavirondo Bay and the Nzoia River; also to the south of the Nyando River.

30. *Madi* is spoken mainly west of the White Nile, but also on the eastern banks between Wadelai and Dufile, and far into the Bahr-el-Ghazal region to the westward.

31. *Logbwari* is spoken in the district of that name, south-west of the Madi country.

32. *Avukyaya* is spoken in the district lying between the Nile and the Nyam-Nyam country to the west.

33. *Maharka* is spoken near the River Danga and the Gunyuru country. It is a dialect of the widespread Nyam-Nyam language of the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

34. *Lendu* is spoken in the country of that name west of Lake Albert.

35. *Somali* is spoken by the people of Somaliland between the Gulf of Aden and the vicinity of Lake Rudolf. It contains many Arabic words. The Somali word for sun, *orah*, is most probably derived from *Ra*, the name of the Egyptian sun-god.

With regard to the forms of belief prevailing, the people speaking the above dialects may be divided into four classes:

1. Christians—Roman Catholic and Protestant.

2. Mohammedans—the religion of Islamism having been introduced by Arabs from the East.

3. Heathens with a vague belief in a god of the sky but

having little or no worship, also a belief in witchcraft and omens. This is especially the case with the Masai, Nandi, and the people of Kavirondo.

4. Pagans with a strong belief in numerous spirits—ancestral and others—and in witchcraft. These spirits are called *Bachwezi* by the Banvoro people, and *Balubare* by the Baganda and Basoga. In former times the religion of the Baganda, in so far as they can be said to have had any religion at all, consisted in the worship of the Balubare spirits. They believed, however, in the existence of a supreme Creator whom they called Katonda (from the verb *kutonda*, to create), but said that he had handed over his authority to the Balubare (Lubare—sing.), of whom there were several. Some of them represented various phenomena of nature, such as the rainbow, earthquake, thunder; others were supposed to reside in certain trees, rocks, rivers, and hills; others again bore the names of virulent diseases *Kawali* (small-pox), *Kaumfuli* (black plague), and the like. Pre-eminent among the Balubare was that of Mukasa, the Neptune of the Victoria Nyanza, who was supposed to have supreme control over its waters, and had to be propitiated by offerings before each voyage. The *mwoyo* or soul of a departed king or great chief was frequently styled a *Lubare*, and was believed to reside in certain persons, to whom was given the name *Mandwa*, or medicine-men. It is told of King Metusa that in order to prevent any of the *Mandwa* from pretending to have the king's spirit (or soul) after his death, that in case any of them should make such a claim, he was not to be believed unless he could speak Arabic—the king himself having known that language to some extent.

In Busoga each *Lubare* (spirit) has its own supposed place of abode and its own *Kalaga* (the *Mandwa* or medicine-man), whom the people consult on certain occasions, and who always gets a fee of a hen, sheep, goat, or one or more cows in the case of a chief. There are about twenty of these Balubare in the province of Busoga alone, but their cultus—through the presence of famine, disease, hut-tax, and the presence of Missionaries—is fast dying out. The same Lubare

is styled good or bad, according to the individual favour asked for be granted or refused.

Besides 'spirits' the Basoga have a particular veneration for the snake; in fact it is certain that in the past, at any rate, they paid it a special kind of worship. They even go so far as to address it as *mukama wafe*—our master. Even still in some places, when they wish to celebrate a certain feast, a big snake or python is procured, which is carefully guarded in a hut during the days of feasting, and kept gorged by the presence of chickens, sheep, and goats brought to it by its crowds of pagan devotees. No doubt the *Kālagō* or medicine-man takes care to put aside for his own use, and that of his numerous wives, the greater part of the offerings brought to the hut for the snake. During the time the feast lasts, the snake is called a *Lubarc*; and while they fear rather than love it, they seem to acknowledge that it (or rather the spirit within) has power to do them evil. Women and children are brought to be presented to the snake, while its protection is besought on their behalf, and they are told not to injure it. And as a matter of fact, a Musoga will seldom kill a snake if he can avoid it. If the snake kills him it is taken as a sign that he has done something to offend the Lubare. In some of the legends the snake is made to speak.

The generic name for snake in Luganda is *musota*, and we see this word turning up in the Nandi, Lumbwa and Kamásai languages two hundred miles away as meaning devil. The word *musambwa* in the Luganda language also means a kind of large snake, and we find at least seven different tribes—some living widely apart from one another—use the same word to mean their devil or evil spirit. The words *Shetani*, *masitani* and *scitan* are merely variations of the name Satan. That these untutored tribes, knowing nothing of Genesis, should, in common with the white and other races, connect the snake or serpent with the spirit of evil, is certainly interesting, but that the devil should select the snake as his visible counterfeit presentment to enslave them, is not so surprising when we remember the incident in the Garden of Eden.

The Baganda possessed no idols, and apparently nothing

that could be called temples ; but numerous little bee-hive shaped huts—and most of them not much bigger—made of sticks covered with grass, studded the waysides, sacred to some *lubare*. These fetish huts are still to be seen in many parts of Busoga, either singly or in clusters, generally with a large tree growing close by, under which are placed the earthenware pots of food and drink—placed there to propitiate the spirits. Besides the *mandwa* or medicine-men, who were the supposed medium of communication between the people and the *Balubare*, there was another class of sorcerers whose business it was to detect criminals, answering to the augurs among the ancient Romans. A third class followed the lucrative calling of professional rainmakers.

The Baganda historians in describing the traditional incidents in the life of their supposed first king—the famous Kintu—relate, in all probability with more or less fidelity, the chief facts connected with the creation and fall of man. They say that Kintu was the first man, that he was brought forth (*yeyamuzala*) by Gulu (Heaven or the above), and that when he came into the world he found no other people there.

Gulu said to his son Kintu : ‘ Go down to the earth you and your wife Nambi and bring forth children.’ Gulu also commanded them : ‘ When you are going to the earth take care that Warumbe (lit. *Death*), the brother of your wife, does not go with you. He is away at present. Start early in the morning before he returns, so that he may not see you going, because if he shall see you going he will go with you, and as he is very wicked he will kill all the children to whom you give birth. And if you forget anything, do not come back for it.’

Gulu having finished his commands, gave them a cow, a sheep, a goat, a hen, a banana tree, potatoes, beans, Indian corn, ground nuts, and millet-seed to feed the hen.

Now in the early morning while as yet they could scarcely see, Kintu and his wife set out. When they had gone some distance on the journey, Nambi suddenly remembered that it was time to feed the hen. She asked Kintu for the millet-seed, but it was nowhere to be found. It was clear they had forgotten it in the hurry of their departure.

‘The millet-seed is missing,’ said Nambi.

‘Well,’ said Kintu, ‘I shall return to Gulu and fetch it.’

‘Don’t go back,’ said Nambi, ‘by this time Warumbe will have returned, he is mad and ruthless, and if he should see you, he will want to come. I do not wish him to be with us because he does evil, so you had better not return.’

‘But the hen is hungry and we must feed it, or it will die,’ replied Kintu.

‘Yes, that is true,’ assented Nambi.

‘Very well,’ continued Kintu, ‘you stay here and I shall go and bring the food for the hen.’

Nambi remained where she was, while Kintu returned to Gulu and explained that he had forgotten the millet-seed. Gulu was very angry at his having returned and said :— ‘Did I not tell you to go off in the early morning? Did I not command you if you forgot anything do not come back again, or you will meet Warumbe and have trouble? And you would not listen to me! Now as you have disobeyed my orders, Warumbe, who is here at present, will go with you! Be it so, let him go, since you have wished it so. Begone!’

Kintu and Warumbe then returned together. Nambi at first upbraided her husband for having gone back, and strongly objected to Warumbe accompanying them. But Warumbe insisted, and finally it was agreed, at the request of Kintu, that Warumbe should come for a time and stay with them. They all three then proceeded and reached the earth at a place called Magongo, in Uganda, and here they rested.

Then the woman planted the banana tree, the Indian corn, the beans and the ground nuts, and there was a plentiful crop. In the course of time three children were born, and Warumbe asked for one of them to cook his food, but Kintu refused to give him one. Years passed and many more children were born, and Warumbe again begged Kintu to give him one, and again Kintu refused. Then Warumbe threatened to kill all the children of Kintu; not to-day, not to-morrow, not this year, not next year, but one by one. And so it happened, that one after another the children of Kintu died.

Kintu remonstrated with Warumbe about his conduct, but it was to no purpose. Then Kintu went and complained to Gulu that Warumbe was killing all his children. Gulu replied that he had expected it. His original plan was, that Kintu and Warumbe should not meet. He had told him that Warumbe was a madman, and that trouble would ensue, yet Kintu had returned for the millet-seed against the orders of Gulu, and this was the consequence. 'If you had not stopped on the road and turned back, your children would not have died,' said Gulu. Gulu, however, had compassion on Kintu, and calling his son *Kaikuzi* (lit. *the Digger*), told him to go down to the earth and bring back Warumbe. Kintu and Kaikuzi started off together, and when they arrived were greeted by Nambi. She explained to Kintu that in his absence Warumbe had killed several more of his sons.

Kaikuzi called up Warumbe and said: 'Why are you killing all these children?'

'I wanted one child badly to help me cook my food. I begged Kintu give me one. He refused. Now I shall kill them everyone,' replied Warumbe.

'Gulu is angry and sent me down to recall you,' said Kaikuzi.

'I decline to leave here,' answered Warumbe.

'You are only a small man in comparison to me. I shall fetch you by force.' With this they grappled and a severe contest ensued. After a while Warumbe slipped from Kaikuzi's grasp, and ran into a hole in the ground. For three days Kaikuzi tried to dig him out, but failed, on account of his order, that there should be two days' silence on earth, having being broken. Kaikuzi being tired after his struggle with Warumbe quitted the earth, and returned to his father Gulu.

But before he left Kintu thanked him for his trouble and said: 'Let Warumbe remain since you cannot expel him; if he wants to kill my children he can do so. But I shall continue giving birth to other children; Warumbe will not be able to kill them all at once.'

Kaikuzi having returned, reported to his father Gulu that Warumbe had refused to come, that he had fought with him,

but because the people had broken his orders, Warumbe had entered the earth and escaped.

‘Be it so,’ said Gulu, ‘let Warumbe stay there, but do thou my son rest here.’ And so ever since Warumbe has remained on the earth.

The legend of Kintu, as related by the Baganda, is of course much more elaborate with many fanciful details, but the pith of the most reliable version is that given above. Some narrators say that it was Nambi went back for the millet-seed, but was followed by her husband; others make Gulu and Katonda or God to be one and the same. Be that as it may, it is striking to find in the story—handed down by oral tradition from generation to generation—mention of a Creator, a first man and woman, a command, an act of disobedience, the particular evil resulting from that act, viz., the entrance of Death on the earth, three children born first, the cry of the man to the Creator for help to drive away Death, the compassion of the Creator, the coming of Kaikuzi the Digger (*Mulokozi* means Redeemer), the helper, the struggle of Life with Death, the partial expulsion or conquest of the latter, and the return of Kaikuzi the helper to his Father in Heaven.

It is remarkable that the Bantu word for man *-ntu* is found in the name Ki-ntu; (e.g., *mu-ntu*=one man; *ba-ntu*=many men); while the prefix *Ki-* is sometimes used as an augmentative, meaning greatness. As if Kintu was the man *par excellence*, of the human race, just as other nations regard Adam. The word ‘Kintu’ is also used to mean ‘a thing,’ great or small according to its adjective. With regard to the name Nam-bi, it is strange that we have here the root-word for evil, *-bi* (e.g., *muntu mu-bi*=a bad man; *bantu ba-bi*=bad men; *yayöğëra bu-bi*=he spoke badly). The prefix *Na-* like *Ki-* is also vaguely honorific. We find it in some female names of distinction, e.g., *Na-māsöle*=the Queen-Mother; *Na-linya*=the Queen-Sister; *Na-longo*=a mother of twins. Hence the name Nambi might be freely translated ‘the mother of evil.’

The Banyoro, who may be regarded as first cousins of the Baganda, but living more towards the north, relate the

following as one of the versions of the oft-told Uganda legend respecting Kintu :

Kintu was immortal. He was in the habit of periodically visiting God for the purpose of reporting on the work he had done on earth. These visits were made on a hill called Magongo, situated between Uganda and Unyoro, which has consequently been carefully guarded up to the commencement of King Mwanga's reign. There was one condition always laid down by the Deity, which was that on no account was Kintu to turn back or pay another visit unless he were called. His orders were that : ' He was to do no evil ; he must not steal.' God gave him a bag which was not to be separated from him, or even to be touched by any other person. One day he went to the hill Magongo where he dropped his bag, not immediately noticing his loss. Forgetting his order he went back for it, to find God very angry with him. ' Why did you come back here, when I gave you strict orders not to come unless you were called ? ' In punishment he was forbidden to return to his home, and a young man, symbolical of the Spirit of Death, was ordered to be continually beside him. In any case he never did return. The people regarded his absence as an indication of God's wrath, and to provide for him, in case he was still alive, they built a large house in the forest of Magongo, and every nine days carried food there. This custom, as well as the guard, was kept up till King Mwanga's time, when the intestine wars interfered with most of the old usages and habits. To propitiate God's wrath in His anger against Kintu's disobedience, it was decreed that Kintu's law, which was that nobody should work on every seventh day and on the first day of each new moon, should be perpetuated. To this day any person, no matter what his offence may have been, or in what way he may be ordered to be punished, if he escape and reach the hill of Magongo, must be liberated ; in fact it was regarded as a ' hill of refuge ' till quite recently, and in every way had been considered sacred.

In the foregoing account it is probable that Kintu represents in his person Adam, Moses, Cham, and the original founder of the Bunyoro dynasty.

Before leaving this interesting subject, let us glance for a moment at the traces of the religion of the Masai and other tribes as found in their language. The Masai people believe in a vague power of the sky, which they call *Angai*. This word means not only sky, but is also used to indicate rain, which comes from the sky, though there is a special word for the water descending from the sky ('Attasha'). By far the greater number of the Masai are pastoral, hence rain is their greatest visible blessing from the above; hence their custom of giving worship to the visible rain-cloud instead of to the invisible deity. The sky-god is invoked whenever a severe drought threatens ruin to the pastures. On such an occasion as this, the chief of the district will summon the children of all the surrounding villages. They come in the evening, just after sunset, and stand in a circle, each child holding a bunch of grass. Their mothers, who come with them, also hold grass in their hands. The children then commence a long chant or prayer, the burden of which runs: '*Angai namonie aiopo inguruman engujida*' ('O God we pray Thee clothe the fields with grass'). Some of the Masai hold that at the time when their race began there were four deities ruling the world. One was black and full of kindness towards humanity; another was white but held himself more aloof, was in fact the God of the Great Firmament. Then there was a grey god, who was wholly indifferent to the welfare of humanity; and a red god who was thoroughly bad. The grey and red gods, however, quarrelled with each other and were killed. The black god was very human in his attributes, and in fact, was nothing but a glorified man, and the ancestor of the Masai. The black god, who originally lived on the snowy summit of Mount Kenya, also died after he had founded the reigning family; and now the Masai acknowledge the existence of only one deity of supreme power and vague attributes, the White God of the Firmament.

The Nandi-speaking tribes also believe in the existence of a sky-god (*Parak*) who is of much the same vague nature as the *Angai* of the Masai. Their belief in the personality of this deity is, however, more exact and trusting, as is shown by the fact that the people of the Elgeyo Escarpment offer

up prayer to God very morning, and they believe that what they ask for in this way will be granted.

Another branch of the Nandí race, the Kamásia, make the following tribal prayer to the deity in the times of adversity. The people meet together, bringing a sheep, some flour, and some milk and honey. Three holes are then dug in the ground, one for the oldest man of the tribe, one for the oldest woman, and one for a child. The food is cooked and mixed together, and portions are given to the man, woman, and child, who bury it in the holes allotted to them. The remainder of the sacrifice is then eaten by the old men of the tribe, and while this is proceeding, the rest of the people pray very solemnly. Among these people there is a vague belief in ancestral spirits as well as in a central deity. It is thought that by burying this food in the ground, the spirits of departed chiefs, together with, perhaps, the omnipotent deity, may eat the buried food and accept the sacrifice of the tribe. The reason given by the natives for the selection of the old man and woman and little child, was, that the tribe intended to show that all its members, from the oldest to the youngest, were united in approaching God with a petition.

Such are a few of the simple customs and beliefs of tribes—whether belonging to the Lost Tribe or not remains to be seen—who have increased and multiplied in Equatorial Africa, who possess no written records; living their lives according to nature, helped, it is true, by a faint, glimmering ray of the Divine Decalogue implanted in their hearts; fond of singing, dancing, fighting, and in some places of stealing; whose wants are easily satisfied; knowing nothing of the outer, older, and more civilized part of the human family; tribes whose very existence were totally unknown to Europeans until within modern times.

From the preceding pages it will be understood what a vast work remains to be done in the task of writing down in grammatical form these African languages with the view, in the first place, of having catechism and other books printed suitable for the propagation of the Gospel among these as yet—except a few—entirely heathen tribes. Surely it is not

vain to hope that some of the talented young men now studying in the many centres of learning scattered throughout the *Insula Sanctorum et Scholarum* will offer themselves for service on the African Foreign Missions. There is room and work enough for all, as many tribes have never yet seen a Missionary. With only a few exceptions the whole of the above dialects are spoken in the two Vicariates of the Upper Nile and the Victoria Nyanza (French). Already several useful books have been printed in the Swahili and Luganda languages which have helped immensely in the conversion and education of the people. Unless we would see him fall lower than he is at present, we must hearken to the cry of the poor African—so long despised, so long in darkness—and hasten to save him before it be too late. The state of utter degradation and corruption introduced among thousands of the brave Masai and other tribes along the railway line, since 1895, by the hordes of imported Indian coolies, is too heart-rending for calm description.

The last quarter of a century has witnessed a marvellous desire on the part of the Baganda people and some of their neighbours to embrace the Christian faith. During the eight years we have been at work here over ten thousand have been baptized, and at present about fifteen thousand others are in course of instruction for the Sacrament of Baptism. The *Pères Blancs*, who have been at work in the country since 1879, can probably account for five times the above numbers at least. It may be that before the end of the twentieth century the whole, or at least the greater part, of heathen Africa will have come to the feet of the World's Redeemer—who knows? *Æthiopia praeveniet manus ejus Deo.*⁴ Many of these tribes have excellent natural qualities; they are black but are not to be despised. Even among the rudest of them the little children address their parents as 'Papa' or ('Baba') 'Mamma.' It is to the rising generation that we look for our chief success in the work of conversion, to those who are so far comparatively free from the bondage of the old heathen habits and whose minds are more susceptible to the teaching

of Christianity. The light of the Gospel of Peace and Mercy—for nineteen hundred years the blessed possession of other races more favoured—has at length found its way to these long lost children of Cham. May the good prayers of Catholics far and near prevail before God to keep away from our future neophytes the dark demon of Mohammedanism—our greatest enemy, especially when officially favoured—so that they may yet enter the one Fold under the care of the One Shepherd.

LUKE PLUNKETT.

SERVIA AND ITS PEASANT PROPRIETORS

A WARM admirer of Servia has written that this country was decidedly 'the poor man's paradise.' Although this may be true when speaking of Servian peasant proprietors, it cannot be termed the Eden of their modern Christian rulers, who have had a speedy end put to their government, either by enforced abdication or, as happened in two cases, by assassination; the foulest being the regicides occurring last June which astounded the world beyond the Servian frontier. The political and social aspect of the terrible crime committed by a set of unprincipled men, more or less tainted with the spirit of Anarchy, being sufficiently well-known to our readers, they will, no doubt, prefer to turn from details of this awful violation of Divine and human law, in order to look upon another and better side of Servia which, in many respects, cannot fail to interest Irish people on the verge of a far-reaching measure intended to ensure peace and prosperity to their native land.

The Slavonic race that from the Arctic Sea to the shores of the Adriatic and the Black Sea has populated such an immense portion of Europe, is divided into numerous branches, of which the one, dwelling in Servia (like the Albanians, of whom we have already given an account¹), passed under the cruel yoke of the Ottomans, who, during the course of four centuries, ground the natives of Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria as the miller grinds his corn, with this difference—that of the three great Balkan provinces, Servia endured the most severe treatment. The proud old Servian families, who refused to cast aside the Cross for the Crescent, were deprived of their estates, which were bestowed upon Turkish Pashas, who, disdaining agricultural pursuits, left the 'Rayahs,' or peasants of Servia, to cultivate the land for them and to rear the flocks and herds; but, like our own Ireland, Servia could never forget that it had been

¹ 'An Out of the Way Land,' I. E. RECORD, April, 1903.

an independent State, having its laws and customs, which, under a ruler such as the great Servian Czar, Stefan Dushan, in the fourteenth century, practically embraced the larger portion of the Balkan peninsula. As the pathetic fidelity to the memories of a glorious and romantic past, so persistently shown by the Servian Slavs, must naturally appeal to another race who has also known bitter years of humiliation and persecution, it would be well, before entering on details of Servian peasant proprietorship, to dwell somewhat upon the historical lore of Servia that nourished the ever-smouldering embers of a patriotism which steadfastly resisted 'the whips and scorns of time—the oppressor's wrong.'

In legend and ballad Servia to this day laments the fatal field of Kossovo (plain of blackbirds), where Czar Lazar and the flower of his chivalry fell in the well-contested battle, lost by the defection at a critical moment of his son-in-law, Brancovics, who, to indulge a private spite, treacherously joined the Turkish invaders with 12,000 men—a deed that has branded him as a traitor in the annals of Servia.

The French philologist, M. Laboulaye, observes that Servian history has been preserved, not so much by a few dry chronicles compiled by Slavonic monks, as by the national songs of the people, which, in default of a written vernacular, were transmitted orally from one generation of peasants to another. Their annals, he continues, are preserved in song—a characteristic which is far more prominent among the Slavs than among the Greeks or Spaniards. It is second nature to a Servian to express in ballad or song his hopes, fears, and passions, and in every house is to be seen the small sycamore wood mandoline or 'guzla,' with its solitary string and arched bow, whose sweet and often mournful notes accompany the musical voices of Servian peasants. Though the ballads were often rude, they were full of the poetry peculiar to a race possessing the gift of improvisation, as well as an ardent attachment to their unfortunate country.

These national songs, relating the glories and the downfall of the mediæval Servian Empire, would eventually have been forgotten had they not been rescued from oblivion by

a Slav poet and philologist, Vuk Karadjec, who collected them and committed them to paper by means of the modern Slavonic alphabet, which he and another Servian poet, Danitchitch, published towards the middle of the last century, together with a dictionary and syntax of Servian vernacular, while the older form of Slavonian is still used in the ecclesiastical liturgy. In his interesting work on Servia, Mr. H. Vivian tells us that 'now very good poets and writers exist. Danitchitch revived the language, which is called Slav-Tuscan by reason of its melody and grace. He published a grammar and chastened the vocabulary, and raised an obscure *patois* to the degree of a polite language, which Niebuhr said was structurally the most perfect in Europe, and which Göethe learned in his old age.'

During the four centuries of Ottoman rule, although the Servians often made a struggle for liberty with staves instead of weapons, long confiscated by their conquerors, yet, so severe was the Turk, jealously guarding Servia as a bulwark against ever-aggressive Hungary, that the people in despair tried to submit to their fate as serfs of the Pashas, who enforced 'duty work' for so many days annually, without any payment, as well as a land tax, and the much-detested poll tax on every male Servian from his seventh year. Moreover, tithes were exacted by the haughty Muslims from field, vineyard, and even the humble beehive; while every peasant who married had to pay a sum for this privilege. Worse than all was the levy every fifth year of Servian lads for the redoubted corps of Janissaries at Stamboul, where, in company with the Bulgarians and Albanians, they were soon taught to forget their own creed and to adopt that of the Crescent.

Thousands of Servians, to escape their hard lot, migrated across the Danube into Hungary, where they settled in the Banat of Temesvar, and under their chiefs or 'despots' often fought against the Turks in the Hungarian armies, sometimes gaining victories such as the assault of Belgrade (1475), which gained them the name of 'the Black Legion;' sometimes being defeated by their relentless foe, but always,

in good fortune or evil, hoping for the liberation of Servia. Their countrymen who clung to the soil lived like helots, never mingling with the Turks; while many who could no longer endure this servitude betook themselves, as haiduks or brigands, to mountains and forests, where they maintained a constant and irregular warfare, plundering and killing Turks to the great contentment of the peasants, who were ever ready to shield a haiduk to the best of their ability. Finally, perceiving that no real assistance was to be expected from Russians or Austrians, and driven to desperation by a frightful massacre at the order of four Janissary chiefs at Belgrade, then in open revolt against the Sultan; the peasants retreated into the natural fastnesses of the 'Sumadria,' or forest region, in Central Servia, which became the stronghold of the insurgents during the Wars of Independence in the nineteenth century, under the leadership first of Karageorge, the ancestor of the present King Peter, and subsequently under that of another swineherd, Milosch, the forefather of the recently murdered Alexander. Both men, sons of peasants, unable to sign their names, were born guerilla leaders who knew precisely how to guide their bands. Had there been no revolution, their names would have remained in obscurity; but given the opportunity and the moment, these typical Servian peasants commenced the career that was to enrol them as patriotic warriors on the pages of Balkan history.

The determined struggle for liberty having ended in the discomfiture of the Turks, and the long desired freedom of Servia, the newly recognized Balkan State, with the exception of an annual tax to the Porte (long since abolished), entered upon its career of self-government, under the former swine herd and guerilla chief, Milosch Obrenovics now first Prince of Servia.

But a still greater change came over the much tried land, when by quite a natural and easy transition, free from all litigation, dispute, or complicated legislation, the Servian farmers found themselves peasant proprietors. The Turkish Pashas having been killed or driven away during the wars their estates were divided between the new village communes

and the people; the latter becoming owners of farms from ten to thirty hectares of land according to the amount already cultivated by them.³ With an important Land Bill being passed for Ireland, it should interest us to learn how a system of peasant proprietorship has succeeded in a Balkan State, among a people of widely differing race and surroundings yet possessing many points of resemblance both historical and social with the Irish nation.

Owing to this division of holdings between the tillers of the soil, there is no problem of pauperism in Servia. There may not be men of great wealth, but there are no cases of destitution, such as are so sadly frequent in cities like London, or in countries whose position in the world as 'Great Powers' raises them much above the level of a Balkan State of yesterday's growth. We are informed that in Servia 'even the poorest have some kind of free hold property. A few poor people exist in Belgrade, but neither their property nor their numbers require workhouses.'⁴ By the law of the land a certain portion of a peasant's estate cannot be disposed of by the owner, nor seized for debt, and in this is included the homestead, the plough, the last pair of heifers left on the farm, and six 'jutura' of land; each jutura containing as much ground as can be ploughed in a day.

This alone suffices to prevent pauperism as not a farthing can be borrowed on such a security. Hence the homestead, and a certain proportion of chattels being inalienable, there is always something in hand to secure a Servian peasant proprietor and his family from hunger and privation. The possession of their farms also incline the peasants to desire peace and good government, and if they do like to hear the vagaries of Radical politicians, who as a rule are not men of substance, the common sense underlying the Servian disposition will always prevent them from any rash proceedings injurious to their own interests or to those of their commune, in which each peasant

³ Each hectare contains two acres and a half of land.

⁴ *Statesman's Year Book*, 1903.

takes an active interest, as we shall see further on. Should any peasant proprietor require more land, he can always by application obtain it from the Government provided he can satisfy the authorities as to his industry. Generally owing to the fertility of the country a peasant is contented to subsist on the produce of his little estate, and not to toil too much over its cultivation, but any one who is of a saving disposition can and does put by a good deal in the year.

The farm houses with thatched or red tiled roofs almost concealed by groves of plum and other fruit trees, are large with numerous outbuildings resulting from the custom of 'Zadruga,' to be presently described. Ricks and barns, stables and cow houses, all built of clay or wood, and whitewashed, also stand in a well-fenced enclosure, where there is room for domestic animals to roam without fear of straying. 'Each family,' says M. de Laveleye, 'has a right to take fuel from the forests belonging to the commune, or to the State. Everything that is needed in daily life is produced on the farm with the exception of coffee, matches, cotton stuffs and sugar.'⁵ The last item indeed might even be dispensed with, as a great portion of Servian ground is very suitable for the cultivation of sugar beet. The men and women of the family all take an active share in the farm work, and should it happen that a man has not enough hands at ploughing or harvest time, he will have a 'moba.' This is an invitation to all his neighbours to help him, in return for which he gives them plentiful meals, and is always ready to attend their 'mobas' at any time. As a moba is looked upon as a charitable work, the people attending them are not obliged to observe the minor feast days which are strictly kept in the Greek Church.

Though improving slowly the Servians cannot be called good agriculturists. Much of the land is remarkably fertile, giving two crops yearly of cereals, especially maize, which growing to a great height, often served as an ambush or hiding place to the insurgents during the wars against the

⁵ *The Balkan Peninsula.*

Ottomans; and to the haiduks or brigands who infested Servia, until they were to a great extent stamped out by the authorities, although outlaws do exist to the present day. Mr. Vivian writes that, 'Wheat is cut with the scythe, horses or oxen tread out the corn, which is tossed in the air to separate the chaff; quaint carts are drawn by buffaloes, and ricks are made by pitchforking the produce into the first handy tree. No manure is used, irrigation is neglected, or supplied by inundations oftener than they are wanted. There seems to be no regular system adopted for the rotation of crops. Nearly every peasant interrogated on the subject had a different method of his own. In fact the Servian system of agriculture is practically no system at all.'⁶

Though the savings bank is gradually finding favour with the peasants, there is still a marked preference for the old stocking; and it is by no means unusual where a house is knocked down, or land dug up, to come across money thus hoarded in concealment for many years. A curious instance of this habit is told of 'a man who was in prison for twenty years and overheard two outlaws saying to each other where they had hidden their booty. They were executed, and on his release the man sought the place, dug up the booty and built a "mehena" or inn with part of the find, letting out the rest at usury, and at his death he left a substantial fortune to his son.'⁷

Notwithstanding their long servitude under the Crescent, the Servian peasants have retained a certain nobleness of character, and dignity of bearing. They are not as vindictive as the Albanians, nor given to such virulent blood feuds; but as a rule they are peaceable, sober, moral, and honest; displaying much shrewdness in their affairs, though they will neither cheat nor let themselves be cheated. They

⁶ *Servia*, chap. viii.

⁷ 'Now there is a school of agriculture, and the Government has promoted the establishment of agricultural companies who purchase implements and machinery, advance loans, and receive deposits. They also act as intermediary for the disposal of agricultural produce.'—*Statesman's Year Book*, 1903.

⁷ H. Vivian.

are naturally simple, and where not influenced and misled by Radical catch words, they have certain gentlemanly instincts, according to Mr. Vivian, although in the July number of the *Contemporary Review*, a writer observes that 'Serbia cannot boast of a single gentlemanly man in the good old acceptance of the term. Servians educated in Paris, can and often do take a varnish but it is only a thin coating.' The Turks also say of the Eastern Slavs: 'They are like pears rotten before they are ripe.' It may however be assumed that such a description is more applicable to Slavs who have been taken out of their proper sphere, viz., a pastoral and agricultural life, either by entering the learned professions, by swelling that curse of all governments, the overcrowded bureaucracy, or by joining the ranks of politicians and adventurers seeking office and self aggrandizement at the expense of the general welfare of the country.

It should also be noted that among the Servians, family ties are remarkably strong, as well as those of friendship which will frequently induce them to swear blood brothership before their relations and the Greek pope, with some young man, and occasionally with some young woman who is scrupulously treated as a sister ever afterwards. In this ceremony of 'Pobratim,' which is never broken by a Servian, bread and salt are eaten, and wine in which are mingled a few drops of their blood, is swallowed by both parties concerned. Having been so long treated as slaves by the Turks: having no laws, save those administered by Pasha or Cadi, nothing remained to the Servian, wrote M. Laboulaye, but his family ties round which were entwined his best and highest feelings. He who had parents and brethren was considered a happy and even a rich man, and so powerful was and still is this sense of kindred, that a bride leaves her own family in tears, and there is no more solemn oath for a Servian woman than the asseveration, 'By my brother as truly as my brother lives.'

* 'So deep is fraternal feeling in Serbia that convicts are allowed out of prison on parole to visit their families occasionally'—*Geographie Universelle*, E. Reclus.

This conspicuous quality contributed in no small degree to the foundation of the 'zadruga,' or association of each family, under a chief whose control was absolute. At first a zadruga commenced with the father of the family as patriarch. When his sons married, they were allowed to build small wooden cottages, adjoining the parental home, for their wives and children. Families being very numerous, the 'stareshina' or chief soon saw his grandsons growing up, and in their turn bringing home wives, and adding more cottages to the homestead. When the father, full of years, was laid in the cemetery, all the men of the family (for there are no 'eldest sons') would elect one of their number best suited for this important post. Hence, remarks Mr. Vivian, a zadruga would sometimes contain a hundred souls, all implicitly obeying, perhaps, a distant relation as their 'stareshina.' The man who occupies this onerous position is generally noted for prudence, tact, and capacity. He receives and keeps the money earned by the whole family; he distributes it as it is needed among the members of his zadruga, to whom he also assigns the portion of work on the farm, which is held in common by them all; and in differences of opinion his decision is unhesitatingly accepted as final. The adjoining cottages being merely used to sleep in, the great kitchen, dining-room, and hall used for family gatherings are part of the stareshina's house, which is always much better built than any of the others. Such a homestead, with all its dependencies, will sometimes run the whole length of a village street, though generally the straggling house of only one storey, will stand buried among trees in the centre of the farm. The women of a zadruga work in the fields with the men; each woman, or perhaps more, according to the size of the family, taking a week in turn to see after household affairs and the children. It is always the duty of the 'redushas,' as they are called, to carry out the dinner at mid-day to the labourers. The evening meal is eaten in the large dining-room, and when they do not on hot nights sit under the lime tree in garden or courtyard, the family will assemble in the hall, where the women, as they spin, will often unite in singing national airs, while the

children amuse themselves in their own way. As a rule, Servian women do not sit down at meals, being engaged in waiting upon the men, and they eat later in some corner whatever has been left over. Whenever they do join the family circle at meals, it is the etiquette for them to sit humbly and in silence at the bottom of the table, where they are served after the men. Mr. Vivian, in his interesting description of a *zadruga*, remarks that 'Women are treated kindly, as if they were satisfactory servants. The men make no love matches, but look upon the wife as an additional worker in the house, and very young men especially, like to take women several years their seniors in age, as they value the experience of the "Hausfrau" more than beauty. In a peasant's house a stranger is only introduced to the hostess, who serves "slatko" (preserves), coffee, and liqueurs on his arrival, and either retires or remains standing in a corner of the room near the door, while the men sit on the chairs and sofa round the central table. Members are at liberty to leave the *zadruga* when they choose; but the system works well on the whole, and the sentiment of family induces them to put up with many inconveniences and discomforts. Moreover, living in a *zadruga*, with its practical co-operation, is, of course, much cheaper than separate establishments. It safeguards people against poverty, and tends them in sickness and old age in a manner which no amount of Socialistic legislature or Utopian panaceas could ever bring about. It is an ideal institution to keep peasants prosperous and contented, but it could not be created at the bidding of a reformer for the solution of problems of poverty. To be perfect it must grow naturally, and have grown for centuries; and the Servian Government should rescue it from imminent death, hastened on by the military laws, for, while a widow's only son escapes serving; if he is in a *zadruga*, he counts as one of a large family.'

Another very curious point in these *zadrugas* is the fact that should a will be disputed, the interests of the 'Pobratim or adopted' relations are placed before those

of the *bona fide* relatives of the deceased. Moreover to keep the family estate intact, daughters are only given dowries, and as long as there is a male heir alive, they are precluded from inheriting anything.

When a farm is too large to be cultivated by a *zadruga* there are always plenty of Servians willing to be tenants by the year, giving half the produce as rent to the 'stareshina' who as landlord, pays the taxes, supplies seed and implements, and decides what is to be sown. Moreover, no attempts to defraud are ever made on either side.

There is another poorer class of peasant proprietors who have no *zadruga*, but own a few fields, often away from their cottages, which have a very high pitched roof over the two rooms used as kitchen and bedroom; the latter crammed with narrow beds covered with innumerable cushions, while in the former, space is much reduced by the large oven and shaky stools and table. In the yard is a cowshed, and pigs and fowl have the run of the plum-tree orchard. These people are sufficiently industrious, and they are still further assisted by their right of grazing their sheep and cattle on the common land of their commune, and the fuel, taken in most wasteful fashion from the forests, costs them nothing. Owing to the general independence in Servia, not one will 'go to service,' and at Belgrade, and other places, the servants are Hungarians, Croats or Austrians, while hired labour is supplied by Bulgarians who cross the frontier in search of work.

The village communes or 'Opchtina' are another Servian institution. After the liberation of the country they were all established, each containing so many homesteads and cottages, often extending over a considerable district. The inhabitants of the Opchtina elect their mayor and his council, and these local authorities annually elected, regulate the taxes and expenses of their respective communes.¹⁰ The mayor assisted by two of his council acts

¹⁰ Among these taxes is a very ancient and practical one mentioned by M. de Laveleye who writes that he saw 'a wooden erection of strange shape, a

more or less like our justices of the peace, deciding local disputes, inflicting small fines, and sitting on all petty criminal cases. They also have the privilege of selecting the juries at the Assize Court who are to try any accused member of the commune. The peasants display much common sense and prudence in the management of communal affairs ; though the once-coveted post as *Kmet* or mayor is no longer held in such esteem. These self-governing communes have much power within their own boundaries, and they do their work on the whole fairly well. According to M. de Laveleye, 'every man who is of age and who pays taxes on either property or income is an elector, which is equivalent to universal household suffrage.' He also says that wherever the primitive commune has survived, the people are at once more democratic and more conservative, thus verifying the adage of extremes meeting ; and that the chief idea of the people, and of the country *papes* who are their leaders in politics, is to preserve jealously all their ancient and local rights and to pay as few taxes as they possibly can. The great wealth of Servia lies chiefly in the export of cattle and pigs ; Austria-Hungary being the principal customer, which enables that Power occasionally to put pressure on the Servian Government, by refusing to admit animals on the supposed report of some convenient malady. The pigs, of a fairly good breed and averaging £2 10s. a couple, are to be found almost in a wild state, feeding on acorns, beech masts, etc., in the vast forest district of the 'Sumadria,' and in large droves they are transported with the cattle down the rivers Save and Danube. As the natives are forgetting their proverb that 'To kill a tree is to kill a Servian' ; the forests are diminishing so seriously, that the same number of pigs cannot be fattened there, as was formerly the case ; consequently, in spite of the still considerable export of Servian porkers, alive and dead,

basket work granary very long, raised three feet above ground on stakes, with a thickly thatched roof. Each head of a family must bring every year 150 "okas" (150 kilograms) of maize or wheat. In ordinary times there are from 60 to 70 million kilograms ready to be distributed in case of famine, or in war time for soldiers.'—*The Balkan Peninsula*.

American bacon has now come to remain in Servia, as well as South American hides to make the national opankas, or kind of mocassins worn by every peasant. As the pig is deservedly held in great honour, those who do not form part of the forest droves, have the run of every orchard, and are housed in large commodious sties where there is plenty of water for the animals to wash in ; where the walks are all paved, and where everything connected with the porkers is kept in a state of cleanliness often unknown in other lands.

From the plum trees abounding on every farm, the peasants make a good deal by their 'slivovitza' or brandy distilled from this fruit, out of which is also made 'pesmez' or marmalade (much eaten in Austria), and lastly dried plums of inferior quality, due to careless baking in earthen ovens.

The Servians have a great contempt for shopkeepers and merchants and factories, and the peasant deputies of the Skupshtina, or National Assembly, though much averse to taxation, which they regard as a survival of Turkish tyranny, are ever ready to vote any tax on the commercial part of the community, recruited chiefly from other nationalities dwelling in Servia, though they are not as numerous as those in Albania. There are many Wallachians, who have settled mostly in the eastern part of Servia, where, allowing for the difference of language, Servian villages have become quite Wallachian. The geographer, Elisée Reclus, observes that Roumanians thrive well in Servia, but not Hungarians nor Slavonians from Croatia or Bosnia. As in Albania, the Zinzares from the Pindus are to be found here as innkeepers, carpenters, masons, and bricklayers. The remarkably industrious Bulgars have settlements in the valleys of the rivers Timok and Morava, lying more in the direction of Bulgaria. There is also an Albanian colony, and, of course, Jews and gypsies are to be seen everywhere. The Jews, however, are not hated by the Servians, whom they cannot overreach, and they are called 'Spanioles,' being descendants of Hebrews exiled from Spain who settled at Stamboul. On Saturdays, their Sabbath, it is the custom at Belgrade to

give them the sole use of the public gardens beneath the citadel, overlooking the city, and on these occasions the Jewesses are gorgeous to behold in their mediæval costumes glittering with jewels.

The gypsies, who wander over the country, are generally employed as musicians at village feasts and dances, and they also make bricks. In the heart of Servia they profess to be orthodox Greeks, while on the frontiers they are Mahomedans, but they despise and neglect alike the tenets of both creeds. Mr. Vivian says that some of these gypsies live in villages; and that as he passed by one day in a carriage, 'bevvies of half-naked children streamed out of every hovel running for half a mile, singing at the top of their voices, and never losing breath, but with eyes never off the traveller's hand and pocket for expected coin. Some of them are very pretty, and their refined features contrasted well with their Nubian skin and vulture's eyes.' On his return that night, 'a wood fire under the wayside trees cast a lurid light upon the medley of dark faces and scanty white garments. The carriage stopped, and the singing recommenced, the children being joined by young women, crouching crones, and lastly by the gaunt almost stately men with gleaming evil eyes. A tiny hut with two rooms was shown, which was inhabited by fourteen souls, the outer room containing a wooden trellis, covered with ragged straw mattresses, and a stove. Most of the people prefer sleeping *a la belle étoile*. The greater number of gypsies live in tents unaffected by cold or rain, and wearing always a scanty thin dress.'¹¹

The Servians, who claim to be the least mixed of the many Slavonic races, are fine, tall men, with piercing cold-looking eyes and marked features, but they are more fair than dark.¹² The women are not generally pretty, but they are stately, and show much taste in the colouring of their national costumes. The men wear white frieze trousers, jacket, and opankas or mocassins, fastened by leather

¹¹ *Servia*, chap. xii.

¹² Their name 'Serb or Servian comes from root *Su*, to produce and is applied to producers.'—'*Times*' *Encyclopædia*.

thongs. The dress, however, varies in different localities ; nearer Bosnia, for instance, it is more Turkish in the wearing of wider trousers and turban, while about Pirot, in the direction of Bulgaria, the peasants wear close-fitting white trousers of coarse cloth, stockings, and the red leather opankas, common all over Servia. A white woollen blouse, a belt, and a large hat of sheepskin complete the costume, while the women wear an approximation to a 'divided skirt' in the shape of two black aprons. A brightly-coloured headdress like a diadem is worn with flowers on the hair, which is either coiled or hanging over the shoulders. Some of these women will wear yellow or rose-coloured Turkish trousers, and all have belts, the copper or silver buckles of which are of beautiful Byzantine work. In the mountains they have a kerchief on the head like the Italian peasant woman, and a bag is carried on the back in which is deposited the baby. In other parts of Servia the dress is much gayer, as the white tunics and coloured aprons are all embroidered by their wearers in Arabesque work of the brightest and most charming shades of wool ; a zouave velvet jacket with loose sleeves is also worn, and small, red tambourine fezzes or red handkerchiefs are fastened on the hair, always dyed black if it be not so naturally. At their feasts the jackets are covered with gold lace, and round the waist and neck are strings of gold and silver, given to them as their dowries. Like the men, they wear opankas ; but sometimes in a zadruga they wear thick, blue woollen stockings and a kind of blue slipper, which is a cross between a shoe and an opanka. The richer farmers and peasants, among whom no distinction is made, are now beginning to wear ordinary tweeds on working days, for it takes an hour to attire themselves in the national dress, composed of the finest linen and including a kilt, worn usually on festive occasions.

As in France, marriages are made up by the families of the young people ; and after the long ceremony in the Greek church, the bride is delivered to her husband's friends who escort her to her new home, at the entrance of which stand the bridegroom's sisters and sisters-in-law.

The bride then has to go through ceremonies symbolic of

her future existence. She dresses a child, and touches with her spindle the walls of the dwelling where so many hours will henceforth be employed in spinning garments for her family; she places bread, wine and water on the table, for to serve will be one of her wifely duties; while a piece of sugar placed between her lips, reminds her that she is to speak little, and always gently; which indeed is a much needed hint, for though the men can swear freely, their language is mild beside the fluent and dreadful cursing of an excited and enraged Servian dame.

As far as religion is concerned, the majority of Servians are schismatics. Even so far back as the golden age of Stefan Dushan, they were never really submissive to the authority of the Holy See, and Dushan issued a decree that 'every Latin heretic should be sent to work in the deepest mine, and any Latin priest found proselytising should be sentenced to death.'¹³

At present according to the latest statistics issued by the Congregation of Propaganda, there are only 8,000 Roman Catholics in a population of 2,161,961 people. The Catholic mission is included in the bishopric of Bosnia belonging to Austria. There are two priests, in charge of ten mission stations, and three chapels. They have an hospital at Belgrade, as well as elementary schools in that city, and at Nish, a town far away to the east of Servia, which is still very Turkish, as regards the old houses, and a minaret where the Musulman call to prayer is chanted every day. There is also a ruined tower, in the plaster of which, the Turks placed the skulls of their Christian victims. Many of them were taken away as ghastly souvenirs by travellers, but since Nish has been included in Servian territory the remaining skulls have been reverently interred, excepting one that was too securely inserted to be extracted.

During his episcopate as Bishop of Bosnia the celebrated Slav bishop, Mgr. Strossmayer, sent missionaries across the frontier to attend to the spiritual needs of a vast number of Italian workmen then employed, constructing railways; as

¹³ *The Balkans*, W. Miller.

well as to Austrians, Croats and Hungarians earning their livelihood, and to the few Roman Catholic Servians among the schismatics. Bishop Strossmayer, who was one of the most remarkable Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in the nineteenth century, resembled our own great Irish Archbishop, Dr. M'Hale, in his devotion to the cause of his native land. Although of German origin his family, long settled in Croatia, could speak nothing but Slavonic, and having been born in 1815, Strossmayer passed brilliantly through his school life, and his ecclesiastical studies. It is related that so remarkable were his acquirements and dialectic powers, that the President of the Board, examining Strossmayer, observed to the other examiners '*aut primus hereticus sæculi, aut prima columna catholicæ ecclesiæ.*' At the age of thirty Strossmayer, already a noted man, was appointed director of the high school of theology at Vienna, and also Court preacher. Two years later he became Bishop of Djadkovo, in which important position as Bishop of Bosnia, Croatia, and Servia, he could carry out still further the motto of his life 'Everything for faith and country.' Austria-Hungary being a Catholic land, the prelates of our Church have very large revenues, and Mgr. Strossmayer, whose personal expenses were few, devoted his income to the advancement of the Slavs. Nearly all the colleges in Croatia were endowed by him, and he also founded scholarships for poor students, who could not afford to pay for their education. At Djadkovo, he opened a high school for girls, a normal school for teachers, a seminary for Slavonic ecclesiastical students, while a collection of good pictures purchased during visits to Italy, and a valuable library were given; the pictures to form a gallery at Agram, and the books to Djadkovo. This energetic prelate restored his cathedral, and endowed a chair in his seminary for the study of ancient and modern Slavonic. Mgr. Strossmayer did not fail to encourage the two Servian poets engaged in the reconstruction of the Servian dialect, and one of these learned men was professor of Slav philology in the University at Agram, that owed its creation in a great measure to Mgr. Strossmayer's efforts. On the episcopal estates all was

done by the Bishop to promote agriculture, as being a pursuit peculiarly adapted to the Slavs. In politics he was a fervent Slav who in the Austrian Reichstag was one of the most ardent supporters of self-government for Croatia. Having thereby incurred Imperial displeasure, the patriotic prelate was exiled, and he resided in Paris, studying French literature. On his return to his diocese, he renounced politics, refused to sit in the Croatian Diet, and turned all his energies in the direction of ecclesiastical and philanthropic undertakings for the welfare of his beloved Slavs, among whom he desired to spread the knowledge of useful sciences.

At the Vatican Council Mgr. Strossmayer was one of the Bishops most opposed to the promulgation of the Papal Infallibility, but he eventually submitted to the Church upon this point, and he went twice with pilgrimages to Rome. It is said that he induced our late lamented Pontiff, Leo XIII., to allow the use of Slavonic in the liturgy, according to the custom of Eastern Churches in communion with the Holy See, judging no doubt, that in Servia, where the ancient Slavonic has long been used, it would render easier the work of Catholic missionaries in their arduous and not over-successful task. Mgr. Strossmayer was known to be an excellent linguist, and, excepting Leo XIII., few had such command of the Latin tongue. Besides several modern languages, the Bishop could speak every Slav dialect, all varying so much one from another that, at the first meeting of Slavs before 1848, the deputies of the Czechs, Slovaks, Servians, Croats, Bosnians, etc., had to speak in German, wrote the author of *Pan-Slavism*, 'because no one understood the other. True, the words of each speaker sprung originally from the same roots, but the formation of the words—their prefixes and suffixes—are widely diversified, and a man of the keenest intellect could scarcely guess what his brother Slavonic desired to express.'¹⁴ Moreover, to the annoyance of the Servians, the Croats will write in Latin instead of Slavonic characters.

¹⁴ 'Pan-Slavism, its rise and decline,' by E. Mejatovic, *Fortnightly Review*, vol. xiv.

Mgr. Strossmayer continued his career until 1891, when he retired from active life and gave up his See on account of difficulties with the Austrian Imperial authorities, who strongly objected to his championship of the Slav races, which it was thought would create unpleasantness with Russia, ever striving, but with little success, to draw together within her own sphere all kindred Slavonians dwelling outside her frontiers—a dream of ‘Pan-Slavism’ by no means acceptable to the Austrian Slavs or to those of the Balkan States, particularly Servia, so jealous of her hard-won independence.

As is usually the case among Eastern nations, so in Servia—religious and political questions are so closely involved that one cannot be taken into consideration without the other. The majority of the Servians have always been encouraged and supported by their own native clergy of the Greek schism in their attempts to throw off the Turkish yoke; consequently, they consider that to be a true Servian patriot in politics, and to be an unquestioning Orthodox Greek in religious matters, are virtually one and the same thing, one good quality being the complement of the other. The Greek Servian Church has no connection with those of Athens, Constantinople, or ‘Holy Russia;’ and the Greek Archbishop of Belgrade, with his suffragan bishops, governs the Synod, and is supposed to be quite independent of the State, which pays each prelate an annual stipend of £1,000 to £2,000. The Greek popes or country clergy differ little from their parishioners, and they are said not to possess much information of any kind. They are, however, very popular with the peasants, who invite them to their feasts, and like to have their services at weddings, baptisms, and funerals, though it is the fashion when attending church on Sunday to remain outside the building, exchanging opinions on the favourite topic of politics, the crops, and other subjects, while the Greek pope is saying Mass behind the great screen dividing the sanctuary from the rest of the building.¹⁵

¹⁵ The popes have their glebes and each family gives yearly a certain amount of corn. There are offerings and fees for marriages, etc., but very few sermons are ever preached, and not much religious instruction is

The fasts are just as long and severe as those in Russia, but there are many holidays much appreciated by the Servians, especially the 'Slava' or the saint's day of every family, village, town, or regiment. It is supposed to have originated formerly in the custom of celebrating the anniversary of the conversion to Christianity of the family or village, which has been passed on from father to son in Servia. Where a 'slava' is to be held, the homestead is adorned with branches and flowers, and the relations all sit down to a banquet to which the pope is invited to invoke God's blessing upon his hosts. In the centre of the table stands a fine wheaten loaf having a cross deeply incised upon it, so as to admit of a branched candlestick, lighted in honour of the Holy Trinity. Towards the end of the feast toasts are called, and many songs are sung, as the Servians are a very musical race, and can improvise with much facility. Those who are blind, or crippled, need never beg their bread, for they earn quite enough to support themselves as strolling minstrels, in which they rival the gypsies. On a 'slava' day open house is kept, and it would be an affront if friends did not pay a short visit, and partake of 'slatko, a cold pudding served on that day, and sip the national 'slivovitza,' the preserve of rose leaves, and Turkish coffee. A regimental slava is somewhat different, beginning with mass celebrated in the barrack hall, after which a profusely decorated cake is turned several times by the colonel, the senior sergeant, and the senior private; the chaplain recites some prayers and finally the cake is distributed among the officers and men. The whole day is spent as a holiday, and the officers receive their friends in arbours, decked with oak leaves which are

bestowed upon the people, whose religion is mixed up with ancient pagan superstitions. Notwithstanding this drawback the Servian peasants have a perfect horror of disbelief, and once during the annual compulsory military training, a medical man sharing a tent with a young countryman, having incautiously declared himself an atheist in the course of conversation, the peasant, who had been admiring the learning of his companion, at once rose, and pushed him out of the tent, as if he were a leper. The ancient Slavonic liturgy owes its preservation mainly to the fact that the sixteenth-century Turks, more liberal than those of a later period, permitted liturgical books to be issued at Belgrade for the Servian peasants, while those printed at Venice were remarkable for their beautiful type.

common in Servia. During the evening the whole regiment including the colonel dance the 'kolo' to the plaintive guzla supported by the military band.¹⁶

A village slava is much on the same scale, but the men feast together on roast lamb, mutton and pork, with various preparations of wheat and honey, called 'Kollivo' and the usual slava cakes. A curious superstition is observed in foretelling the future after the banquet, by means of the shoulder blades of mutton or pork just consumed being held up to the light, and if the bone be clear it signifies peace, but should it be of a dark hue, then war may be expected. From small crevices and dints in the bone, called cradles and graves, the peasants pretend to foretell joy or sorrow to their neighbours.

The funerals are all preceded by gatherings like our wakes, and it is the often dangerous custom to convey the corpse covered with flowers in an open coffin. The people attending do not wear mourning, and the music is peculiarly soft and mournful. Bowls of meat and pudding and a special funeral cake are carried along to be distributed in the church among the congregation. On the anniversary of the death it is usual to give the poor whatever happened to have been the favourite dish of the deceased.

The Servians, though they neglect the care of their cemeteries, have a great devotion to the memory of the dead, and they keep two 'All Soul's Days,' one in October, and the other on Pentecost Eve, when every one goes to pray in the churchyard for their departed friends.¹⁷

¹⁶ M. de Laveleye describes the kolo as being 'an immense circle formed of men and women alternately taking hold by the hand or waist. In the centre the Tziggany (gypsies) play the national airs. The circle turns slowly, moving in curves, and the step consists of small standing jumps, executed without any animation. The music is soothing, almost melancholy, but never spirited. The colouring of the picture is marvellously bright, with gypsy girls in red and yellow, joining in the dance. There is very little drinking except water, there are no drunkards' (except in the cafés of Belgrade and other towns), 'no screaming, and perfect decorum observed by all these peasants in their national dress.'—*The Balkan Peninsula*.

¹⁷ 'Mothers who have lost young children will not taste any fruit until they have given some to any children or poor they may meet, believing their children in the next world would get no fruit there, and would complain of their selfish parents.'—*Old Servian Customs*, Grant Maxwell.

The first Prince of Servia, Milosch, in spite of not being able to read and write, which obliged him to use a seal for state documents, was determined to rectify this omission in the education of his subjects, and one of his first enactments was the establishment of schools in every village and town, so that at present the schoolhouse is generally the finest edifice in each locality. Everything, including books, teacher's salary, and pension, is given by the communal authorities who levy a small scholastic tax for this purpose upon the peasants. Although education is free, yet every child is compelled to attend the primary schools; but there are gymnasiums or high schools and two universities for those desirous of seeking governmental posts or of following the learned professions.¹ As in the United States poor scholars have plenty of time to earn their livelihood, as the school hours are not unduly long; moreover, we are told that the richer students are most generous in giving books and money to their poorer comrades.

Owing to the number of their 'pesmars' or national epics, which are continually sung, the peasants are well acquainted with the ancient history and legends of their country.

The Servians, however, like the Irish, are too much disposed to dwell upon the past; and their dream of an Empire to extend from the Adriatic to the Black Sea will never, probably be realised in face of the mutual antipathy existing between the different Balkan States. Despite their love of politics, which most of the peasants cannot properly

¹ The truly magnificent university at Belgrade is due to the munificence of that 'rara avis' in Servia, a millionaire. But his generosity instead of being appreciated, only involved him in very serious trouble, for King Milan's Minister, Ristic, rapacious like most Servian politicians, determined to seize his entire fortune. Accordingly the millionaire was flung into jail and tortured on pretext of plots against the King. An amnesty having set free the prisoner, Ristic's aims were defeated, but when his victim died leaving a will, assigning a large sum to found the university, Ristic again shamelessly tried to upset the will by some legal quibble. However being turned out of the ministry he lost all power to further his nefarious ends, and the much-disputed money was applied to the foundation of the university which otherwise might never have been built. This instance shows what Servians can become, when with a veneer of Western civilization, they adopt the career of politics, always a source of trickery and corruption, especially among Eastern races.

comprehend ; of a democratic government, in which there is only an inferior middle class between the King and the mass of the Servian population ; of a dreamy and sometimes noisy patriotism ; no nation can be more at the mercy of cunning and often most unprincipled politicians, who know how to pull the wires at elections and in the Skupsh-tina, where the peasant deputies are easily hoodwinked and corrupted by them—especially since the abrogation of the useful decree that no lawyers should be allowed to sit in the national assembly, as, on account of their volubility and powers of persuasion, they were dangerous associates for peasants accustomed to vote silently on the subjects placed before them by the King and his ministers.

Notwithstanding all the schoolmasters abroad in Servia, it is asserted that, excepting lawyers and tradesmen, everyone believes in vampires, witches, and the ‘vila,’ a mountain or river spirit, who may be benevolent or just the reverse. Whenever a vila is seen by human eyes, its feet are hoofs like those of a satyr, and it wears a white robe ; but the origin of this superstition has been long forgotten, though it may be a survival of the old Greek myths of nymphs and fauns, as well as of the Asiatic genii or djinns. So afraid are the peasants of witches, that no house on St. John’s day is ever left without its wreath of leaves and flowers mixed with garlic—a herb which no witch can endure—and this custom, even observed in Belgrade, has come down from the period of paganism. The Servian shepherds and goatherds, who consider St. John as their patron, during the night of his feast have bonfires, over which they jump as they throw lighted branches into the air for good luck. In some localities the people will bring out all their clothes ‘for the sun to see them ;’ and they also declare that out of its deep respect for St. John, that luminary remains stationary three times.

At Easter every head of a family brings a lamb, with a lighted taper fastened on its head, to the church, outside which it stands with all those of the commune. As soon as mass is over, the pope comes out to pray for a good year for the flocks and herds, and he blesses the lambs, who are

then taken home to be killed for the Easter banquet, while their skins, an article of great export, are given as fees to the pope. St. George's day in April is also celebrated with superstitious practices, and it is the period chosen for 'charming,' or making various charms to ward off hail-storms and other forms of ill-luck. One really pretty usage is the 'varize,' taking place in December on the feast of St. Barbara, when different kinds of grain having been boiled all night in a cauldron, a boy is sent with it to the nearest spring or river, into which he flings three spoonfuls, saying aloud: 'Oh! God, give us honey and wax from the flowers, dews from heaven, and fruit from the earth, and of Thy mercy grant us health and joy.' Then going home, he devours the remainder of the porridge with his family.¹⁹

What most spoils the Servians is their terrible self-sufficiency; and a writer well acquainted with them says that 'a Bulgar will listen and learn, but the most ignorant Servian will never acknowledge his inferiority to any man living.' Murders are of frequent occurrence, as the peasants still have an Asiatic indifference concerning the sanctity of human life. This explains the unseemly behaviour shown at Belgrade after the recent regicides, though it should be admitted that much of it was inspired by fear, as, until the arrival of King Peter, a reign of terror certainly existed in the city, and many people who were shot by the scoundrels in power, were announced to have committed suicide. In Servia a murderer suffers the last penalty at the place where the crime was perpetrated, and standing blindfolded by his open grave he is shot. Occasionally a criminal will be permitted by the 'panduri,' or police, to stupefy himself with drink previous to the execution. Criminals who manage to evade justice take to the mountain gorges, where they are never molested by the peasants, and they readily bring them food, as otherwise they know they would be shot by these desperadoes.

Still, the Servian people, on the whole, may be said to possess many excellent qualities, and in spite of their

¹⁹ *Old Servian Customs*, Grant Maxwell.

innate melancholy, Servians are good-tempered and courteous. Every peasant bows politely when passing anyone on the road. He will say to a young married woman: 'God help thee, my pretty sister-in-law,' as though he were a brother of her husband; an unmarried girl is greeted as 'sister,' and an elderly or old woman as 'aunt.' Without the least appearance of servility, the Servians will always try to please a guest, and they have the happy instinct of saying agreeable things at the right moment. They are self-possessed and simple in their manners, and are neither shy nor awkward. Considering themselves as good as their neighbours, they cringe to nobody; address their king always as 'thou,' while formerly the women used to kiss Queen Nathalie on both cheeks whenever she attended a village 'Slava.' At the same time, they respect themselves too much to affect the blunt and discourteous behaviour of Radical politicians in the Belgrade cafés.

Servia, full of fertile plains and valleys, rich in valuable minerals,²⁰ is a very beautiful country. Great spurs of the Carpathians, covered on the lower parts by forests, are to be seen, as well as the hills where the vines grow, but the cultivation of the olive is precluded by the severe winter frosts. The river scenery of Danube, Save, Drina, and other streams is lovely in some parts and wild in others, and on these rivers are still seen the old-world Servian mills, built on boats anchored in the midst or at the side of the current, each having a huge wheel, near which is the miller's cottage. Most of the bridges are of primitive make, consisting of a few carelessly-bound logs; but at Belgrade the railway bridge piers are of splendid marble, which is relatively cheap, there being numerous quarries in Servia, not only of marble, but of fine stone and slate. Belgrade, derived from 'Beograd,' the white city, is a handsome, modern town of white or gaily-coloured houses, exquisitely

²⁰ Many of the mines were worked by the Romans. The peasants of the Kraina district have always collected gold washed down from the mountains after heavy rains. Copper, lead, an immense amount of excellent coal, and a variety of other minerals abound, but have been a much neglected source of wealth. Now concessions are being made, and the Government also works mines, chiefly those of lead, for military magazines.

situated on a hill near the junction of Save and Danube. An old mosque, a few fountains, and a dilapidated arch known as 'the Gate of Stamboul' are the sole remains of vanished Ottoman domination. In the atrociously-paved side-streets, rivalling those of Madrid, numbers of small frogs hop about, and it is not known how they ever came there, nor how they contrive to live among the cobbles of Belgrade. Acacias and lime-trees grow in every direction in the gay, bright-looking city, with its boulevards and parks, including the public gardens at the top of the hill where the Turks used to impale obnoxious Servians. From the terrace, with the old citadel in the background, is seen far away to the left a dark, conical mountain, while the green waters of the Save, issuing from forests lying to the south-west, comes to join the slow-moving, yellow stream of the stately Danube. 'The charm of the landscape,' writes Mr. Vivian, 'lies in the infinite variety of colouring : the mauve mists, the copper beeches, the silvery sheen—a kaleidoscope which seems shaken at every season, and almost at every hour.'

Such is Servia : a monarchic yet intensely democratic state, peopled by a Slavonic race, respecting whose origin there are many conflicting opinions, albeit one learned man is inclined to class the Slavs as a branch of the great Celtic division in Europe on account of its similarity of ideas and customs. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the Servians are decidedly one of our dominant races, who, perhaps, may be destined to occupy again a prominent position in the world's history. Unfortunately, the nation has been sorely discredited by the revolting and dastardly crime of a band of turbulent and treacherous ruffians, who, outraging the feelings of every right-minded person, have inflicted a stigma of indelible shame upon the modern annals of their native land.

PAUL DILLON.

THE ORIGIN AND DIGNITY OF MAN

AS the physical growth of the individual is attained by the nutritive, so the species is multiplied by the generative process. The phenomenon of reproduction becomes therefore the complement and perfection of the phenomenon of nutrition. The generative function, moreover, affords in its various modes a particular instance of that general law of progress which prevails throughout the whole series of living beings, and consists in a gradual division of labour and a corresponding specialization of function. Such specialization is totally absent in the process by which some of the protozoa reproduce their kind. Thus the amoeba, having come to the full measure of its growth, multiplies itself by the simple division of its unicellular organism. Slightly higher in the scale of life the function of reproduction becomes localized. There appears on the parent form, as in the case of the saccharomyces, a bud which develops to its term, to separate finally into independent offspring. The co-existence of two sexes in one and the same being, marks a more advanced stage of the specialization we are considering; while in the union of two distinct individuals co-operating for the propagation of their species, this specialization reaches its most perfect expression.

In its strict acceptation, generation implies not only the reproduction of a living substance, it also implies the specific similarity to the parent organism of the substance thus produced. This fact of similarity it will be seen, strikes at the very root of the philosophy of 'selection,' and in the interest of this philosophy, Darwin and Weissmann have devised their ingenious theories. A consideration, however, of the hypotheses of the external or internal struggle for existence lies beyond our purpose. We may content ourselves with observing that they are inadequate and unsatisfactory; the fact of a specific identity of parent and offspring being inexplicable only on the ground of an immanent principle of finality by

virtue of which all living substances tend naturally to realize and preserve a definite type.

As a physiological function the generative office has with men, no less than with the lower animals, a material and carnal character. From revelation, however, we are made aware of a process that transcends all physical agency, is purely spiritual, yet verifies the highest notion of generation. Accepting on faith the existence of the relations of Paternity and Filiation in the Godhead, referred to by St. John, when he tells us that 'as the Father hath life in Himself, so He hath given to the Son also to have life in Himself,' we reach the idea of a one Divine Person originating eternally from another and possessing the same identical nature as the Divine Person from whom He originated.¹ The words, 'paternity' and 'sonship,' therefore, when referred to God, are used to express, not figures of speech, but infinite actualities, and St John Damascus could justly say: 'Let it be known that the names, "paternity," "filiation," "procession," are not transferred by us to the Blessed Deity, but, on the contrary, are thence communicated to us, wherefore the Apostle declares,² "I bow my knees to the Father . . . of whom all paternity in heaven and earth is named."'³

If physiologically the same elements are common as they are essential to the function by which man and the higher

¹ This transcendent problem which faith reveals, has historically called forth the beautiful psychological theory of St. Augustine and the equally beautiful speculations of the Greek Fathers in quest of rational analogies. The Greek Fathers, as De Regnon says, inclined to a dynamic view of the divine nature as an infinitely fecund self-communicating principle of good, while St. Augustine took rather a static view and built up his theory on the fact, that in thinking Himself, God gave an infinite and adequate expression to his self-knowledge in a concept, an image, or a term of thought which truly proceeded out of Himself and relatively reproduced the divine nature. Whether, therefore, we express God's thought Himself with St. John as 'Logos,' with St. Paul as 'image,' or with the schoolmen as 'term,' this expression will verify the notion of origin from another and of similarity in nature of the one originated to the one originating, which, as we have said, are the essential marks of all generation. But the idea of divine generation must be disassociated from the accidental features of our mental operations. The self-subsistence of the divinity which excludes all potentiality and passivity, demands absolute identity between God understanding and God understood, between the principle and the term of thought in the divine intellectual life. The Son, therefore, is declared to be 'consubstantial with the Father.'

² Eph. iii. 15.

³ Joan. Damasc, *Fid. Orthod.*, l. i., c. 8.

animals propagate their kind, there is in human generation, according to Christian doctrine, an agency that exalts it far above the process to which the permanence of the mere animal species is owing. This distinguishing agency is naught else than the action of the transcendent Creator, by virtue of which, within the mother's womb, the embryo is endowed with its informing and vivifying soul. So intimate and necessary is the work of the Creator in this phenomenon, so thorough His co-operation with the creature, yet withal so clearly defined is the part performed by each, that the being thus begotten is truly said to be stamped not only with the features of his human parents, but with the image and likeness of the Divine.

The action of the Supreme Being, which we would describe, is aptly illustrated in the creation of the first man, as told in the narrative of Genesis: 'And God created man to His own image, to the image of God he created him.'⁴ The two-fold process which obtained in the creation of the protoparent, finds place in the procreation of his offspring. For, as the body of Adam, moulded of pre-existing material, received through a distinct act of Omnipotence, the breath of life, which was its animating soul, so in generation, the physical being of the child formed from the body of its progenitors, is directly supplied with a rational, life-giving principle, only through an immediate operation of the Divinity.

The relation of the Divine to the human element in procreation is such, that it is readily seen to be something quite different from that assistance which theologians designate technically as '*concursus divinus*,' and which, they tell us, is necessary to every doing of created beings, as secondary causes acting under and by the virtue received from the Primal Cause of the whole finite order. A relationship of a higher kind between the Divine and human is implied in the function we are considering. For here the Creator and creature so co-operate that the former may be said to be the co-labourer of the latter. Not that they represent two diverse agencies working along separate and parallel lines, but two distinct

⁴ Gen. i. 27.

causes, the one universal, and the other particular, converging in one and the same total effect. So thoroughly is the idea of collaboration of the Divine and human verified in human generation, so truly does the former wait, as it were, for conditions to be posited by the latter, that the production of a human soul is not said to be by creation in the precise sense of the word. For there is wanting in this function that absolute and independent initiative on the part of Omnipotence which is a necessary note of every creative act. Notwithstanding the intimate co-partnership we have described, the human progenitors are justly styled the parents of the child born of their union, for by them was placed that which called forth the action of the first cause, and without which this latter would never have been realized. Justly, too, is God declared to be the author of human life, since from Him comes that which is the principle of life itself—the animating soul. In the light of this thought, the words of Eve upon the birth of Cain⁵ have an impressive significance.

The doctrine of an immediate creation of the human soul, was not, it is true, unanimously held by the Fathers. St. Jerome tells us that ‘Tertullian, Apollinaris, and most of the Westerners declared, that as the body was born of the body, so was the soul born of the soul.’⁶ And St. Augustine, as well as other African Bishops, hesitated, as we know, before the question of traducianism, thinking that such a view would lend no small strength to them in their contention against the Pelagians on the question of the transmission of original sin.⁷

But if we except Apollinaris, who fell into formal heresy, the traducianism of these Fathers always drew a sharp distinction between the origin of the soul and that of the body. It is wrong, therefore, to say, with the writer in the *Catholic Dictionary*, that Tertullian held the soul of man to be produced like that of brutes, by natural generation.⁸ The Latin Doctor indeed, thought, as St. Jerome testifies, that the soul

⁵ Gen. iv. 1.

⁶ St. Hieron, *Ep.* 126, *Ad Marcellinam et Anapsychiam*.

⁷ St. Aug., *Ep. ad Hieron.*, 166.

⁸ Addis and Arnold, *Cath. Dict.*, p. 771; cf. Tertull., *De Anima*, 27.

was generated by a process of semination similar to the one by which the body begets the body, but this kind of generation is not the generation of brutes. Such only would it be, did the soul gain its being from the exercise of any power inherent in matter, and hence by the identical process by which the body is generated. But Tertullian, while he erred in thinking the indivisible soul could be capable of the fission which he indelicately describes, maintained that its nature was quite distinct from the nature of the body, that it was immaterial and in the act of human generation, therefore, there was necessary a two-fold process—the same two-fold process in fact, which he represents as occurring in the creation of Adam.

Though the Fathers who professed, what St. Jerome called the 'ecclesiastical dogma,' of the special creation of human souls, did not give fully or exactly the reason for their belief,⁹ they saw that the soul's origin could not be accounted for in any view that pre-supposed a division into parts. The impassable barrier which bounds off the material from the spiritual, they sufficiently discerned. And it is this impassable barrier between these two orders that makes any other doctrine regarding the origin of the human soul but that of divine creation on the one hand, or, of pure simple materialism on the other, inconsistent. For, either the operations of the soul are but the phenomena of organization, or they are not. If not, then its spiritual unity will not permit that this informing principle should owe its origin to any process of emanation, or division. It is the work of creation, and the creative power cannot be given to the angels, as in the whimsies of the Arabs, or to the human parents as Frohschammer would contend, for it is an incommunicable attribute of the Infinite. There remains for us, then, but the fantasy of Plato and Origen, that souls existed before their enclosure in the body, or the tenet of an immediate creation. The first of these ideas merits small consideration. It is totally devoid of the positive grounds necessary to save it from being 'such stuff as dreams are made of,' and was condemned by the Council

⁹ Cf. St. Hieron., *Eccle.* xii. 7; Lactant., *De Opif. Dei*, c. 19; Rufinus, *Lib. de Fide*, n. 28; cf. Migne, 21, 1137, 1138.

of Constantinople, A.D. 553.¹⁰ We are brought, therefore, to the only alternative—the doctrine of an immediate creation on the occasion of the beginning of each human, earthly existence.

The idea entertained by the Church of the noble character of the generative function is well manifested by the attitude which the Fathers never failed to assume towards those sects, that in the early history of the Church represented this act as evil. Most of these sects belong to that branch of the Gnostics which taught, that between the Supreme God of Holiness and the Creator of the world, generally known as the Demiurge, there prevailed an original and irreconcilable hostility. The basic idea of this, as of all the forms of Gnosticism, was the motion set forth in the Platonic Cosmogony, that the Absolute and Unconditioned could not be the Creator of the relative and the conditioned. This thought taken up by Philo, was made the ground on which he rested his distinction, inasmuch as it really is a distinction, between God and the Logos. But Philo, an unconverted Jew, used this idea only in the interpretation of the facts recorded in the Old Testament. The Gnostics, however, accepting Christianity, were obliged to carry the conception farther, in order to bring it to bear upon their speculations regarding the central

¹⁰ *Cf.* Mansi, Tom. ix. 395. The idea of the pre-existence of souls, in would appear, has recommended itself to some poetic minds. Witness the well-known lines of Wordsworth:

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting,
The soul that rises with us, our life's Star
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness
Nor yet in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home.

And the words of Tennyson:

Twilight and evening star;
And one clear call for me,
And may there be no moaning of the bar
When I put out to see;
But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound or foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns toward home.

fact of their professed creed—the Redemption. In their scheme it became the mission of the Redeemer either to remedy or to thoroughly undo the work of the Creator or Demiurge, according as the latter was considered merely an imperfect being, or one positively evil and hostile to the Messiah. In the case of an original antagonism between the two, a result practical, as well as speculative, could not fail to ensue. This result was a reaction against the things of sense which were despicable because of their remoteness from God, were evil because of their creation and government by an agent arrayed against God. Such abhorrence to matter naturally enough found expression in two diametrically opposite forms; it was the source whence sprang on the one side a most insensate debauchery, and on the other a dark, unChristian asceticism. The Nicolaitanes and the Carpocratians must be especially mentioned as falling into the first of these extremes, the excesses of the latter being, according to St. Clement of Alexandria, notoriously flagrant.¹¹

The higher life, declared these Gnostics, being something quite apart from the life of the flesh, its exalted independence was to be established by its continuance in undisturbed tranquillity amid the riot and indulgence of the animal nature. The better to test and evidence this superiority over his lower being, a man must fight 'pleasure with pleasure, since he did nothing great who abstained from lust not having tried it, but he did, who, immersed in it, was not overcome.'¹² Lawlessness of this kind was sufficient to discredit these sects before all rightly ordered minds. It was different in the case of those Gnostics whose practices were just the antipodal to such grossness. Principal among these were the followers of the ill-fated pair Tatian and Marcion, whose views on the inherent evil of matter found issue in the utter condemnation of marriage as a thing diabolical.¹³ St. Ephraem of Syria accuses Marcion of gaining a deceptive show of sanctity through his

¹¹ Tertull., *Cont. Marc.*, l. i., c. 29; St. Aug., *De Haeres.*, cap. 3; St. Clem. *Alex. Strom.* iii., 185.

¹² St. Clem., *ibid.* ii., 20.

¹³ St. Irenaeus, *Haeres.*, i., 28; Tertull., *op. cit.*, l. i., c. 29; Theodor, *Harct. Tab.*, i., c. 20.

austerity,¹⁴ and the example of their plausible lives could not but give the Tatianites and Marcionites no small influence over the unwary. Against this baneful influence, as against the doctrine of dualism and the contrariety of the Old to the New Testament, the Fathers would vindicate the dogma of the creation of all things visible and invisible by the one Supreme Being—a Being not of limited power or of malicious character and intent, whose work was to be combated and destroyed, but the God of sanctity, who has ‘bestowed His blessing upon marriage as upon an honourable estate for the increase of the human race, just as He has upon the whole of creation for wholesome and good uses.’¹⁵ It followed from this that the mission of Jesus Christ could not be to introduce a dispensation that would subvert an institution like marriage founded in the divinely-appointed nature of things, and hence of inherent purity and blamelessness. He who came ‘not to destroy but to fulfil,’ must not only recognize a lasting quality in an economy devised by Infinite Wisdom, but must give to it a share in the larger blessings and graces of the kingdom He would establish upon earth.

Vanquished by Christian Theism, the Dualism of the Gnostics yielded its high historic place to the more radical and absolute Dualism of the Persian Mani. In Zoroastrianism, which is generally described as a system of Dualism, the evil Ahriman if not created by Ormuzd and cast down by him, is, at most, a being vastly superior to the God of Light. In Manichaeism, the principle of evil, no less than the principle of good, is self-existent, eternal. Moreover, in the idea of Mani, good being thoroughly identified with light and evil with darkness, the ethical becomes quite physical, and salvation consists in the liberation of the light from the darkness in which it has been immersed. The co-mingling of light and darkness, good and evil, was first brought about when the Primeval Man sent by the King of Light to conquer the hosts of Darkness, lost in the fray his armour of light to his enemy. Jealous to retain their trophy the demons of Darkness deter-

14 Eph., Syr. Lat. *Sermo*, i. 438 seq.

15 Tertull., *loc. cit.*

mined to create man that they might provide themselves with prison-houses in which to enthrall the precious portion light which they had wrested from their foe. To propagate the human race, therefore, is but to minister to the evil purposes of the Spirit of Darkness, for in so doing the light which would be emancipated and united to its original source is distributed and detained in its vile durance. A doctrine such as this necessarily gave rise to the most rigid asceticism. And so it was the Elect of the Manichaeans were obliged to abstain from entering upon marriage, while the members of the second class of the sect, the Auditores, though permitted to marry, were logically led, as St. Augustine points out,¹⁶ to the vicious practice of frustrating the primary end of wedlock.

It is not easy to account satisfactorily for the wide and rapid spread of Manichaeism. Harnack assigns among other reasons, the fact 'that Manichaeism presented a simple, apparently profound and easy solution of the problem of good and evil.'¹⁷ This problem was, as Tertullian, Eusebius, and Epiphanius testify, a pressing and continual one with the early philosophers and heretics,¹⁸ and consequently must have been felt very generally to be of urgent importance. In the contention against the Manichaeans, therefore, St. Augustine sets forth with emphasis the Christian doctrine of good and evil, of the origin of the latter, and of the impossibility of tracing any authorship of evil to God. Herein he lays the axe to the root of the moral system and false asceticism of this sect.

Despite the most vigorous measures taken by the Roman emperors to suppress it, Manichaeism continued on in the West until the close of the sixth century at least. At that time we hear Pope Gregory the Great exhorting the Deacon Cyprian to deal energetically with the members of the sect, and to strive hard to win them over to the Catholic faith.¹⁹ After this the followers of Mani seem to have died out in the West, though their principles were given a new life by the Cathari and Bogomiles in the eleventh century, and, it would

¹⁶ St. Aug., *De Mor. Manichae*, c. xviii.

¹⁷ Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. iii., p. 333.

¹⁸ Tertull., *De Praescr. Haeret.*, 7; Euseb., *H. E.*, v. 27; Epiphani., *Haer.*, xxiv. 6.

¹⁹ Epist., lib. v., Epis. viii., *ad Cypr. Diac.*; cf. Migne, 77, p. 729.

appear, by some, at least, of the Albigenses in the two following centuries.²⁰ In the doctrines of these bodies we find much the same kind of dualism, the same distinction between a more perfect and less perfect class, and the same antagonism on the part of the more perfect class to human pro-creation.

In our own time attacks upon the morality of the marriage relation have been desultory and comparatively speaking, without strength. The spirit of materialism which pervades so widely about us at present is far from finding expression in a fanaticism of self-denial or mortification of the flesh. In the middle of the seventeenth century, however, when the Russian Orthodox Church would reform certain of its rites and ceremonials, the Raskol or Church of Dissent arose in which there early appeared sects that manifested for a time the same wild aberrations that characterized certain of the Gnostics of the second and third century. Ardent, unenlightened, and absurdly conservative, some of the Raskolniks saw in the changes wrought in their creed by the Patriarch Nikon, and later on by Peter the Great, whom for his innovations they termed the Anti-Christ, a total corruption of their old religion. The sacrament of matrimony had been lost, they declared, and therefore all carnal union of the sexes became unlawful. A popular catechism in use among the more rigid of these bodies, asserted that : ' The youth should never take a wife ; the husband should never possess the wife ; the maiden should never marry ; the wife should never bear children.'²¹ As we would expect, we discover springing from the same soil as that which nourished this asceticism an unspeakable libertinism. The same two extremes of indulgence and abstinence we notice also in the case of different sects outside of the Raskol. Thus the Khlysti or Flagellants repudiate marriage, while the Shakouni or Jumpers are guilty of revolting immoralities. Finally, the Skoptsi or Eunuchs, taking the words of Matt. xix. 12 in the literal sense in which

²⁰ The 'perfect' of this sect called the Good Men were condemned in a Council held at Lombez, in France, in 1176. According to this Council the secretaries taught that marriage was unlawful and preventive of salvation. Cf. Harduin, tom. 6 b., 1648.

²¹ Albert F. Heard, *The Russian Church and Russian Dissent*, p. 241.

they were accepted by Origen, have carried, like the great Father, their reverence for the letter into its practical effect.²² The ceremony of dancing, jumping, shaking, and shouting, which many of these sects and those akin to them in other quarters dignify with the character of sacred rites, shows how thoroughly their religion is made up of mere sensuous emotion and excitement. In this flood of feeling the spiritual sense becomes deluded, oftentimes thoroughly vitiated; all true moral balance is lost, and the safe mean between legitimate indulgence and riotous excess on the one hand, and between a noble restraint and excessive asceticism on the other, is totally missed.

The same distempered idea entertained by numbers of his countrymen respecting the carnal union in wedlock, is expressed by the distinguished novelist Tolstoi, when he says:

To the true Christian, the sexual relations in marriage, not only do not constitute a lawful, happy, and regular state as is maintained by society and the Church, but on the contrary always constitute a snare, a weakness, a sin. . . . A Christian, I say, cannot regard the sexual relations but as a departure from the doctrine of Christ, as an actual sin.²³

Overwrought, apparently, at witnessing the mere brute passion that asserts itself in many marriages, a picture of which he portrays in his *Kreutzer Sonata*, this sensitive writer would see an essential element in an incidental abuse. The sense which he attaches to the words and example of Christ, respecting virginity, confirms the Russian novelist in his perverted notion. The false light he puts upon these words, and this example, distorts absurdly in his mind the idea of marriage. The right relation between the two states of life is lost sight of, and what should be to each other as good and better, becomes only as good and bad. The failure to reconcile the teaching and practice of Christ regarding virginity, to the due estimate of marriage is seen again in the case of the Shakers, the oldest religious community in the

²² Heard, *ibid.*, p. 253 and foll.

²³ Count Leon Tolstoi, *Vicious Pleasures, Sequel to the Kreutzer Sonata*, pp. 20, 21.

United States. Stopping short only of the extreme reached by Tolstoi, one of the Bishops of this Church declares:—

I will agree and even affirm that marriage and orderly generation are the true and best conditions for the natural man on the animal plane of life, yet it can be no part of Christ's Kingdom. It belongs exclusively to the children of this world. . . . It follows then that all true Christians in order that they should be accounted worthy, must not marry.²⁴

Though Plato and the Gnostics declared that the Absolute and Unconditioned God could not be the Creator of the relative and conditioned world, they did not, with all their refined and arbitrary speculation, deny that the relative and conditioned world existed. This stubborn fact they faced, and so were driven to construct their systems of intermediary Demiurge and aeone. But the foundress and high priestess of so-called Christian Science, Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy, while denying that God created the material universe, is obliged to have recourse to no such clumsy shifts. For, according to this lady, God cannot be said to have created matter for the very sufficient reason that matter does not exist. 'Matter,' she tells us, 'is nothing, and nothing is matter.' 'Nothing we can say regarding matter is true, except that matter is unreal and therefore a belief.'²⁵ And so it transpires that the trees, plants, and flowers, of which we read in Genesis, never had any objective being. They were 'but ideas of the mind.' It is obvious that from such a premise great and radical consequences must follow. Among others, what becomes of the physical relations of the sexes in marriage? On this question Mrs. Eddy is not illogical, though prudently enough, not over insistent. Generation, she would have us understand, does not necessarily rest on a 'sexual basis.' Indeed the time is to come 'of which Jesus spake, when He declared that in the resurrection, there should be no more marrying, or giving in marriage, but mortals should be as the angels.' It is clear that Mrs. Eddy would have us believe that this condition of things is

²⁴ H. L. Eads, Bishop of South Union, Ky., *Shaker Sermons*, containing the substance of Shaker's Theology, p. 53.

²⁵ Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, 144th ed., pp. 7, 173.

possible and to be looked for before that side of the grave is reached, to which the woman and her seven husbands, referred to in the Gospel, were said to have gone. Yet until man attains to the full knowledge and realization of the 'spiritual creation,' marriage must remain on its present low level. So, in a spirit of heroic concession to these present low methods, after the example, as we are informed of the concession shown by our Lord when He suffered Himself to be baptized, this lady is content to lay down some advice adapted to marriage as it obtains in the existing, transient order. Nor does she at any time betray the slightest uneasiness at the thought that possibly she may be obliged to revise soon her chapter on Marriage in what she calls her 'precious volume,' because of the total substitution of the spiritual for the sexual in fruitful wedlock.

The likeness of human marriage to the spiritual bonds between the Lamb and the bride of the Apocalypse is not, as Mrs. Eddy dreams, to be realized only in changed and better conditions of the future. Now, as from the beginning, the union of man and woman in Christian marriage is the antitype of the ineffable nuptials of Christ and His Church. In the similitude between this mystic marriage and Christian wedlock drawn by St. Paul, there is no elimination of the physical relation. But as Christ sanctified the Church that He might present her to Himself 'holy and without blemish,' so in Christian marriage that which unbridled and abused might degrade and brutalize, is, through a special grace, purified and directed to a hallowed purpose. It is in this union that the Christian mother gains a blessing that recompenses her for being debarred from the rôle of public teacher in the Church, open only to the male sex. For, in bringing forth children to be reared in love and sobriety as members of Christ's body, His Church, and destined to be citizens in the everlasting kingdom, she fulfils an office possessing a character that can be likened only to that of a sacred ministry. Hence it is that in instituting a comparison between the virginal and the marriage state, St. Paul finds no content of moral baseness or evil whatsoever in the latter. Virginity, it is true, has a higher dignity than marriage, but this higher dignity rests

upon the freedom and disentanglement which enables the soul to give itself to the service of God without reserve or limit. In the marital state such total and exclusive dedication is checked and harried by the pressure of a solicitude over duties that may not be ignored.²⁶

It is evident not only from St. Paul, but particularly from the Fathers who contended against Gnostics and Manichaeans, that the principle of Christian asceticism is radically different from that asceticism which is based upon the idea of an inherent evil in matter. The notion that the visible creation was from a being opposed to the God of Holiness which was held by a large body of Gnostics and by all the Manichaeans, implied that marriage was a thing positively and absolutely vile, a noisome tare planted by an enemy that must needs be, as far as possible, uprooted. Abstinence from it, therefore, though obviously practised by a few, could not be the exercise of a high virtue. It was an action incumbent upon all who would not be immersed in wrong, in darkness. It was an action that was disassociated with any chastisement and lowliness of spirit. It was negative, external, mechanical. Unaccompanied by any elevation of the soul, it was as the shunning of a poisonous herb or a noxious gas. In the Christian idea, on the contrary, marriage as ordained of the God of Purity from the beginning, was good, honourable, and worthy of veneration. It entailed, however, duties that were engrossing, and distracted from that total immolation of self to God to which the chosen soul, with the example of her Lord before her, was invited. Itself an extraordinary grace, the call to this state of self denial imposed a mortification of heart no less than of body. The condition of the Christian ascetic, moreover, was not only an occasion for the performance of a nobler virtue, it was also the means by which this virtue was to be made generous and strong. Hence it was truly a training, the training of a spiritual athlete who withdraws from legitimate indulgence not only for the negative advantage of gaining a wider freedom, but more particularly for the positive boon of winning a greater strength and endurance by and

²⁶ 1. Cor. vii. 32 and foll.

through his abnegation. Pride or self-complacency in the Christian ascetic, therefore, was fatal. Particularly was he warned by the Fathers, from the very beginning, against a pride or complacency that would show itself in a contempt or disregard of Christian marriage.²⁷

It was inevitable, indeed, that some within the early Christian Church should be contaminated by the false asceticism of the Gnostics and Manichaeans. This was undoubtedly the case with Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, who, about the middle of the fourth century, stirred up a disorder in part of the Christian fold by his violent repudiation of marriage. To check this fanatic and his followers, and to disavow their errors, the Synod of Gangra was convened. And no clearer or more concise condemnation of unenlightened asceticism could be put forth than that contained in the twenty canons of this Synod. Listen to the pronouncements against those who would abhor marriage. Says the first canon:—‘If anyone despises wedlock, abhorring and blaming the woman *quae cum marito suo dormit*, even if she is a believer and devout, as if she could not enter the kingdom of God, let him be anathema.’

The ninth canon declares: ‘If anyone lies unmarried or in continence, avoiding marriage from contempt, and not because of the beauty and holiness of virginity, let him be anathema.’

So also the tenth: ‘If any one of those who for the Lord’s sake remain single, in pride exalts himself above those who are married, let him be anathema.’

The fourteenth avows: ‘If a woman leaves her husband and separates herself, from an abhorrence of the marriage state, let her be anathema.’

The epilogue which the Synod adds after its canons is no less pointed:—

We write this [it concludes] not in order to shut out those who in the Church of God and in accordance with the Holy Scriptures, desire to lead ascetic lives, but those who make asceticism a pretext for pride, exalt themselves above those who lead simpler lives, and introduce innovations contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the canons of the Church. We, too, admire

²⁷ St. Clem., Epist. i., *ad Corinth*, c. 38; St. Ignat., Epist. *ad Polyc.*, c. 5.

virginity, which is accompanied with humility, and approve continence when joined to dignity and virtue. We approve the renunciation of worldly affairs if done with humility, and honour married intercourse as seemly.²⁸

The exotic branch which Eustathius for a moment engrafted upon the trunk of the Church being cast off and hurled to the ground directly withered and died, for after the Synod of Gangra we hear no more of his movement.

JOHN WEBSTER MELODY.

²⁸ Hefele, *History of the Councils of the Church*, trans by Henry Nutcombe Oxenham, vol. ii., p. 327 and foll.

WHAT IS A REASONABLE FAITH?¹

II

SO far, the main drift of the present argument has been entirely negative, and I fear I may have to some extent alienated the sympathy of my readers, by postponing for so long the effort to vindicate by positive argument my own views concerning what constitutes the true foundation of religious belief. For, unless my purpose in writing these articles is to be completely misunderstood, it must be borne in mind that, while considering the account of the nature of the rational basis of Faith commonly given by Catholic apologists to be insufficient and misleading, I am at the same time of opinion that a strong case may be made out on other lines for the legitimacy and reasonableness—nay, in many instances, the necessity—of believing what in the nature of things does not admit of strict logical proof at the hands of the average inquirer. I purposely introduce the qualification ‘in many instances’ because I am convinced that in the case of a certain type of mind

¹NOTE.—In a friendly notice published in the July I. E. RECORD, the Editor has informed his readers of the reasons for the non-appearance of my second article originally intended to appear in that issue. With his permission, I offer the following observations by way of further explanation, but chiefly because there appears to have been some misunderstanding between us. What happened was this. On proceeding to work up the materials I had collected, I found that the subject had grown under my hands, so that a full statement of my views would demand more space than I could reasonably expect to be allotted to me in one number of the I. E. RECORD. In order to avoid delay in publication I, accordingly, forwarded to Dr. Hogan a second instalment sufficient for one insertion, promising to remit the remainder in due course. My second Paper contained a criticism of Pascal's Wager (which argument I consider invalid), in which occurred certain expressions borrowed from Pascal to which Dr. Hogan objected. Desiring to give full effect to his objections I have cancelled the section dealing with Pascal, and have added some paragraphs with the object of making my meaning and purpose clear. I am told that not a few among the readers of the I. E. RECORD have been interested by the discussion in my first article; and I can only say that, for my part, I should regard it as my greatest merit to provoke by my humble effort a thorough re-investigation of the whole subject by those whose qualifications for dealing with so perplexing a problem are so obviously superior to mine.

religious beliefs of any kind are at best a superfluity. There is, to be sure, what may be called a mystical side of human nature, whose longing for knowledge of some

Sweet, strange mystery,
Of what beyond these things may lie,
And yet remain unseen,

imperatively demands satisfaction. And the majority, doubtless, seek (and frequently find) such satisfaction in some dogmatic creed. Others take refuge in poetry or art. To those, again, who think more of the pursuit of truth than of its attainment, Philosophy will offer greater attractions than Religion. Such are the men who sit down early in life to the game of thought, and demand always that it should be played strictly according to the rules. They will not be very confident of man's power to grapple with first principles and ultimate issues; but, on the other hand, they will cherish no desire for any substitute for, or complement to, human reason, and will have but scant sympathy with the will-to-believe attitude of mind. In saying this I have, of course, no desire to exalt Philosophy at the expense of Religion or Art. All three in fact work by methods distinct, yet equally legitimate, towards the same end; nor is there any superstition more baneful than that which would extol the mere intellect as highest and worthiest among human powers. Each of us pursues the truth in his own way, and Wisdom, we may be sure, is justified of all her children.

Religion, then, may be taken as indispensable for all who are not content merely to enquire or to dream, but who, if they are to live at all, must have some positive dogmatic basis on which to rest their most cherished convictions. Man, however, is withal a rational animal, to this extent at least, that he must ever seek reasons—good reasons when they are to be had, or bad ones where he must—for what he instinctively believes. And it is, I suppose, one part of the philosopher's business to supply him with such reasons, or, rather, to unite his vague and inarticulate musings with the intelligible forms of the understanding. The philosopher thus discharges, in the sphere of reason, a

function analogous to that of the poet who voices the profoundest sentiments of mankind; he gives form, and, through form, more reality, to what is universally thought, but which few have the power to analyse aright or to embody in fitting words. All this, of course, has been recognised by Christianity, which, from the day when St. Paul first encountered philosophers at Athens, has always claimed to be a rational religion in the sense that it appeals to the intellect no less than to the 'heart,' and is ready to prove at the bar of reason its intrinsic superiority to all rival speculations concerning the mystery of things. We, of course, with our later knowledge, may criticise the results arrived at by the Fathers and Schoolmen, and question the rationality of much that they considered rational, and that has impressed itself as such on the popular Christian consciousness ever since. And, though the task prove often a thankless one, it is the bounden duty of Philosophy to exhibit the weakness of many a chain of reasoning with which less critical minds have contented themselves, and to arouse to a sense of the insecurity of their position all such as have deluded themselves into confounding specious sophistry with sober and serious argument. But Philosophy, if thus compelled to uplift her voice in the great world, must not stop here. If she pull down the temple, it must only be to build it anew on a more solid and lasting foundation. With this explanation and (I hope) justification of the earlier critical section of my Paper, I now enter upon the more arduous task of reconstruction.

I take it then to be by now obvious that in the case of the more reflective portion of mankind (and it will be remembered that the present investigation concerns them alone), Religious Belief cannot, and does not, remain, as it were, suspended in the air, but requires to be founded on the rock of reason, or at all events on what the individual believer takes to be good and sufficient grounds. Such a statement would probably be accepted by the great mass of theologians, and seems to me to differ not at all from that put forward by most of the highest authorities, *e.g.*, St. Thomas, de Lugo, Suarez, in their treatises *De Fide*. For

present purposes, however, it is important, and even essential, to consider more closely the question as to what exactly constitutes 'good and sufficient grounds' of Faith. No doubt in the case of mathematics the distinction between psychological grounds of belief and logical reasons for believing is unnecessary and futile. The explanation is that, in mathematical reasoning, the mind is able to construct for itself intuitions corresponding to the conceptions with which it operates, and thus to realise the inevitableness and necessity (*Soseinmüßens*) of its deductions. But this is not so in Philosophy and Religion. Philosophical and religious conceptions do not admit of construction in intuition in the same way as mathematical; nor consequently have chains of reasoning connecting such concepts and drawing out their hidden implications the same constraining force over our belief. We all know how a brilliant theologian may be lukewarm, or even lax, in the practice of his religion; and the same phenomenon is constantly impressing itself on us in other ways. This in itself is enough to show that, in considering the question of motives of belief, we must take account of something more than considerations appealing to the purely logical faculty alone. Man has often been defined as a rational animal, but his true *differentia* is rather his free will or power of self-determination than his reason. For man essentially is an agent: he acts from the moment of his birth; he acts long before he thinks; and will is the faculty of action. It is the will that forms our character and gives it worth; not what we have felt or thought—though these, too, have their value—but what we have willed and so become, as the result of all our thoughts and feelings, constitutes our real greatness. Nowhere is the influence of the will more real, nowhere more important, than in the formation of belief. Clement of Alexandria somewhere writes that Faith is a spontaneous acceptance and compliance with divine religion, and it would be easy to produce a long line of equally competent witnesses to the truth that men generally suit their opinions to their inclinations. The subject has been minutely investigated by modern psychologists; and it is now generally admitted that 'if a certain objective

combination present itself as the only condition, or the most favourable condition, of obtaining a certain end, the active tendency towards this end is of itself a tendency to believe in the objective combination.'² We shall presently see the relevancy of this last statement to the matter in hand, and I would ask the reader to bear it in mind while following the course of my exposition.

Now, Christianity is primarily a practical appeal to the practice of men, and as such addresses itself through their emotions to their will, rather than to their intelligence. This is the light in which we must consider it if we wish to form an accurate notion of what is a reasonable Faith. We must rid ourselves of the association between 'reasonable' and 'what appeals to the mere logical reason.' For, natural as is that association, I must insist that it is reasonable for us to believe where we must, to believe what we cannot get on without believing. All mankind, setting aside some ultra-rationalistic metaphysicians who may be left where God has placed them, instinctively recognise that, for us, the ultimate test of a truth's meaning is often the conduct it dictates or inspires. This is, if I mistake not, the true import of Christianity's claim to be regarded as a rational religion. It is not that the fundamental dogmas of the Christian faith can be rationally demonstrated;³ such

² Stout, *Analytic Psychology*, vol. ii., p. 254.

³ St. Thomas, to whom one must always go if one wishes to find perfectly clear statement, is well aware of this, as may be seen from his remark that 'rationes quae inducuntur a sanctis ad probandum ea quae sunt fidei non sunt demonstrativae, sed persuasiones quaedam manifestantes non esse impossibile quod a fide proponitur' (*Sum. Theol.*, II. II., q. I., a. 5, ad. 2.)

That, however, Religion, as an assent to the theistic doctrines, must be based on formal proof of the truth of Theism, is truly an 'idol' widely cherished, and correspondingly hard to shatter. The current (April) number of the *Dublin Review* contains a criticism of Mr. Mallock's book of last year, *Religion as a Credible Doctrine*, in which the reviewer, Rev. Vincent MacNabb, O.P. (after quoting a passage in which it is laid down that while Science affords no logical substitute for Theism, Religion holds its place in life by reason of the fact that it nourishes and gives meaning to certain of our highest feelings, and, further, that it is necessary to the complete development of the human faculties generally), proceeds to remark:—'What we have to object to in this passage is not the truth that the moral will complete the natural world, but the suggestion that we hold to the moral world merely because it gives us the sensation of continuity and completion. The desire may to some extent be taken as a sign of the object—the longing for immortality may be a proof [?] of the existence of immortality. But the desire, whilst it is a proof, [?] can

demonstration is in fact possible only in the case of an abstract subject-matter or of one artificially isolated from its context, *e.g.*, in the case of Pure Mathematics or Mechanics. Above all it is never possible, where we seek, as in Philosophy and Religion, to interpret the world as a whole. When we say that Christianity is rational, we mean, therefore, that the characteristically Christian *Weltanschauung* is on the whole more completely satisfactory to our practical needs—themselves a result to the production of which all the faculties of our personality concur—than any other scheme of thought and conduct. To avoid misconception I must perforce add that the attempt to prove the legitimacy of affirming as real the objects of certain practical needs, after having shown the unsatisfactoriness of the ignorance or the blank negations of mere science, must on no account be confounded with proof of the reality of these facts (say God, Freedom, Immortality,) themselves. It is one thing to admit that the existence of God may be known through the exercise of natural reason and another and a very different thing to analyse in a way that will satisfy the canons of a scrupulous and persistent logician the process of mind which spontaneously results in the knowledge of this fact. Furthermore, it is plain that an untrained believer who has come to doubt will be wholly

never be the only proof of an object. If Theism is to stand and fall by the longing to complete the scientific views of the cosmos, it is evident that Theism is hard pressed for proof.' Mr. MacNabb may be right in depreciating Mr. Mallock's attempted *eirenikon*, as he is certainly right in discountenancing the worth of the argument from desire to the reality of its object; but one would like to know what sort of proof he himself would propose for the theistic basis of Religion.

The truth is that Theism, if provable at all, must be proved by Philosophy. What exactly is meant by philosophical 'proof' I do not now enquire, nor is the question relevant; suffice it to say that it must be something widely different from what is called proof in Mathematics or Formal Logic. My point is, that, in any event, only a very small proportion of mankind can become metaphysicians, and that, further, so far as regards Religion as such, it makes not the least difference whether the objects embraced in any creed are demonstrably real or not, *so long as the individual is subjectively certain of their reality*. Catholics, of course, include the existence of God, etc., among the articles of belief directly guaranteed by Divine Revelation and thus as holding this and other dogmas as part of the content of their Faith, stand in no need of philosophical proof for them at all. Nor is their belief unreasonable, since it can be shown that belief in default of proof may in certain instances be eminently reasonable.

incapable of making such an analysis and thereby dispelling his doubts. In seeking to restore the faith of a person of this class some other method must be adopted, and no good can come from confounding an analysis which issues in logical demonstration with an appeal to the pragmatic sanctions of religious belief. Many recent writers (*e.g.* Prof. James, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Kidd, M. Fouillée, M. Huysmans, and M. Brunetière), who are now rightly counted on the side of belief, seem to me to be guilty of just this confusion. These writers would seem to treat the attempt to show the reasonableness—apart from all proof—of religious belief as itself a Philosophy, dignifying it with some such title as Pragmatism, Practicalism or the New Ethical Philosophy. But since Philosophy is nothing but the effort to construe the universe in terms of human thought, and since its organon is human Reason it is clear, I take it, that no system which seeks to make conduct the *sole* test of thought's significance, and selects a theory of the universe merely because it enables us to live in hope and be better men (however practically necessary and legitimate) can justly lay claim to the title of Philosophy at all. When, for example, Professor Seth declares that the *ultima ratio* of every creed, the *ultima ratio* of truth itself, is that it works, in my opinion his assertion is too sweeping, though at the same time, I heartily subscribe to the statement that 'no greater condemnation can be passed upon a doctrine or system than that if it were true human life as it has been lived by the best of the race, would cease to be reasonable.'⁴ Again, whether pragmatic Philosophy might not be constructed on the basis of Schopenhauer's central thought, that reality is merely volitional experience, and that consequently what we will is alone truly real, is a question which I do not care to discuss at present.⁵ In any case the main argument on which the champions of Pragmatism (in so far as they seek to construct a philosophy at all) seem to rely—viz., the so-called argument from needs to their satisfaction—is surely

⁴ *Man's Place in the Cosmos*, p. 307.

⁵ Cf. W. Caldwell, 'Pragmatism,' *Mind*, N.S., No. 36.

bad philosophy, if pressed to mean anything more than that the justification for certain beliefs lies in the fact that our behaviour, *as if* they were true, may tend, as James puts it, wonderfully to smooth out misunderstanding, and to bring peace into our lives. We shall see in a moment how considerations of this latter kind may furnish an adequate motive for assuming the cardinal dogmas of the Christian religion to be true; believing in them, and acting accordingly; but meantime the impossibility of Pragmatism as a working philosophy may be apparent from some of the following reflections. In the first place, to argue from our actions or reactions to the existence of what we think to be their necessary conditions or objects, involves an important and wholly unverifiable assumption. What this assumption is, is thus stated by Mr. Balfour, who in common with other pragmatists seems little troubled by the difficulty of making it good:—

But further [he asks], is it true to say that, in the absence of reason, we have continually accepted mere desire for our guide? No doubt, the theory here advocated requires us to take account, not merely of premises and their conclusions, but of needs and their satisfactions. But this is only asking us to do explicitly and on system what on the naturalistic theory is done unconsciously and at random. By the very constitution of our being we seem practically driven to assume a real world in correspondence with our ordinary judgments of perception. A harmony of some kind between our inner selves and the universe of which we form a part is thus the tacit postulate at the root of every belief we entertain about 'phenomena'; and all that I now contend for is, that a like harmony should provisionally be assumed between that universe and other elements in our nature, which are of a later, of a more uncertain, but of no ignobler growth.⁶

It is easy to see that such a contention involves what Scottish philosophers of the 'common sense' school would call an argument 'from thought to being,' or Cartesians an inference from the *ordo idearum* to the *ordo rerum*. What is

⁶ *Foundations of Belief*, p. 247.

not so easy to perceive, however, is how the gap between desire and the thing desired, between ideal representation and real object, is the thing to be bridged over. To prove as do the advocates of Pragmatism⁷ that certain ideas form the most potent stimuli to action does not carry one very far in the direction of proving that the objects of these ideas are really existent entities. In strict logic, therefore, Pragmatism can claim to be nothing more than a psychological, philosophy' of action, and if we choose to proclaim with the champions of that system the reasonableness of certain beliefs, this must be understood, not in the sense that Pragmatism can furnish any kind of metaphysical deductions of the objective validity of certain subjective conceptions or assertory judgments, but only in the sense that it vindicates the reasonableness of believing where belief is an indispensable condition of the realisation of ideals

⁷ For the benefit of those who may be interested in the subject, I append a brief note on the literature of Pragmatism. The term itself is, I believe, due to Mr. Charles Sanders Pierce, who, in an article in the *Popular Science Monthly* (vol. xii., p. 287), entitled 'Illustrations of the Logic of Science,' and published as long ago as 1878, first laid down the principle, since developed by Professor James and others. Professor James's own contributions to the subject are (i.) the chapters on the Perception of Reality and on Necessary Truths and the Effect of Experience in his *Principles of Psychology* (vol. ii., chaps. xxi.-xxviii.); Macmillan, 1890; (ii.) *The Will to Believe* (Longmans, 1897) and especially (iii.) the pamphlet *Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results* (Publications of the University of California, 1898). This last, which I am acquainted with only secondhand, was reviewed in the *American Philosophical Review*, March, 1899; (iv.) *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902 (Gifford Lectures). The general question of the relation of Will to Belief was discussed at the New York meeting of the American Psychological Association (1898). Some of the results of this discussion have been published in the *Proceedings* of the Association, and in the *International Journal of Ethics* (January and April, 1899). See also articles in the same journal by Professor Caldwell (July, 1898); Professor Watson (July, 1899); and Rev. James Lindsay (January, 1900). Much information may be gleaned from Professor Caldwell's *Mind* article, already referred to. Mr. F. C. S. Schiller's paper on 'Useless' Knowledge (*Mind*, N.S., No. 42), and his essay *Axioms as Postulates* in the volume of Essays by eight Oxford men, published last year under the title of *Contentio Veritatis* (Macmillan), contain an interesting, though somewhat paradoxical presentation of certain aspects of Pragmatism. The article 'Pragmatism' in *Baldwin's Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* vol. ii., which include authoritative statements by Pierce and James, should be consulted. More remotely connected with the subject are: W. K. Clifford, *Lectures and Essays*, pp. 85-399 (1886); Pringle-Pattison (Seth), *Man's Place in Cosmos*; Dewey, *The Significance of the Problem of Knowledge* (Univ. of Chicago Contributions to Philosophy, I.); Dewsen, *Elements of Metaphysics* (Macmillan); Simmel, *Ueber eine Beziehung der Selectionslehre zur Erkenntnistheorie* (Archerfür System, Phil Bd. i. Heft i). Münsterberg, *Die Willenshandlung*, 1888; Ziegler, *Das Gefühl*, 1893.

universally admitted to be choiceworthy in the concrete unity of the individual life.⁸

Among such ideals of thought and conduct, that which Christianity puts before us as the result of its scheme of conceiving the relation of Man to Nature is superior to all others at least in this, that it gives more reasoning to life, and affords greater scope for the development and exercise of the higher spiritual capacities of man than any of its rivals. The average man who firmly believes in the teachings of the Christian Church is consequently in a better position, morally and spiritually, than the non-believer. For Christianity, while embracing all the facts of experience as readily as any other system, and finding ample room for them within its scope, surpasses them all in its explanation and treatment of the facts of human life. This applies in a quite special way to Catholic Christianity. For it is the constant desire of man to find himself at home in the universe; passively to feel at home in it by coming to understand it (or to think he does so), and so making it familiar instead of alien and strange; and actively to make his home in it by so controlling its laws and forces that, instead of hindering his action, they become the instruments of his will. But a person cannot be at home among merely impersonal surroundings: inanimate furniture without living inmates would not constitute a home.

⁸ Cf. Descartes: 'Il n'est pas en notre pouvoir de discerner les plus vraies opinions, nous devons suivre les plus probables, et même qu'encore que nous ne remarquions pas plus de probabilité aux unes qu'aux autres, nous devons néanmoins nous déterminer à quelques unes et les considérer après, non plus comme douteuses en tant qu'elles se rapportent à la pratique, mais comme très vraies et très certaines, à cause que la raison qui nous y a fait déterminer se trouve telle.' (*Discours de la Méthode*, 3^e partie.)

⁹ This scheme might equally well be characterised as Platonic, or more definitely as idealistic and spiritualistic, in contradistinction to materialistic and pessimistic *Weltanschauungen*. It is too often forgotten that in the development of Christian thought, partly even in the origins of Christianity, Platonic factors entered and coalesced with Judaic in a measure that has made it practically impossible to separate the two. The conceptions of life and immortality of this world and the next, which are commonly regarded as distinctively Christian are in their origin and form Platonic, though, I would add, of a Platonism, which has been to no small extent, contaminated in the process of incorporation and before it. St. Paul's philosophy, like his Greek, may not be always unexceptionable, but there is no mistaking the source whence he derives the framework, and in part the phraseology, in which his teaching is enshrined.

It is the very essence of personality to be dependent on the society and kinship of other persons. If, therefore, man is ever to feel at home in the world, he must find therein a personality akin to himself, however transcending his finite and imperfect nature. We have a striking proof of this in the effort of modern philosophy to establish the thesis that God is the psycho-physical, all-embracing Being, the law and consciousness of the world.¹⁰ At the same time it is abundantly clear that the practical efficacy of these attempts to make good the radical affinity between God and man is far inferior to that of the teachings of religion concerning the fatherhood of God. Now, one of the characteristic convictions of every religious apprehension, as distinguished from a merely intellectual view of the universe, is that 'individual finite spirits are not products of nature, but children of God,' and that actuality is not simply the natural process of cosmic development, but the 'kingdom of God.' Again, Religion presents us with the conception of a 'world-aim,' of

One far-off divine event,
Whereto the whole creation moves,

a conception the theoretical demonstration of whose validity would be a matter of some difficulty. Nor must we be misled by the somewhat sentimental way in which these propositions are expressed into underestimating the worth of the thought they embody; and it hardly needs to be proved in this place that the one form of Christianity wherein this thought is most completely and adequately realised and applied, the one dogmatic system which provides the individual with the amplest materials for a real, concrete apprehension of its import, is Catholicism.

III

The necessity and importance of religious belief having been established, and its function in the life of the indivi-

¹⁰ I am thinking of the theories of Hegel and Lotze, and in particular of Fechner. All these are alike Pantheistic, as opposed to Atheistic, in tendency, but the last mentioned does not, like the former, sacrifice human personality, since Fechner makes the one Divineconsciousness include us as a larger circle includes smaller circles.

dual having been delineated with sufficient fulness for the purpose in hand, we are now in a position to enter in earnest upon an investigation of the kind of motive whose presence is necessary and sufficient to cause the will to elicit that act of assent to the credibility of religious truths which, as all are agreed, is a condition precedent to the act of divine faith.

In his essay on *The Will to Believe*, of which mention has already been made, Professor James has broken a path similar in some essential respects to the one we are about to pursue, and it will be convenient for us to follow in his footsteps, at all events until we meet with some obstacle calculated to upset our confidence in his guidance. By so doing we shall secure the assistance of an able, acute, and sympathetic psychologist in our discussion of the true psychological basis of Faith, no inconsiderable advantage when one remembers the depressing ignorance of Psychology so often evinced by writers otherwise adequately equipped for dealing with questions of this nature.

Lest there should be any misunderstanding as to what exactly I am about to undertake, let me recall, in as few words as possible, the object of the following discussion. In the first place I am here dealing with the case of a Catholic believer by birth and education, who, as the phrase is, has lost his faith, but who, at the same time, is far removed from 'indifference,' and is honestly anxious to resume his old beliefs if only he can satisfy himself concerning their credibility. In such a case the commonplace is, I believe, to recommend the doubter to investigate the matter for himself, and by reading the works of approved apologists to become acquainted with the proofs, historical, moral, and metaphysical, which serve to establish the cardinal dogmas of Catholicism. In my former article I have laboured to show that the adoption of such a plan can lead, in the case of the average believer, to only one result. I have pointed out the vastness of the task which such a course imposes upon him, and I have criticised some of the proofs he will meet with in the course of his studies, in order to call attention to the class of difficulty which will inevitably

confront him, and which, in my opinion, must and will prevent him from coming to any definite conclusion at all. I have never intended to convey the impression that any or all of these proofs—except, indeed, the so-called moral argument, as formulated by Newman and others—are erroneous or untrustworthy, nor have I called into question the fact that the dogmas referred to are, under certain conditions, demonstrable by human reasons. I take my stand on the equally obvious fact (testimony to which is implied in St. Thomas's recognition of the necessity for a divine revelation of truths in themselves cognisable by reason) that the demonstration of such truths demands a more than ordinary share of intellectual ability, a more than average independence of judgment, and can only be the reward of unremitting and protracted labours. These conditions, and others which will readily occur to the reader, manifestly render impossible the adoption of the above-mentioned plan in any but exceptional instances; and my present intention is to sketch in outline such a course of argument as is best calculated, in my opinion, to bring home to the average inquirer the reasonableness of religious belief, and which at the same time offers, from the standpoint of Psychology, the strongest motive for believing. Should I succeed, even partly, in accomplishing this purpose, I conceive I shall have done something not wholly uncalled for at the moment; nor would anyone, I take it, under whose eye these pages may chance to fall, and who may hereafter have occasion to appeal to such considerations as are herein adduced, have much difficulty in moulding the following somewhat plastic argument to suit the exigencies of each particular case.

IV

In order to grasp the drift of Professor James's thought, we must begin with a reference to some important distinctions taken by him at the outset of his essay. After defining a hypothesis as 'anything that may be proposed to our belief,' Professor James divides hypotheses into two classes to which he gives the name of *live* and *dead* respectively.

‘A live hypothesis is one which appeals as a real possibility to him to whom it is proposed.’ For example, if I were to ask my readers to believe in the doctrines of Luther and Calvin, such a hypothesis would be to them completely dead. Next Professor James defines the decision between two hypotheses as an *option*. ‘Options may be of several kinds. They may be (1) *living* or *dead*; (2) *forced* or *avoidable*; (3) *momentous* or *trivial*: and for our purposes we may call an option a *genuine* option when it is of the forced, living, and momentous kind.’

It is unnecessary to explain further the meaning of these terms, which is sufficiently palpable to all. I therefore pass at once, with Professor James, to the question of the actual psychology of human opinion. On this point I cannot do better than cite *in extenso* one or two passages from Professor James’s essay:—

As a matter of fact, we find ourselves believing, we hardly know how or why. Mr. Balfour gives the name of ‘authority’ to all those influences, born of the intellectual climate, that make hypotheses possible or impossible for us, alive or dead. Here in this room, we all believe in molecules and the conservation of energy, in democracy and necessary progress, in Protestant Christianity and the duty of fighting for ‘the doctrine of the immortal Monroe,’ all for no reasons worthy of the name. We see into these matters with no more inner clearness, and probably with much less, than any disbeliever in them might possess. This unconventionality would probably have some grounds to show for its conclusions; but for us, not insight, but the *prestige* of the opinions, is what makes the spark shoot from them and light up our sleeping magazines of faith, but reason is quite satisfied, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of every thousand of us, if it can find a few arguments that will do to recite in case our credulity is criticised by someone else. Our faith is faith in someone else’s faith, and in the greatest matters this is most the case. Our belief in truth itself, for instance, that there is a truth, and that our minds and it are made for each other. What is it but a passionate affirmation of desire, in which our social system backs us up. We want to have a truth; we want to believe that our experiments and studies and discussions must put us in a continually better and better position towards it; and on this line we agree to fight out our thinking lives. But if a pyrrhonic sceptic asks us *how we know* all this, can our logic find a reply? No! certainly it

cannot. It is just one volition against another—we are willing to go in for life upon a trust or assumption which he, for his part, does not care to make.¹¹

Now the fact to which Professor James here calls attention in his breezy fashion is one which brooks no denial. As simple matter of fact, we do continually find 'our passional nature' influencing us in our opinions. A deep interest in the matter at stake, whether it excites hope or fear, never fails to influence the quantity of our belief concerning it. And while very intense feelings are no doubt exceptional, it will be found nevertheless that the emotional element in some form or other, makes itself felt on almost every occasion. So much for the fact: we must now examine the use which Professor James seeks to make of it. 'There are some options between opinions,' he declares, 'in which the influence [of our passional nature] must be regarded both as inevitable and as a lawful determinant of our choice.'¹² There are, in other words, forced options in our speculative questions, and we cannot always wait for their solutions till the coercive evidence arrives. After mentioning some comparatively trivial instances of such forced options, Professor James proceeds to apply the same considerations to the question of religious faith. Premising that, stated broadly and generally, the religious hypothesis contains two essential affirmations—(1) 'Perfection is Eternal,' and (2) that we are better off even now if we believe the first affirmation to be true, Professor James continues:—

Now let us consider what the logical elements of this situation are *in case the religious hypothesis in both its branches be really true*. (Of course, we must admit that possibility at the outset. If we are to discuss the question at all, it must involve a living option. If for any of you religion be a hypothesis that cannot, by any living possibility be true, then you need go no farther. I speak to the 'saving remnant' alone.) So proceeding we see, first, that religion offers itself as a *momentous* option. We are supposed to gain, even now, by our belief, and to lose by our non-belief, a certain vital good. Secondly, reli-

¹¹ *The Will to Believe*, etc., pp. 9, 10.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

gion is a forced option, so far as that good goes. We cannot escape the issue by remaining sceptical and waiting for more light, because, although we do avoid error in that way *if religion be untrue*, we lose the good, *if it be true*, just as certainly as if we positively chose to disbelieve. It is as if a man should hesitate indefinitely to ask a certain woman to marry him, because he was not perfectly sure that she would prove an angel after he brought her home. Would he not cut himself off from that particular angel-possibility as decisively as if he went and married some one else? Scepticism, then, is not avoidance of option; it is option of a certain particular kind of risk. *Better risk loss of truth than chance of error*—that is your faith-vetoer's exact position. He is actively paying his stake as much as the believer is; he is backing the field against the religious hypothesis just as the believer is backing the religious hypothesis against the field. To preach scepticism to us as a duty until 'sufficient evidence' for religion be found, is tantamount therefore to telling us, when in presence of the religious hypothesis, that to yield to our fear of its being error is wiser and better than to yield to our hope that it may be true. It is not intellect against all passions, then; it is only intellect with one passion laying down its law, and by what, forsooth, is the supreme wisdom of this passion warranted? Dupery for dupery, what proof is there that dupery through hope is so much worse than dupery through fear? I, for one, can see no proof, and I simply refuse obedience to the scientist's command to imitate his kind of option, in a case where my own stake is important enough to give me the right to choose my own form of risk. If religion be true and the evidence for it be still insufficient, I do not wish, by putting your extinguisher upon my nature (which feels to me as if it had, after all, some business in this matter), to forfeit my sole chance in life of getting upon the winning side—that chance depending, of course, on my willingness to run the risk of acting, as if my passional need of taking the world religiously might be prophetic and right.¹⁸

Now, it will tend to lessen the risks of misunderstanding or confusion if we substitute for Secrétan's vague formula—'Perfection is Eternal'—what Professor James selects as the fittest way of expressing the first affirmation of religion the more familiar statement that a Personal God exists.

Understanding this substitution, we may proceed at once to consider how far the foregoing reflexions of Professor James will carry us in the direction of an absolute

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.

unswerving Faith in the Catholic meaning of the words. At this point it becomes necessary to take certain simple, but easily overlooked and therefore important, distinctions. We must distinguish, in the first place, between natural and supernatural certitude or Faith. Now, with regard to the question of God's existence, the Catholic Church teaches that it is necessary to be certain of the fact—*either* with a natural certitude (Knowledge) *or* with a supernatural (Faith). But, as is pointed out by St. Thomas,¹⁴ no man can have both kinds of certitude at once. For him who has once successfully demonstrated the existence of God from self-evident and necessary principles, the fact is a matter of knowledge, not of belief; and, conversely, the vastly greater class of believers are nowise possessed of knowledge. This brings us to a second distinction. The Church teaches further—and Catholics who have any opinion on the matter are bound to hold—that it is possible to know that God exists by the mere light of natural reason. The words of the Vatican Council, to which Dr. Hogan has drawn attention in his note already referred to, are decisive on this point. But, it is nowhere laid down, and is, indeed, notoriously untrue, that all men are possessed of such natural or rational knowledge, far less that such knowledge is necessary to salvation. That is to say—it is by no means necessary that the reasons which induce a believer to give his assent to the dogmas of his creed should, in themselves, amount to a demonstration of the objective validity of the truths to which those dogmas (or any one of them) give expression, or even that they should be capable of producing more than a subjective preference in the direction of belief. Remark, that I do not assert that better reasons may not be discovered, which would, of course, produce a higher degree of assent, amounting, in some cases, to true natural certitude. But enough has already, I take it, been said to show how unlikely an average enquirer in the supposed circumstances would be to secure for himself this higher degree of conviction.

¹⁴ *Sum. Theol.*, II., II., q. i., 2a, 4, 5.

Let us now review the argument of Professor James in the light of the above distinctions. I fully admit that this argument does not amount to an objective demonstration. Like Pascal's celebrated wager, which it resembles in certain essential respects, it issues in no logical proof of the objective truth of the content of religious dogmas. Enquiring for the justification of belief, we are frankly referred, not to the warrant of facts, but to our subjective needs. At the same time, I am of opinion that the argument is not to be rejected on this ground alone. Provided only it be capable of producing a decided bias towards belief, I think this mode of reasoning, strange as it may appear at the first blush, is one that might sometimes be resorted to with advantage. To Professor James's own mind the argument appears to carry conviction; and he returns to it again and again, not only in the volumes from which I have been quoting, but in his more recently published works. And, for all I know, there may be minds similarly constituted to his, who may find his curious logic equally irresistible. But speaking for myself, I cannot accept it, and for this reason: Professor James and his associates are never weary of insisting upon the 'pragmatic sanction' of our beliefs. And on the whole, I am not disinclined to accept their appeal to the working power of belief as the test of its validity, on one condition, viz.: that they interpret the 'work' it has to do in the widest sense. The belief that works is true, but it must work all round; it must satisfy our needs, but it must satisfy them all round—the needs of the *intellect* not less than those of the will and the emotions, if, indeed, they are different.

Our demand is for harmony in the intellectual, as well as for harmony in the moral, world. Adopting any form of Pragmatism which falls short of this, we are on dangerous ground. Yet, in truth, this is an aspect of the needs which religious belief is meant to satisfy, on which Professor James appears to lay too little stress. To be sure, we must cut our coat according to our cloth; but we need not all be 'radical empiricists' to the extent of reducing our expectations of the evidences of fact so far as to content ourselves

with accepting the off-chance of a God. For myself, I am prepared to consider anything ; but before we reduce our intellectual demand on the universe to the level that is here required, we may be excused if we ask to be satisfied—by more convincing methods than Professor James has employed—that there is no other and better way of approaching in practice the question of the foundation of belief.

W. VESEY HAGUE, M.A., B.L.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

SUBSTITUTION OF ROSARY FOR DIVINE OFFICE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Can a priest, who has the privilege of substituting in certain cases the Rosary for the Divine Office, say it in English, and fulfil the obligation even by reciting every alternate decade in English with a lay person?

DOUBTFUL.

We believe a Priest having the privilege of substituting the Rosary for the Divine Office in certain circumstances fulfils his obligation by reciting it in either of the two ways described by our correspondent. The reasons for our opinion are based upon what we conceive to be the presumed intention of the Superior who granted the privilege. He might of course have required that the work into which the Divine Office was commuted, should be performed in a particular manner. But in the absence of an express understanding to the contrary, it is reasonable to suppose that he merely desired that the work substituted should be discharged in the manner in which it is commonly performed by the clergy as well as by the laity in this country. Then, too, we have high authority for the belief that prayers said in common are even more meritorious before Heaven, than those said in the privacy of one's own communings.

NUMBER OF CANDLES AT PRIVATE MASS—EXPOSITION OF RELICS OF TRUE CROSS—CRUCIFIX INDULGENCED FOR STATIONS OF CROSS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly let me know through the I. E. RECORD—I. If Sunday Mass at an orphanage is sufficient reason, or justifies the use of six candles—'simplici Sacerdote Celebrante'? II. If it is allowable to expose a relic

of the true Cross on a side Altar or table, with two lighted candles, during the Mass? III. If a cross, indulgenced for a particular person, with the indulgences of the Way of the Cross, may be used by any other person and indulgences gained?

SACERDOS.

I. When the celebrant of a private¹ Mass is of a rank inferior to that of a Bishop only two candles are permitted. This provision of the Rubrics has been modified by Decrees² of the Congregation of Rites, which allow more than two candles to be used at Parochial, Conventual and other Masses of similar kind, on the occasion of the more solemn Feasts of the year. Does this category embrace the case contemplated in our query? Custom appears to so interpret it, and there can, we think, be no objection to the practice by which the special solemnity of a particular Feast or occasion is marked by an increase in the altar lights, when the Mass partakes of a community character. Then, too, the motive of the regulation above referred to was to exclude the implication of superiority in the celebrant, and not to forbid the enhancement of the exterior ceremonial. As to the number of candles allowed on those special occasions the Decrees have '*plures quam duo.*' But here again, as well as in determining the days of special solemnity, the custom of the place may be adhered to, as long as it is not clearly opposed to the Rubrics.

II. We are not sure that we apprehend the point of our correspondent's difficulty. The relics of the true cross are of course worthy of a higher honour than is paid to those of the Saints. But we have not seen any instruction or Decree forbidding them to be exposed in the way described. On the contrary, some of the Decrees we have seen imply that these relics may be exposed during a High Mass and on a different altar from that at which Mass is celebrated. For the exposition, at least two lighted candles are necessary.³

III. A crucifix indulgenced for the Stations of the Cross,

¹ The word 'private' is here taken as opposed to Solemn or High, and is synonymous with 'Low.'

² S.C.R., Nos. 3059, 3065, Nov. ed.

³ S.R.C., No. 2067, Ed, Nov.

once used by the person for whom it has been blessed, may not be transferred to another without detriment to the Indulgences.⁴ At the same time when a number of persons, legitimately hindered from performing the Stations of the Cross in the usual way, recite in common the requisite prayers, all may gain the Indulgences, provided that any one of them holds in his or her hand an indulgenced crucifix. This has been decided by a Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences.⁵

PATRICK MORRISROE.

⁴ *Vide* New Raccolta, p. 147: Beringer, Tom. i., p. 358.

⁵ 19 Jan., 1884.

CORRESPONDENCE

MISSION HONORARIUM

REV. DEAR SIR,—‘ Veritas ’ appears to me to have written a good many things which are quite beside the question. ‘ Honestus Tertius,’ with an experience of thirty years of missions and missionaries, did not say that a missionary or body of missionaries should give a mission or series of missions for twenty-six weeks *continuously*. If a priest gives, or assists in giving, retreats or missions of one, two, or three weeks for twenty-six weeks, he will have twenty-six other weeks, not of idleness, but of comparative rest in his convent. Are there no sources of emolument *there*?

The point, put briefly, comes to this—that a missionary, with a vow of poverty, who is employed for even half the year, and besides being boarded and lodged, receives £5 per week, is in a much better position, materially, than most of the parish priests and curates on the secular mission. As secular priests are able to live, religious ought to find the *usual Honorarium* sufficient in the circumstances.

The ‘ sum in proportion ’ does not strike me as forcible or convincing. Perhaps it is. If there be in existence any body of missionaries which is *asked* for no more than five Parochial Retreats in the half year, there are several plain, but unpleasant inferences.

HONESTUS TERTIUS.

DOCUMENTS

THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE SACRED HEART

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM
 INDULGENTIAE CONCEDUNTUR RECITANTIBUS PARVUM OFFICIUM
 SS. CORDIS JESU, A S. RIT. CONG. NUPER APPROBATUM

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

Auspicato contigit ut Christianorum hominum pietas in SSmum. Cor Jesu, quod tanta exarsit in humanum genus charitate, in hac rerum inclinatione morumque demutatione, non modo restincta non sit, sed etiam excitetur quotidie magis magisque salutariter deflagret. Hoc enim studium, per quod populus christianus trahitur ad Jesum Christum, et amat quodammodo amorem Eius, cum dignum existimet omni veneratione cultuque suo illud Cor divini amoris receptaculum, Nos et summopere delectat, et in spem optimam inducit futurum esse, ut Deus pacatus sinat aliquando exorari, atque Ecclesiae suae misereatur vices.

Quapropter quum Nobis supplices nuper admotae sint preces a dilecto filio Nostro Benedicto Maria S. R. E. Presb. Cardinali Langénieux ex dispensatione Aplica Archiepiscopo Rhemen. ut Officium Parvum SSmi. Cordis Jesu a Nostra Rituum Congregatione recognitum iam atque adprobatum nonnullis Indulgentiis ditare velimus, Nos qui nihil optamus magis atque in oculis habemus, quam ut Christianorum studium erga SSmum. Cor Jesu in dies singulos provehatur, libenter supradicti Antistitis optatis obsecundandum censuimus. Quare Aplica auctoritate omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus christifidelibus corde saltem contritis qui dictum Officium Parvum Ss. Cordis Jesu a S. R. C. approbatum vel latine vel lingua vernacula dummodo versio sit fidelis et rite probata, devote recitaverint, atque pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint quo die id egerint ducentos dies de injunctis eis seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam

animabus christifidelium quae Deo in charitate coniunctae ab hac luce migraverint per modum suffragii applicari posse in Domino indulgemus. In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus valituris in perpetuum. Volumus autem ut harum Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae, utque praesentium Litterarum (quod nisi fiat nullas easdem esse volumus) exemplar ad Secretariam Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae deferatur, iuxta decretum ab eadem Congne. die XIX Januarii MDCCCLVI latum et a S. M. Benedicto P. P. XIV. Decessore Nro. die XXVIII dicti mensis approbatum.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die XII Decembris MDCCCXI, Pontificatus Nostri Anno XXIV.

L. ✠ S.

A. Card. MACCHI.

Praesentium Litterarum exemplar delatum est ad hanc Secretariam S. C. Ind. S. Rel. praepositae, die 24 Januarii 1902.
FRANCISCUS SOGARO, Arch. Amiden. *Secret.*

INDULGENCES IN HONOUR OF THE HOLY NAME

CONCEDUNTUR INDULGENTIAE CELEBRANTIBUS SSMUM NOMEN JESU
INTRA MENSEM JANUARI

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

A nulla quidem re Christiano homini datur potius capere auspiciū posse, quam a Sanctissimo Homine Iesu, quod est *super omne nomen* et in quo *omne genu flectatur coelestium, terrestrium et infernorum et omnis lingua confiteatur*. Non latuerat id certe veteres Christianos, qui omnium rerum gerendarum initium ab illo ducere solebant, ut scilicet sibi rebusque suis, quem optabant, exitus contingeret. Nostris etiam temporibus Ecclesiae luctuosis sancta haec et laudabilis consuetudo deleta omnino non est : nonnulli enim Christiani populi initium novi anni a Nomine Iesu faciunt illique integrum mensem Ianuarium, quo mense aguntur solemnia Iesu Nominis recolendo, Deo quasi anni primitias offerentes, solent consecrare.

Nos idcirco, qui de bono atque utilitate animorum, quorum Nobis est divinitus commissa salus, solliciti damus operam. ut boni mores in Christianas civitates invehantur, pravi et corrupti prohibeantur, vehementer cupimus atque optamus, ut prisca illa consuetudo inter familias christianas revirescat et floreat. Id enim apprime respondet et consentaneum est orationi dominicae in qua pie sancteque obsecramus Deum quotidie ut sanctificetur nomen Tuum ; neque res atque actus nostri tristes habebunt exitus, si eos in nomine Iesu exordiamur. Quamobrem vestigiis insistentes decessoris Nostri Pii Papae Noni rec. mem. qui Ecclesiae Neapolitanae sanctum illum antiquorum christianorum usum retinendi de coelesti thesauro divitias est largitus, regante Congregatione Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus, qui speciale aliquod obsequium SSmo. Nomini Iesu quolibet die mensis Januarii devote exhibuerint tercentos dies, si id in Ecclesia vel publico Oratorio praestiterint, si vero privatim centum tantum dies de numero poenaliurn in forma Ecclesiae solita expungimus. Iisdem vero Christifidelibus qui praefato pio exercitio publice, idest in aliqua Ecclesia vel publico Oratorio quotidie adstiterint et postremo die quo idem pium exercitium explebitur, vere poenitentes et confessi ad Sacram Synaxim accesserint et pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione preces ad Deum effuderint, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Quas omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissionis et poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam animabus in Purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris. Volumus autem ut praesentes nullae sint si earum exemplar S. Congn. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae non exhibeatur ; utque praesentium exemplis seu transumptis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae praemunitis eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris xxi Decembris MDCCCCI.

Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimoquarto.

Pro Dono. Card. MACCHI.

N. MARINI, *Subst.*

Praesentium Litterarum Apostolicarum exemplar exhibitum fuit huic S. Congni. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae.

In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congnis. die 4 Martii 1902.

Pro R. P. D. FRANCISCO, Archiep. Amiden. *Secret.*

L. ✠ S.

JOSEPHUS M. CANCELLI, *Subst.*

INDULGENCES OF THE SCALA SANCTA

INDULGENTIAE ADNEXAE ASCENSIONI SCALAE SANCTAE DE URBE, LUCRARI POTERUNT QUATER IN ANNO, AD SEPTENNIIUM, AB ASCENDENTIBUS SCALAM PROPE SANCTUARIUM B. M. VIRG. DE LOURDES

LEO PP. XIII.

UNIVERSIS CHRISTIFIDELIBUS PRAESENTES LITTERAS INSPECTURIS SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Ad augendam fidelium religionem animarumque salutem caelestibus Ecclesiae thesauris pia charitate intenti, omnibus et singulis utriusquae sexus Christifidelibus vere poenitentibus et confessis ac S. Communione reffectis, qui Scalam ducentem ad collem, ubi Stationes Viae crucis erectae sunt, prope Sanctuarium Lapurdense B. Mariae Virg. Immaculatae in Dioecesi Tarbien., quatuor anni diebus ad cuiusque arbitrium sibi eligendis, flexis genibus devote ascenderint, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint, quo ex hisce die id egerint, ut eas omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones, ac poenitentiarum relaxationes consequantur, quas consequerentur, si Scalam Sanctam de Urbe personaliter et devote flexis genibus ascenderent, Apostolica Auctoritate tenore praesentium concedimus et indulgemus. In contrarium facien., non obstan., quibuscumque. Praesentibus ad septennium tantum valituris. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die xxx Januarii MCMII, Pontificatus Nostri Anno vigesimoquarto.

Pro D. Card. MACCHI.

L. ✠ S.

N. MARINI, *Subst.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE FRIENDSHIPS OF JESUS. BY Rev. M. J. Ollivier, O.P.
From the French by M. C. Keogh. Herder. Price 6s

WE welcome the appearance in an English dress of anything from the pen of Père Ollivier. The high place he holds in the category of French preachers is voucher of the excellence of any treatise on sacred subjects which he gives to the public, and the comparatively few amongst us who have drawn pleasure and profit from *La Passion* and *Les Amitiés de Jesus* will rejoice that the latter book, translated into English, is now brought within the reach of a much larger number of readers.

The Friendship of Jesus has the attraction which a capable author might well be expected to produce in a book under such a title. The treatment of the sacred theme by one well used to thoughtful study of the New Testament presents us with much spiritual entertainment that is missed by those who never go beyond the superficial reading of the Gospel text. Père Ollivier gives us a wealth of traditional information on the Church in Apostolic times, on the individual histories of the twelve, and of many of the seventy-two disciples. The careful perusal of these pages is likely to contribute towards an attitude of mind and heart, which will find increased relish in the reading of the Testament, seeing that picturesqueness, and what the French call 'actualité' are given to the Holy Book by such presentation of the Divine Master's relations with His 'friends' as is here set before us.

If the volume contained nothing but the chapter on the Church, with which it concludes, it were well worth one's money to buy, and one's expenditure of time to read. There we are given clear, exalting perception of the divine purpose of the Church's establishment, and of the love wherewith her heavenly Spouse cherishes her. There is striking application of the beautiful prophetic outbursts found in the Canticles. In truth, one finishes the reading of this chapter with a quickening of his faith and a deeper and stronger loving loyalty to Mother Church.

Doubtless, the fact that the book was printed beyond the seas, far from Miss Keogh's own supervision, was an impediment to effective proof corrections. Errors of punctuation

abound. And in the important matter of St. Paul's later apostolic journeys and his death there is a clashing between page 410 and page 413. The judgment of literary men of all times forbids us to expect perfection in a translation : when we find a perfect translation we rejoice ; but we must be prepared to find it very rarely. Indeed, the late Mr. Kegan Paul, no insignificant judge in the matter, gave it as his opinion that translation was the most difficult of all literary tasks. We have often met with translations not so well done as that which we are now reviewing. Should a second edition be demanded in course of time, we trust that amongst the emendations then made there will be a clearing away of the obscurity which exists on page 64. We are unable to understand the opening sentence of the second paragraph.

The publication of this splendid volume renders us all debtors to Miss Keogh. Her claim on our thankful admiration is enhanced by the consideration that her enlightened zeal has set an excellent lesson for ladies of leisure to copy. It is refreshing to meet with a daughter of the Church whose leaning is towards the solid food of high Christian literature, and who has accomplished so successfully the laborious task of preparing this work for the press.

M. A. K.

SERMONS ON THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS, THE OUR FATHER, THE HAIL MARY, ETC. By Rev. B. J. Raycroft, A.M.
New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co.

EVERY one of the forty sermons contained in this volume is solid and instructive. They are one and all replete with vigorous thought and will be read with profit by priest and layman. Perhaps their chief excellence lies in their suggestiveness. One could not read any of Father Raycroft's discourses without having one's mind furnished with many wholesome religious truths. The writer has, however, one fault, which we hardly know how to blame. The abundance of useful matter which he managed to insert in each lecture made it very difficult for him at times to attend to the proper arrangement of the various parts. The result is that the efficacy of an otherwise fine sermon is considerably marred.

For the style and language of the sermons we have nothing

but praise ; they are suitable and at times elegant. In the Preface the author expressed a wish that the work might 'meet with some success.' We confidently assure him that his expectations will be realised and that his sermons will do much good.

F. J. D.

SERMONS FROM THE LATINS. Adapted from Bellarmine, Segneri, and other sources. By Rev. James Baxter, D.D. Benziger Bros.

THIS is a well printed and neatly bound collection of sermons containing about 620 pages. The sermons are fifty-nine in number—for all the Sundays of the year and for some of the more important feasts. They are an adaptation, well done, rather than a translation of that most excellent work, *Conciones Sacre*, of Cardinal Bellarmine. Some stray thoughts gathered from Father Segneri and others have been advantageously made use of here and there. The author has made a praiseworthy effort to popularise those Catholic gems of thought, and, as he claims them to have been most useful to him in his work as an active missionary, they cannot but prove a practical aid to the preacher in the preparation of his Sunday discourses for his flock.

J. C. K.

THE LETTERS OF ST. TERESA. Translated from the Spanish by Rev. John Dalton. London: Thomas Baker, 1 Soho Square.

FATHER DALTON'S translation places at the disposal of English readers the interesting and edifying *Letters of St. Teresa*. The book, which consists of 304 pages, contains merely part of the Saint's extensive correspondence, but the translator promises a second volume in due course. The epistolary form of literature is always interesting, but it is specially so when it has for subject the outpourings of such a noble soul as that of the great Spanish saint. The translator has succeeded well in avoiding that unnatural stiffness of style that so often characterises translations. His work is altogether very interesting and readable, and, like the original, faithfully reflects the cheerful and charming character of St. Teresa. Every page of the *Letters* abounds in useful maxims and edifying exhortations,

which cannot fail to profit every class of readers. Therefore we wish the present edition of *St. Teresa's Letters* that extensive circulation amongst our people which they enjoy in France, Italy, and Spain.

COMMENTARIA IN I. P. SUMMAE THEOLOGICAE S. THOMAE
AQUINATIS, O.P. Fr. H. Buonpensiere, O.P. Pustet
1902.

THE position which the author holds is a sufficient guarantee for the soundness of his theological teaching. He is Regent of Studies and First Professor of Theology in the Minerva, Rome, as well as being the worthy successor of such men as Zigliara and Lepidi. If we were to compare Father Buonpensiere's work with the one by Father Mancini, which has lately been published, we should say that what one does for beginners in theology, the other does for advanced students. Father Buonpensiere presupposes that his readers have the *Summa* open before them. As the title announces, his work is a commentary on the text of St. Thomas, and we must say that in it he explains everything in detail. Great importance is rightly attached to showing to the student the organic unity of the *Summa*, and the connections between the 'questions' and 'articles' of which it is composed. This teaches the student how to divide a subject, and how to arrange his own thoughts on it. It enables him to see the bearing of one truth on another, and to estimate the drift and force of argument. It is mental training, or education. The experience of more than six hundred years shows that this is the only true and satisfactory method of teaching the *Summa*: it is the one prescribed in the legislation of the Dominican Order. 'Rationem habendo non sententiarum solum, sed etiam ordinis atque connexionis textuum.' The marvellous order of the *Summa* is not inferior to the sublimity of the doctrine which is enshrined in it. Both of them in their own way mark the supreme effort of human genius.

John of St. Thomas and the Salmanticenses have written well on the order of the *Summa*, and Cajetan, Bannez, Sylvius, and innumerable others, have commented on its contents. It is evident that Father Buonpensiere follows the true and traditional interpretation of St. Thomas, that he puts before his readers the teaching which is expressed so clearly in the *Summa*

and all the other works of the great Dominican. Among the commentators of St. Thomas, Father Buonpensiere's favourite appears to be Cajetan, the one recommended by Leo XIII. We may remark, as an instance of this adherence, that in regard of the famous passage about the '*modificatio virtutis divinae in causis secundis*,' Father Buonpensiere agrees with Goudin, that Cajetan's words admit of a satisfactory explanation and that the difference between him and Bannez is only a verbal one.

R. W.

TEXTES RELIGIEUX ASSYRIENS ET BABYLONIENS: Transcription, Traduction et Commentaire. Francois Martin. Paris: Letouzey. 1903.

AT the present time when the wonderful discoveries in Assyria and Babylonia are occupying the attention of so many Catholic *savans* and are of interest to all ecclesiastics, this book has a special value. A great many of the cuneiform texts that have been recently published treat of religious subjects, and as a matter of course rationalists have not been slow to avail themselves of such texts in the attempt to make it appear that the Mosaic ritual was nothing more than an expurgated edition of what was prescribed in the worship of Baal and Astarte. Just as in Genesis, the history of the creation and of the deluge has been irreverently styled 'the echo of Babylonian myths,' so too in Exodus and Leviticus the ceremonial law has been regarded as the outcome and development of the sacrificial code of Ur and Haran. Even monotheism has been asserted to be a purified remnant of the primitive belief in the plurality of deities.

It would, however, be erroneous to imagine that the rationalists have it all their own way. The same students of Assyriology prove to demonstration that the notions prevalent at a certain time are immeasurably inferior to Scriptural truth and cannot possibly have been the origin of it. At most, and this they spontaneously admit, a faint reflexion of some of the rays of primitive revelation is at an early period still visible in Babylonia; for instance, the knowledge of one God did not fade away immediately. And there are certain points of resemblance between the liturgical ordinances of the Hebrews and the Babylonians, e.g., regarding the victims for sacrifice, the parts of the animal that were offered, etc.

The great utility of the present work, which is addressed not to the specialist only, but to the general reader, consists in this, that it shows, by means of specimen-texts selected from the cuneiform tablets, what really was the doctrine and discipline of the land between the Euphrates and Tigris. Prayers, hymns, penitential psalms, litanies, dedications, etc., are translated and annotated. Everyone can judge for himself of the devotions of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, and see how the worshippers of Marduk, Ashur, Nabu, Nusku, Istar, and other deities, addressed them. It is an object lesson in what is called the comparative study of religion. We need not say that at the present day a knowledge of Assyrian and Babylonian beliefs and practices is indispensable to those who are called on to defend the divine origin of the Old Testament.

R. W.

SCHUSTER'S ILLUSTRATED BIBLE HISTORY. Friburg:
Herder.

THIS is an excellent little work, suited for Scripture classes in our colleges and schools, and well deserving of a prominent place in our parochial libraries. The arrangement in short sections and paragraphs makes the subject easy to young readers, while the numerous engravings render it more attractive than it otherwise would be. The scenes depicted in these illustrations are particularly well chosen. A book such as this makes a clear and lasting impression on the minds of the young, and it is at the same time quite comprehensive enough for those among their elders who have not leisure nor inclination for more extensive reading. It is largely used in the United States and in Great Britain; it has also been adopted by several of our own Bishops in their respective dioceses. We are sure that wherever it is known it will be equally appreciated.

T. K.

SAINT TERESA. By Henri Joli. Translated by Emily M. Waller. London: Duckworth and Co., 3, Henrietta st, W.C. Price, 3s.

THE name of St. Teresa is so familiar to every Catholic that it is a matter of surprise to find, on reflection, that so little is

known about the extraordinary happenings of her life. Beyond the fact of her existence and an occasional quotation from her writings—easily found in any spiritual book—scarce aught is generally known of her life and works. And yet it would be an undoubted advantage that the knowledge of a life so decidedly human, but so full of the supernatural, should be more widely diffused. An acquaintance with her difficulties and crosses, internal and external, and her strong human sympathies, cannot fail to be an encouragement to all; while those extraordinary and frequent manifestations of the supernatural in her are eminently calculated to excite that wondering awe which is akin to, nay, begets, reverence, capable, too, of arousing faith in those who, outside the one true fold, must see in these things 'the finger of God'—a seal of the Divinity of the Catholic Church.

We are indebted to the 'Lives of the Saints' series for another *life* of the Saint. It is translated from the French. When we say that the latter is by Mons. Henri Joli himself, we feel that we shall be excused from any elaborate criticism of the book. Than the learned author who had written *The Psychology of the Saints* none is better fitted to treat of the mysticism of St. Teresa. This, in fact, is the most difficult part of the Saint's life, but one in which the author does full justice to his subject and to himself. He justly lays stress on the fact that, no matter how wonderful or incredible the incidents, the guarantee of their origin is always visible in the Divine guidance so wonderfully extended to all the acts of the Saint's life, and especially in the 'charisms' which she enjoyed.

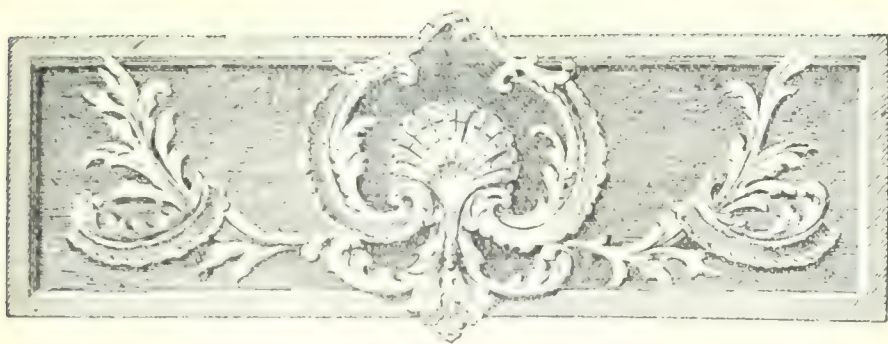
The book is not large, but gives a pretty comprehensive narration of all the important facts. It does not follow strictly the chronological order, nor trouble itself with the useless questions connected with dates. We confess to finding the treatment and style somewhat heavy, but to those who look for a philosophy of St. Teresa's life we have no difficulty in recommending this neat little volume.

D. J. O'D.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS. By St. Thomas Aquinas. Translated by Rev. John Proctor, S.T.M. London: Sands and Co.

SELDOM do we meet with an English translation of St. Thomas, and equally seldom with anything like his writings

when translated. In method of treatment, in fulness and depth of thought, in cogency of reasoning, and in fairness towards his opponents, the works of the Angelic Doctor present a striking contrast to the literature of our day. His *Apology for the Religious Orders* is not amongst the Saint's more important works ; it is usually classed as one of the *opuscula*, but while reading even it one need not go very far to realise that this is indeed an age of loose writing and loose thinking. Even the works of some of our leading ' thinkers,' with their vague generalities and drawn out ideas, compare unfavourably with a treatise by the ' Angel of the Schools,' whose ' every sentence is a thought, and whose every thought is a victory.' Father Proctor feels, and justly, we think, that a translation of this work of St. Thomas must be of interest to many at the present time. Seldom, if ever, have the Religious Orders engaged men's thoughts so much as now. The state of things in France have turned on them the eyes of friends and enemies alike, and even amongst their friends it is strange what ignorance prevails regarding the nature of their life, their place in the Church, and the reason for their practises. To their friends and enemies, and especially to the latter, we recommend this work. No one is better qualified to teach them the truth than the great Dominican. His apology was called forth by the violent attacks of William of St. Amour, and in the Saint's defence we find many a valuable answer to the calumnies hurled against them at the present day. As a translation, Father Proctor's work deserves our warmest praise, but still it is a ' translation ' ; and, whether rightly or wrongly, we feel that the most attractive way of presenting the doctrines of St. Thomas or of any scholastic is not by ' translating ' them—no matter how perfectly the translation is done. We would prefer if the translator turned author and gave us a book of his own whose doctrines would be based entirely on the teaching of St. Thomas, while not expressed in the Saint's own words.



HIBERNIA VINCENTIANA

OR THE RELATIONS OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL WITH IRELAND

AMONGST the saints who adorned the Church in the seventeenth century Vincent de Paul holds a conspicuous place. He gave to the Church two congregations, the Congregation of the Priests of the Mission, and that of the Sisters of Charity. His name is almost synonymous with charity. 'God gave him largeness of heart as the sand that is on the seashore.'¹ His charity was world-wide. And amongst the nations to which his zeal and charity were extended, not the least prominent was Ireland. The records of the Saint's relations with Ireland are to be found not only in the history of his life as given by Abelly, and Collet, and Maynard; but also in his own correspondence and conferences. The object of the present paper is to bring together those scattered details and present them in one view. The relations of St. Vincent de Paul with Ireland may be classed under four heads: 1°, St. Vincent's relations with Irishmen who were members of his own community; 2°, what was done through him for Ireland on Irish soil; 3°, what Vincent did for Irishmen, who in evil days had taken refuge in France; and 4°, what Vincent did for Scotland by means of the Irish fathers of his community.

¹ 3 Kings iv. 29.

I

ST. VINCENT'S RELATIONS WITH IRISHMEN IN HIS OWN
COMMUNITY

The foundation of the Congregation of the Mission dates from A.D. 1625. In 1632 it received the solemn approbation of Pope Urban VIII. Soon after that date we find Irishmen enrolled in its ranks. In 1638 John Skyddie and James Waters, both natives of Cork, entered the Congregation, then followed Gerald Brin of Cashel in 1639, Edmund Barry in 1641, John Ennery of Limerick in 1642, Donat Cruoly of Cork, Thady Molony of Limerick, and Mark Coglee of Lismore in 1643, Patrick Valois (Walsh ?) of Limerick in 1644, Dermit Duguin, Francis and George White both of Limerick, and Dermot O'Brien of Emly in 1645, William Patrick Plunket of Meath in 1650, Nicholas Arthur of Cork and Peter Butler of Cashel in 1654, Philip Dalton of Cashel in 1656, and Patrick Tailler (Taylor) of Dublin in 1657, John White of Limerick in 1660.

Besides the above-mentioned who all became priests, we find also an ecclesiastical student named Thady Lye (Lee ?) of Tuam, who entered in 1643, and who suffered martyrdom at the hands of heretics in Ireland in 1651.² Two Irishmen entered as lay brothers, Laurence and Gerald Coglee in 1654 and 1655, both natives of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore.

From the foundation of the Congregation of the Mission until the death of St. Vincent the number of priests who entered was 426.³ Of these at least twenty were Irishmen. Irish priests, therefore, formed no inconsiderable portion of the forces which Vincent employed for the glory of God ; and it may be interesting to inquire what was the rank they occupied in the community, and what was the estimation in which they were held by the Saint. On these points we possess reliable evidence in the letters of St. Vincent himself.⁴

² *Catalogue des Pretres de la Mission, 1625 to 1789*, Arch. Nationales MM. 519a, 519b.

³ *Circulars of the Superiors-General*, vol. i., p. 2.

⁴ *Lettres de St. Vincent de Paul*, vol. v., pp. 412, 460, 509.

Two Irishmen, Fr. Cruoly and Fr. Ennery, filled in succession the office of professor of theology and director of students in the mother house of St. Lazarus, in Paris; Fr. Waters was charged with the government of a seminary; Fr. White was professor of theology in a seminary confided to the Congregation. When a college was founded at Genoa two Irishmen, Fr. Ennery and Fr. Valois, were amongst its first professors. In France itself Fathers Brin, Barry, Molony, and Cruoly were employed in giving missions throughout the kingdom. In 1657 we find three Irishmen filling the office of local superior, viz., Father Brin at Troyes, Father Barry at Montauban, and Father Cruoly at Mans. Father Coglee held the same office at Sedan in 1650 and 1656. The appointment of Irishmen to such offices, considering they were foreigners, and that the houses of the Congregation numbered but twenty-six, is no small tribute to their worth; and to the esteem in which St. Vincent held them.

But on this point we have the testimony of the Saint in his own words. Writing to the Bishop of Limerick in 1646, Vincent notified to his lordship that he was sending a band of missionaries to Ireland, of whom all but three were Irishmen, and he bore testimony to their worth in the following terms: 'By the grace of God they all fear and love God and have zeal for the salvation of souls.' When Father Ennery died at Genoa Vincent, in announcing his death, said of him: 'M. Ennery, a wise, pious, and exemplary man, is dead.' But nowhere do we find more explicit proof of the esteem in which Vincent held his Irish subjects, than in a letter addressed to M. Jolly, his agent in Rome, in 1658, just two years before his death. As yet the Congregation had not obtained the privilege of promoting its subjects to orders with the title *Mensae Communis*. Irishmen who sought admission possessed neither the canonical title of benefice, nor that of patrimony. Vincent, therefore, petitioned the Holy See to allow him to promote his Irish subjects to orders without such a title. The Congregation of Propaganda, while favouring the petition, desired to make

it a condition that Irishmen so ordained should be sent to labour on the mission in their native land. Vincent, therefore, wrote to his representative in Rome, urging him to request that this condition should be omitted.

It would be matter for great regret [he wrote] if the Company could not employ in all manner of places, the Irishmen whom it receives and educates at great expense, when they have no title but that of going to their own country under the sole authority of the said Congregation, and in that case it would be a mistake to receive them: yet it pleases God to do good by their means wherever we employ them. If there were reason to hope for so much in Ireland, we would gladly send them thither, but at present there is little fruit to be gathered, and much danger to be encountered.⁶

The privilege which the Saint desired was granted, first for a period of ten years, and at a later period without limit of time. It was in favour of Irishmen, the privilege of receiving orders *titulo Mensae Communis* was first granted to the community. But these words are particularly valuable as showing the esteem in which Vincent held the Irish members of his community, after having known them for a period of twenty years.

II

MISSIONS GIVEN IN IRELAND IN THE LIFETIME OF ST. VINCENT

The charity of St. Vincent was not limited to Irishmen who were members of his own congregation. It extended to the country which gave them birth. No man loved peace, or dreaded the evils of war more than Vincent, yet once he advocated the unsheathing of the sword, and that once was for Ireland. He himself recounts the incident which must have taken place about 1641.

I was once [he says] charged to request Cardinal Richelieu to come to the aid of poor Ireland. It was at the time when England was at war with its king. When I had done so, he replied: 'Ah, Mr. Vincent, the King has too many affairs on hand to undertake this business.' I told him the Pope would support him, and that he offered one hundred thousand crowns. 'One hundred thousand crowns,' replied he, 'are nothing for

⁶ *Lettres de St. Vincent de Paul*, vol. iv., p. 198.

an army, so many soldiers, so much equipment, so much armour, so many means of conveyance are requisite! An army is a machine very difficult to manœuvre.⁷

Vincent's intervention on behalf of the temporal interests of Ireland failed. He was more successful in what concerned her spiritual welfare.

In 1645 Innocent X. desired Vincent to send a body of missionaries to Ireland, and the bishops of Ireland made a similar request.⁸ Accordingly he made choice of eight missionaries to go to Ireland. When they were about to set out he blessed them, and exhorted them to union and charity in the following words:—

Be united together [he said], and God will bless you; but let it be by the charity of Jesus Christ; for every other union which is not cemented by the blood of this Divine Saviour cannot last. It is then in Jesus Christ, by Jesus Christ, and for Jesus Christ that you must be united to each other. The spirit of Jesus Christ is a spirit of union and of peace. How could you draw souls to Jesus Christ, if you are not united to each other and to Him—impossible. Have, then, but one mind and one will, else you will be like to horses yoked to the same plough, which by pulling one in one direction and another in another break and destroy everything. God calls you to labour in His vineyard. Go and labour therein, having but one heart and one intention: and by this means you will produce much fruit.

At the same time he wrote to the Bishop of Limerick to announce their departure⁹:—

MY LORD,—At last I have the pleasure to send eight Missioners to Ireland: one is French, the others are Irish, . . . and a Brother, who is English. The first mentioned is charged with the government of the Company; according to the advice of the late Mr. Skyddie, who, before his death, sent me word that in his opinion this was the best course. The duty of the cleric will be to teach singing. They all fear and love God, and, by

⁷ Abelly, *Vie de St. Vincent de Paul*, vol. i., p. 154, ed. 1843.

Though Richelieu did not send an army to Ireland, he permitted a considerable number of Irish officers and men in the French service to return to Ireland. Haverty, *History of Ireland*, p. 538, A.D. 1642.

⁸ 'Nous avons ordre de Rome d'envoyer des missionnaires en son pays et nous en sommes pressés du côté de nos seigneurs les eveques du pays.'—*Letter of St. Vincent*, 7th April, 1646; *Lettres*, vol. i., p. 250.

⁹ *Lettres de St. Vincent de Paul*, vol. i., p. 579.

the grace of Our Lord, are zealous for the salvation of souls. They go, my Lord, to cast themselves at your feet, and offer themselves to serve your Lordship and their Lordships the Bishops, to whom they will be able to render some little service in course of time. We have others here whom we shall be able to send you when they are formed, if there be means of providing for their support, by the assignment of some benefice, so that they may not be a burden to the people to whom they give missions. Would to God, my Lord, that I were worthy to be one of the number ; God knows how willingly I would go, and with what affection I offer to Him this little band, and to you, my Lord, my perpetual obedience ; I beg of you very humbly to accept it.

In October, 1646, the little band of eight missionaries,¹⁰ including Fathers Duchesne, Gerald Brin, Edmund Barry, White, Dermot Duggan, and two or three lay brothers, sailed from Nantes, in company with Dr. O'Dwyer, coadjutor of Limerick.¹¹ On arriving in Ireland they formed themselves into two bands, and proceeded to give missions chiefly in the dioceses of Cashel and Limerick.

For two years they laboured with indefatigable zeal. Clergy and laity vied with each other in reaping the benefits of the missions. The Nuncio Rinuccini expressed his admiration of the good accomplished. Meantime the perils of war became more grave, and Vincent, at the suggestion of the superior in Ireland, recalled five of his missionaries to France. The Archbishop of Cashel took occasion of their departure on 16th August, 1648, to write to Vincent to thank him for the services rendered to his diocese.

The departure of your Missioners [wrote his Grace] gives me an opportunity to express my gratitude and to return you my very humble thanks for the charity with which you have been pleased to succour by your priests the little flock which God has confided to me. The succour they have given us has been not merely opportune, but it has come to us in our extreme necessity. In truth, through their labours the people have been excited to devotion which increases every day. And though these good priests suffered much discomfort since their arrival in this country, they did not, for all that, cease to labour like indefatigable workmen, and by the aid of divine grace they

¹⁰ Lynch MS., *De Praesulibus Hiberniæ*, p. 711.

¹¹ *Vie de St. Vincent par l'Abbé Maynard*, vol. iii., p. 37.

have gloriously extended and promoted the worship and the glory of God. I hope that same God, who is infinitely good and powerful, will be Himself your recompense and theirs. For my part, I will beg of Him to preserve you long, since He has chosen you for the good and advantage of His Church.

On the same occasion the Bishop of Limerick wrote to Vincent in the following terms :—

It is right, sir, that I should thank you with all my heart for the benefits I have received from you by means of your priests, and that I should tell you how much they are needed in this country. I can assure you, with confidence, that their labours have produced more fruit here, and have converted more souls than all the rest of the clergy have done. And, moreover, by their example and good conduct the greater part of the nobility of both sexes have become models of virtue and devotion, a thing which was not witnessed amongst us before the arrival of your Missionaries in this quarter. It is true that the troubles and the armies in this kingdom have been a great hindrance to their functions, yet by their means the importance of what concerns God and salvation has become deeply impressed on the minds of the people in town and country, and they bless God in their adversity no less than in their prosperity. By their assistance I hope to secure my own salvation.¹²

Five, therefore, of the missioners returned to France. Three, viz., Fathers Brin, Barry, and a third whose name is not recorded, together with Br. Lye, remained in Ireland. They continued their labours and gave a mission in the city of Limerick with such success that the bishop wrote to thank Vincent for what had been done for his people.

I have often [he says] written to your reverence concerning your Missioners in this kingdom. To tell the truth, as it is before God, never in the memory of man has there been heard of such progress and advancement of the Catholic faith as we have witnessed these last years through their labour, piety, and assiduity ; and especially at the beginning of the present year, when we opened a mission in this town, in which there are not less than twenty thousand communicants, and that with such fruit and applause of all the inhabitants that I doubt not but, thanks be to God, the majority have been delivered from the claws of Satan by the remedy which has been applied to so many invalid confessions, to drunkenness, swearing, adulteries,

¹² Abelly, *Vie de St. Vincent*, edit. 1840, vol. i., pp. 360, 361.

and other disorders which have been entirely abolished. . . . Were they a hundred the mission would still be great for so few labourers.

Father, I acknowledge that I owe to your children the salvation of my soul. Write them a few words of consolation. Under heaven, I know no mission more useful than that of Ireland.

In April, 1650, Vincent wrote to one of his missionaries in the following terms :—

We have been greatly edified by your letter, seeing therein two excellent effects of the grace of God. On the one hand you have given yourself to God to remain in that country, where you are in the midst of danger, preferring to expose yourself to death rather than to fail in assisting your brethren ; on the other you endeavour to preserve your confrères by sending them back to France, to remove them from danger. The spirit of martyrdom has urged to the former course, and prudence to the latter, and both are founded on the example of Our Lord, who, when He was on the point of going to suffer the torments of death for the salvation of mankind, was pleased to protect His disciples therefrom, and to preserve them, saying, ' Let these go their way ; touch them not.' It is thus you have acted, like a true child of that adorable Father, to whom I return infinite thanks for having produced in you acts of the greatest charity, which is the perfection of all virtues. I beg of Him to fill you with it, in order that, practising it, in all things and always, you may communicate it to the hearts of those who are devoid of it. Since those other gentlemen who are with you are also disposed to remain in spite of the danger from war and pestilence, I am of opinion that we must permit them to remain. How do we know what God means to do with them? Certain it is He has not inspired them to no purpose with so holy a resolution. O God, how inscrutable are Thy judgments ! Behold how at the close of one of the most fruitful, and, perhaps, most necessary missions we have yet seen, Thou dost stay, as it seems, the outpouring of Thy mercies to that penitent city to lay Thy hand more heavily upon it, by adding the scourge of sickness to the misfortune of war. But it is to gather a harvest of souls who are in good dispositions, and to collect the good grain into Thy eternal granaries. We must adore the ways of the Lord.

Meanwhile the arms of the Cromwellians were victorious and in 1651 Ireton laid siege to Limerick. During the siege

Fathers Brin and Barry continued to minister to the plague-stricken, and to prepare the people to die, if necessary, a martyr's death. When the city capitulated the missionaries escaped in disguise amongst the soldiers, and after many hardships and dangers made their way back in safety to France. The other priest who remained with them died in Ireland. Brother Thady Lee, who had also remained, fared differently. He was seized by the heretics, his hands and feet were cut off, and his head crushed, before the eyes of his mother, and thus he had the glory of shedding his blood for the faith.¹¹

Thus ended the mission to Ireland. It was not unfruitful. It contributed much to sustain the faith in a country suffering all the horrors of war and persecution. During the six years which it lasted, the heart of Vincent was with his missionaries. He wrote frequently to encourage them, and with the exception of a donation given by the Duchess of Aiguillon, all the expense of the mission was borne by him. He was ever disposed to resume the good work, which war had rendered it impossible to continue; and in 1652 we find him giving his consent to the desire of two of his subjects, Father Ennery and Father Valois, to go to resume the missions in Ireland. This pious desire seems, however, not to have been put into execution, for at a later period we find both occupied in the works of their vocation, the former at Genoa, and the latter in France.

III

WHAT VINCENT DID FOR IRISHMEN WHO TOOK REFUGE IN FRANCE

The charity of Vincent was productive of much good on Irish soil; it was no less active towards Irishmen in France. Irishmen ever received a welcome at his monastery of St. Lazarus. While the arms of the Confederation of Kilkenny were yet successful, and the hopes of Irish Catholics were bright, a memorable ceremony took place in Vincent's

¹¹ *Lettres de St. Vincent de Paul*, vol. ii., p. 401.

monastery in Paris.¹⁵ On the 7th May, 1645, thirteen bishops fifteen abbots, and thirty doctors of the Sorbonne, assembled at St. Lazarus to assist at the consecration of two Irish bishops the Most Rev. Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killala, and Most Rev. Edmund O'Dwyer, Coadjutor-Bishop of Limerick. It was a day full of promise for the Church in Ireland, and Vincent's hospitality was joyfully extended to the new Irish prelates and their friends. He was at the time making preparations to send a body of missionaries to co-operate with them in their labours for the glory of God. A few years later the fortune of war proved adverse to the Catholic cause. After the fall of Limerick many Irishmen, both of the laity and the clergy, took refuge in France. To all, Vincent's charity was extended. Having learned that many Irish Catholics in exile for the faith, were living in great misery in Paris, he sent one of the Irish priests of his community to seek them out and assist them. 'Would it not be possible,' said Vincent, 'to bring them together, to console and instruct them? They do not understand our language. They seem to me to be, as it were, quite abandoned, and this is what touches my heart, and gives me great compassion for them.' The Father replied that he would do all in his power. 'God bless you,' said Vincent, 'here are ten pistoles. Go, in God's name and give them all the consolation possible.'¹⁶

The charity of Vincent towards Irish laymen in exile was not limited to those who took refuge in Paris. It extended to the Irish exiles scattered throughout the kingdom. In 1654 Vincent sent Father John Ennery as professor to the seminary at Troyes; and in a letter dated 13th February of that year, the Saint writes as follows:¹⁷—

God continues to bless the house at Troyes. . . . There are twenty-two seminarists. We have sent M. Ennery there to be their teacher, or rather Providence has conducted him thither for another good work, which we had not foreseen. Two Irish regiments have been sent there to winter quarters. There

¹⁵ Lynch, *Pii Antistitis Icon*, 1st edit. p. 64.

¹⁶ A pistole was equivalent in value to ten livres or francs. Ten pistoles equalled 100 francs. This sum should be multiplied by four, to find the equivalent in modern currency.

¹⁷ *Lettres de St. Vincent*, vol. iii., p. 18.

are amongst them one hundred girls or women of good morals, and a large number of little children, who have been driven from their country on account of their religion, and they are all in extreme poverty. Mr. Unnery acts as their parish priest, preaches to them, and instructs them, and administers the sacraments to them, gives clothes to the naked and some other assistance to the most needy out of the alms which are sent to him from Paris.

While Vincent compassionated and helped Irish laymen in exile he was no less active in relieving the wants of Irish ecclesiastics who had taken refuge in France. Irish priests in exile in Paris found the doors of St. Lazarus ever open to them. To some of them Vincent gave a monthly allowance, for others he obtained sustenance from charitable persons. Amongst the exiled Irish priests was one who was blind. For several years Vincent provided for his support and hired a boy to guide him in his walks, and he gave orders that the priest and his guide should be allowed to dine at the monastery as often as they pleased. Members of the Irish hierarchy too experienced the charitable solicitude of the Saint. In 1654 Dr. Barry, Bishop of Cork, took refuge at Nantes where he remained until his death in 1662. Writing to Mr. Cruoly, in 1655, Vincent speaks thus of the exiled prelate: 'I have sent forty crowns to the Bishop of Cork. I hear that twenty-eight ecclesiastics have landed at Nantes, and amongst them an archbishop, and the Bishop of Kildare, Oh, sir, how sad this is !'¹⁸ In a letter dated 1656, he again refers to Dr. Barry. 'I will procure all the help I can for his lordship the Archbishop (*sic*) of Cork. I have here one hundred francs which I shall send him on the first opportunity.' In 1657 he again writes: 'I have here one hundred crowns for the Bishop of Cork.' Writing to a Sister of Charity at Nantes, in the same year, he says: 'I send you a letter for the Bishop of Cork containing a bill of exchange for one hundred crowns, which some pious persons offer him as a present to aid him to subsist. I beg you to deliver it to him in person and when you reply on the other points, give me an answer on this also.'

¹⁸ *Lettres de St. Vincent*, vol. iii., pp. 381, 433, 439

While Vincent sympathized with all classes of Irish exiles there was one in which he took a special interest ; namely, the ecclesiastics who had come to Paris to prosecute their studies. From the closing years of the sixteenth century an Irish seminary existed in Paris. In 1623 the Letters Patent of Louis XIII. gave it a legal existence, and in 1624 it was incorporated in the University. The Irish students depended in a great measure on the charity of the people of Paris for their support. Their condition did not escape the vigilant eye of Vincent. Francis Kirwan, subsequently Bishop of Killala, was resident in Paris between 1641 and 1645, and Vincent knowing the merit of that excellent man desired to have him appointed superior of the Irish students. In the life of Dr. Kirwan, Archdeacon Lynch thus records the fact¹⁹ :—

Francis [he writes] went to Paris, where he became the intimate friend of three men remarkable for no ordinary, but rather for extraordinary, piety, viz., Father Vincent, Le Gauffre, and the Baron de Renty. The first mentioned was the founder of the Missioners, who train up young ecclesiastics to an accurate knowledge of ceremonies and in meditation on heavenly things, and who labour in a special manner to bring the people to frequent the sacraments of confession and the Eucharist, as well as to lead back sinners to good morals, and heretics to the Catholic faith. . . . By these three men Francis was advised to form a community of his fellow-countrymen then students in Paris, to govern them and be their model : and they added that they would secure that sufficient means of support should be provided for them, in the hope there would go forth from that community men provided with a rich supply of learning, who would break the bread of knowledge to the uninstructed in their native land, and would not allow them to be defiled with the stain of heresy. But such pious designs came to naught, for the Irishmen then resident in Paris assembled together, and, while they were discussing the project, one of those present broke out into sharp words against Francis, attacking him severely, and said that he possessed the appearance of virtue, but not the reality, and made an empty display of piety without sincerity in the practice of it. For there is no virtue so modest

¹⁹ Lynch writes the name in Latin, Goffraeo. The name is Thomas Le Gauffre. See *Les Saints Pretres Francais du xvii. siècle* par G. Letoureau pp. 14, 66. Le Gauffre was superior of the College des Trente Trois from 1641 to 1645.

as to escape the teeth of malignity.²⁰ To this insult Francis made no reply.²¹

Though the benevolent project of Vincent and his associates came to naught on this occasion, he did not cease to interest himself on behalf of the Irish students; some he provided with means to continue their studies and some he recommended to the generosity of the charitable. Sometimes he used his influence to find employment for them. On 9th of August, 1651, he wrote in the following terms to the Superior-General of the Congregation of Sainte Geneviève to ask a favour for M. Medus (Mede), an Irish priest²² :—

Rev. Father, your great kindness gives me confidence to beg of you very humbly to be pleased to recommend to one of your Fathers who is Chancellor of the University and presides over the examinations of the Masters of Arts, an Irish priest—M. Medus, bachelor in theology—that he may get him appointed examiner in preference to all others. This is a great request to make, Rev. Father, but besides the fact that he is a very virtuous man, I have been asked to make it by persons of singular virtue and learning who will also be obliged to you. And for my part, I take it entirely on myself to acknowledge this together with the many other obligations we are under to you, by my very humble services when an opportunity presents itself; and I beg of you, with all my heart, to honour me with your commands with the same freedom as I venture to importune you.—I am, etc.

But nothing shows more clearly how intimate were the relations of Vincent with the Irish students, and how salutary was his influence over them, than their action in the question of Jansenism in 1651. At that date minds were in a state of great agitation on the subject of the doctrines of Jansenius. Dr. Nicholas Cornet had denounced five propositions from the writing of Jansenius as censurable. The question was under examination before the Holy See. The opponents and the advocates of Jansenism were active in Paris in seeking supporters. The Irish students in the University took sides in the movement, and they prepared

²⁰ Lynch, *Pii Antistitis Icon, Life of Dr. Kirwan*. St. Malo, 1659, pp. 52, 54.

²¹ Val. Max. lib. iv. c. 7.

²² *Lettres*, vol. iii.

to issue a declaration pledging themselves never to hold or teach the doctrines of Jansenism. The Rector of the University hearing of their project, sent them, by the University beadle, an order forbidding them to pronounce on any doctrinal subject. They disobeyed, and twenty-six of them signed a declaration condemning Jansenism. They put it into the hands of St. Vincent de Paul, and through him it was made public. The Rector, finding that his authority had been set at naught, summoned the Irish graduates of the University, who had signed the declaration, and examined them before the University tribunal. Their depositions are still preserved in the manuscript registers of the University.²³

Nicholas Power deposed that he had subscribed the declaration ; that twenty-six had subscribed, and that he gave the document to Maurice Durcan, head of the Irish community, and that it was then give to Vincent de Paul.

Thomas Medus (Mede) deposed that he had drawn up the declaration ; that he had given it first to Nicholas Power, and then to Vincent de Paul ; and that three or four copies of it had been made and subscribed.

Richard Nugent, doctor in Theology, deposed that meetings were held every Sunday, at two in the afternoon, in the College of the Bons Enfants ; that Maurice Durcan, head of the Irish who meet at the said College, had submitted to him the declaration for signature. He added that George Leblanc (White), bachelor in Theology, and a member of Vincent's community had solicited signatures and that the document after signature was given to Vincent. Other depositions to the same effect were made ; and the deponents declared their readiness to retract if they had done wrong. Maurice Power declared that two Jesuits had visited Nicholas Power in his room in the College of Lisieux, and had promised the Irish a house in the University, or at least in the city of Paris, provided they signed the Declaration ; and he added that Nicholas Power had admitted this in his presence and in that of Philip O'Lonergan, and Patrick Hefernan.

²³ *Registres de la Nation d'Allemagne . . . Registre 28.* Bibliothèque de l'Université, Paris.

Fearing that the act of those who signed the declaration should be prejudicial to all Irishmen at the University, Philip O'Loneragan, Maurice Power, Patrick Hefernan, and Cornelius Macnamara, addressed a letter to the Rector, Deans, and Proctors of the University deprecating what had been done by their countrymen, and on 22nd March Philip O'Loneragan wrote to the Rector on the subject of the Declaration as follows :—

MOST HONOURED RECTOR, — If I answer you by letter and not in person the reason is—time. Hence, as time does not permit me to reply to your question in person, I lay what I know before you in writing. You desire me to inform you how I ascertained what I stated, namely, that the Irish were led to hope that they would receive benefices through the intervention of Father Vincent, provided they subscribed the Declaration. I will tell you candidly that in a certain house near the College des Grassins, Master Power informed me, early in February, that the Irishmen who should not subscribe the said Declaration need not hope for benefices in our native land ; and that on the other hand the subscribers would receive benefices, and, what is more important, that those only who subscribed would be elected Bishops ; and that the collation of the said benefices would be in the hands of Father Vincent and his confrères, and that all hope of obtaining anything in their native land would be taken away from those who did not subscribe. As soon as I have leisure I will speak with you more fully and more freely on this subject, wherefore I send you this note in haste in expectation of our meeting.

I am, most honoured Rector, your humble and obedient servant,

College of Rheims,

22nd March, 1651.

P. O'LONERGAN,
Doctor of Theology.

All this evidence was considered by the Rector's Council, and a Decree was issued, depriving the Irish graduates who had signed the Declaration, of their degrees ; and expelling the under-graduates from all university colleges and depriving them of all hope of degrees unless they retracted their signatures in writing within eight days. The Decree was couched in the following terms :—

DECREE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS AGAINST CERTAIN IRISHMEN.

In the year of Our Lord, 1651, on Saturday, 4th March, at the ordinary Council of the University, in the College of

Navarre, the Rector presiding, the most excellent Rector stated that being informed that certain Irishmen had during the last few months met frequently at the College of the Bons Enfants, under the presidency of one of the Missioners, and that some of the said Irishmen had assembled in the room of Master Nicholas Power, an Irishman, bachelor in theology and professor of philosophy in the College of Lisieux, to decide on certain questions concerning grace, he, the Rector, had immediately sent them an order to desist from such meetings and from doctrinal decisions. They seemed to obey, for they dispersed immediately, but soon after each of them was approached individually, and three or four copies were secretly proposed for signature of a declaration to the following effect²⁴ :—

‘Whereas in these sad times new doctrines are by certain persons, to the great division of minds, taught, preached, printed, spoken of in private conversations, and, what is worse, proposed in catechism to the ignorant and unwary people ; and whereas there is danger lest some of the Irishmen, who make their studies in Paris in greater numbers than in any city in the whole world, should be imbued with these doctrines ; and on returning to Ireland, our native land, so tenacious of the faith and religion of our fathers, should endeavour to spread and instil them into the minds of the unwary, and disturb the Church of Ireland, which, for more than a century, has been exceedingly afflicted by the oppression and most violent persecution of heretics, and for ten years agitated by a cruel and dangerous war :

‘We, the undersigned, purposing, as far as in us lies, to obviate that evil in good time, promise that we shall always adhere to all the Œcumenical Councils, and especially to that of Trent, as well as to all the decrees and censures of the sovereign Pontiffs, and in particular to those enacted by Pius V., Gregory XIII., Urban VIII., and Innocent X., against Baius, Jansenius, and their followers.

‘Moreover, we promise that we shall never deliberately, in private or in public, defend, teach, preach, much less propose to the people in catechism any proposition suspected of error or heresy, or in any way condemned by any Sovereign Pontiff, and in particular the following :—

‘1°. To just men who will and endeavour some of the commandments of God are impossible, according to the strength which they possess. For grace is wanting to them, whereby they may become possible.

‘2°. In the state of fallen nature, grace is never resisted.

‘3°. To merit and demerit in the state of fallen nature

²⁴ Originals in Latin MS. *Registre de Université de Paris*, 28. Printed Decree, *Journal de M. de St. Amour*, pp. 156-159.

liberty from necessity is not required in man, but liberty from compulsion is sufficient.

4. The semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of interior preventing grace for every act, even for the commencement of faith; and in this they were heretics, because they meant that that grace was such that the human will could either resist or comply with it.

5. It is semi-Pelagianism to say that Christ died and shed His blood for all men without exception.'

That each of the aforesaid Irishmen had been privately solicited in every possible way to subscribe the said declaration, and that at last they had signed it to the number of twenty-six, of whom only one was a doctor of theology, two bachelors, two masters of arts, and the rest possessed no degree or rank in the University, while some had barely commenced their philosophy, and others hardly grammar.

The said Lord Rector pointed out how important it was that the University should hinder such meetings in its colleges, and punish those who in violation of a prohibition had without authority dared to pronounce on a point of doctrine, especially on the propositions contained in the Declaration, on which the Sacred Faculty of Theology had given no decision, though they were submitted to it for deliberation more than eighteen months ago; neither had the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Paris, nor the venerable clergy of France, now holding its sittings in Paris, given any decision regarding them. The Rector also observed that the said Declaration contained certain things which seemed quite opposed to the authority of the University of Paris, to the laws and privileges of the Realm and Church of France. In conclusion, he said that four of the subscribers had been ordered to present themselves to be heard on the whole question, and to produce all the copies of the Declaration subscribed by them.

It was resolved, therefore, that first of all they should be heard. On being admitted the aforesaid Declaration was read for them, and they admitted that they had signed it privately without previous examination in common, that they had subscribed three or four copies, none of which remained in their possession; that they had given one copy to Vincent de Paul, General of the Missioners and Principal of the said College of the Bons Enfants; and that they were prepared to revoke their signatures if it seemed good to the University, and they confirmed under their hand that they stated and promised all these things with truth.

Then the Lord Rector produced a petition addressed to himself and to the Deans and Proctors by certain other Irishmen, theologians and graduates of the University, begging that the rash act of a few should not be imputed to their entire

nation, and affirming that some had been deceived through ignorance and others persuaded by the enemies of the University; and they requested that the University would be pleased to take means to obviate the evil done by a few, whereby fraternal charity was dissolved, and a slur cast on them as though all were party to the fault of a few who had dared to violate the laws of the Gallican Church and of the Realm.

When this petition had been read, several Irish theologians were heard, some of whom declared that two Jesuits had solemnly promised the Irish a house if they subscribed the aforesaid Declaration, and that, moreover, they were led to hope for a foundation from a certain other person, and for stipends or ecclesiastical benefices from the said Master Vincent de Paul, General of the Missioners.

When all this had been heard, and the matter weighed with mature deliberation, it was resolved unanimously, that no person of private rank can decide on a point of doctrine, and that consequently those few private individuals, with no authority and most of them devoid of learning or rank in the University, had acted rashly and insolently in daring, contrary to the prohibition of the most honoured Rector, to take upon themselves to pronounce a doctrinal decision, and to determine the above-mentioned questions, on which neither the Sacred Faculty of Theology, nor the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Paris, nor the august Clergy of France had given a decision.

Wherefore the University condemns and abrogates the Declaration, and wills that it be null and void, inasmuch as it is opposed to its authority, and contrary to the customs and laws of the Realm and Church of France; and it orders that all copies of the said Declaration wherever found shall be brought to the Rector and destroyed. It deprives the graduates of the University who subscribed the Declaration of all degrees, rights, and privileges in the University, the others it excludes from all hope of admission to degrees, and expels from all colleges unless within eight days from the notification of the present decree they shall revoke their signature in writing in presence of the Secretary of the University, and on the expiry of that time the contumacious shall have no hope of pardon.

It forbids them or others in the University to attempt the like in future, in any form, of their own private authority; otherwise it declares that they shall most certainly be deprived of all degrees, privileges, and rights in the University, and shall be expelled from all its colleges.

The present decree shall be notified as soon as possible to all Principals of Colleges, and to all whom it may concern. And so it was ruled by the Lord Rector.

(Signed),

QUINTAN,
Secretary of the University.

Such was the sentence of the University Tribunal. But the matter did not end here. Let us leave to M. Jourdain,²⁵ the accomplished historian of the University, to tell what followed :—

The Rector [he writes] had hoped that such a sentence would put an end to this species of schism, and that the Irish would make their submission. But they acted as the advanced guard of a party which felt itself strong enough not to fear a contest and which, after putting them forward, would not let them retreat. As they were condemned by the Tribunal of the Faculty of Arts, which was not, in truth, competent to pronounce on questions of faith, they denounced this abuse of power to the Parliament, and at the same time they appealed to the Faculty of Theology. The latter body, notwithstanding its divisions, was assuming an attitude more and more decided against Jansenism. It espoused the cause of the Irish, and resolved to lend them its support in the trial which was commenced, and it censured its Vice-Dean, Master Messire, for having voted with their adversaries at the last University meeting.

As for the appeal to Parliament lodged by the Irish, it obtained complete success. The Court, by a decree of 14th March, 1651, ordered that the parties should be heard on the earliest opportunity, and, provisionally, it forbade the execution of the decree adopted against the appellants.

Thus ended an incident which furnishes the clearest proof of the influence exercised by Vincent de Paul over the Irish students in Paris. By the mission in Ireland, and by his charity to Irishmen in France, Vincent rendered inestimable service to our country, but no service of his was so salutary as that by which he hindered Jansenism from obtaining a hold on the priests, and, through them, on the people of Ireland. The Jansenists made efforts to introduce their tenets into Ireland, and it is said tried to secure the appointment to Irish sees of persons favourable to their doctrines. But the Irish students in Paris remained true to the principles instilled at the College des Bons Enfants in 1651, and when rashly accused of Jansenist tendencies in 1676²⁶ the students of the Irish (Lombard) College protested that they were resolutely opposed to the errors of Jansenism, and docile to the decisions of the Holy See.

²⁵ Jourdain, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, vol. i., p. 182, 183.

²⁶ See Moran, *Life of Oliver Plunket*, 1st ed., p. 256.

Nor was Ireland unmindful of the services rendered by Vincent. When the cause of his Beatification was pending, the Bishop of Waterford, in a letter addressed to Clement XI., thus expressed the sentiments of the Bishops and of the people of Ireland :—

MOST HOLY FATHER,—While all Europe, prostrate at the feet of your Holiness, awaits the decision of the Vatican conferring supreme honours on Vincent, Ireland cannot be silent. The benefits she has received deserve that she should raise her voice on behalf of her generous consoler. Taking pity on the woes and misfortunes of the Church in Ireland, he more than once furnished her with an abundant supply of sacred vestments and most liberal pecuniary aid.

He sent courageous athletes who valiantly combated the fell powers of darkness, and by the splendour of the torch of faith dispelled the darkness of heresy. In fine, from time to time he provided us with truly apostolic men, workmen that need not be ashamed, rightly handling the word of God, who broke the bread of life to the hungry, who cast the paralytics into the pool, and supported and strengthened minds wavering in the faith of Peter, in consequence of the attacks and wiles of heretics.

What more shall I say? God seems to have raised up Vincent de Paul to restore to Ireland, oppressed and groaning under the weight of heresy, lest a singular evil beast should utterly devour her, her Malos, Columbans, Malachies, Virgils, Galls, etc., once scattered as lights throughout all the countries of a benighted world.

Nor did Ireland alone experience his helping hand. Scotland, the Hebrides, the Orkneys, experienced it. Whence, being informed of the progress and fruits of the Missions, the Most Religious King of Great Britain and the Queen, his august mother, did not hesitate to address to your Holiness letters of, shall I say commendation or gratitude, nay rather, since heaven demands it, letters of obligation.

Of these things I myself was an eye-witness while, in spite of the searches and the snares of heretics, I lay hid in my most afflicted native land for a period of nearly six years; and in my exile I hear, not without great joy, that all places resound still more with his praises. The unanimous voice of all the clergy and the entire people appears to be that Vincent de Paul shines in the ranks of the blessed, and has increased the number of the heavenly citizens, and has offered to the Lamb the palm of his merits or, rather, of his virtues. Our countrymen demand that the Vicar of Christ should declare Vincent such on earth as Christ himself has long since declared him to be in heaven.

I also make the same request earnestly and humbly, and at the same time I beg your Holiness to grant your paternal and apostolic benediction to your most devoted and obedient son and servant, an exile in France for the sake of religion.²⁷

RICHARD,

Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

Paris, 4th Feb., 1706.

IV

WHAT VINCENT DID FOR SCOTLAND BY MEANS OF THE IRISH FATHERS OF HIS COMMUNITY

When the mission in Ireland was drawing to a close the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda requested Vincent to send some of his missionaries to Scotland. Vincent obeyed, and sent thither two Irish fathers of his community. In 1651 Father Dermot Duggan and Father Francis White set out for Scotland in the disguise of merchants, and in company with Lord Glengarry. Having arrived in that country, they rested for some time at Lord Glengarry's residence. Soon after they entered on their laborious mission. Father Duggan went to the Hebrides, where he laboured amidst great privations for six years, visiting the various islands, instructing the ignorant, administering Sacraments, and bringing back many heretics to the Church. Finding that the harvest was great he wrote Vincent, asking assistance.²⁸

The country [he wrote] is extensive, and by the grace of God the people are in good dispositions. Wherefore I beg of you to send us a good Irish priest to assist us. But he must be very virtuous, mortified, and detached from self and from his own comfort, for there is much to suffer in every way in this country. He must also be very patient, meek, and moderate in word and action, in order to gain these people, who are offended if they perceive the slightest mark of impatience or rudeness.

Father Duggan continued to labour in spite of privations and dangers. His food, he wrote, was often only one meal a day, and that consisting of oats or barley bread, with cheese or salt butter. Sometimes he passed whole days without eating, particularly when he had to cross mountains and

²⁷ From a collection of letters addressed to his Holiness Clement XI. Rome, 1709.

²⁸ Maynard, *Vie de St. Vincent de Paul*, vol. iii., p. 48.

uninhabited places. At length his exhausted strength could hold out no longer, and he died in the island of Uist in 1657. The people long mourned him as a father, and gave his name to the chapel where his remains were laid.

Father White exercised his ministry in the Highlands. In 1655 he was arrested on the charge of celebrating Mass, and was detained in prison at Aberdeen for five or six months. At length he was released, but was threatened, that should he preach or baptize in future, he would be hanged without further trial. The intrepid missionary went his way rejoicing, and preached in another district. In 1660 Father White visited Paris, but returned again to Scotland in 1662. . . . In 1665 he made a second journey to Paris, but returning to Scotland in 1668 he continued to labour there until his death in 1679. . . . In official dispatches to Propaganda the name of Father White²⁹ is often mentioned with eulogium, and until recent times his portrait was preserved with veneration in the Castle of Invergarry, in a chamber known as Mr. White's room, until the castle was burned down in 1745. Besides Fathers Duggan and White Vincent sent to Scotland, in 1653, Father Thomas Lumsden who was a native of Scotland. This good missionary was no less zealous than his confrères. He visited the northern Highlands and exercised his ministry in Murray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. He visited even the Orkneys; and did much to preserve the faith amongst the people who rarely had the opportunity of receiving the sacraments. At length the violence of persecution became so great that Father Lumsden was obliged to conceal himself, and in 1663 he returned to Paris, where he spent the closing years of his life. Thus did Vincent by means of the Irish priests of his congregation lay the church in Scotland under a debt of gratitude. And as the Bishop of Waterford pro-

²⁹ 'D. Franciscus Le Blanc-Whyte, Hibernus, quadraginta et quinque circiter annos natus Parisiis in Congregatione Missionis apud S. Lazarum, Philosophiae et Theologiae operam navavit. In superiori Scotia per quindécum annos se missionarium probavit tum laboris et miseriarum patientissimum tum salutis animarum cupidissimum, cui multum debet Scotia superior.' Dr. Winters' report to Propaganda: Bellesheim, *Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 84. Eng. ed. See also Moran, *Life of Dr. Plunket*, 1st ed., p. 178.

claimed the gratitude of Ireland on the occasion of the Beatification of Vincent, so likewise did James III. from his palace at St. Germain acknowledge that of Scotland. Writing to Clement XI. he says :—

MOST HOLY FATHER,—As the Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission have requested Us to be pleased to support by our commendation their earnest petition that their Founder, the Venerable Father Vincent, be ranked amongst the Beatified, we grant their request most willingly, not only because it shall redound to the greater glory of God and to an increase of devotion amongst the faithful, but also because a special motive urges us. For the Father exercised the greatest charity towards our subjects when, not without great risk and at great expense, he sent Missioners in dangerous times to propagate the faith in our kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland. Moreover, when my father, of happy memory, established the public worship of the Catholic religion in his royal chapel in London, he brought from France the Fathers of this Congregation to take charge of it, and they fulfilled that duty with great edification and zeal.

Wherefore we earnestly beg that your Holiness may be pleased to decree by your authority the honour due to his sanctity and his great services to the Church, and to bring this affair to a happy issue. For the rest we shall constantly pray God to preserve your Holiness long for his own glory and the advantage of the Church.—Your Holiness's most devoted son,

JAMES R.

Given at St. Germain, *1st Sept.*, 1706.

Vincent went to his reward in A.D. 1660. After his death an effort was made to continue the missions in Ireland. Father Brin and Father Waters returned to Ireland, and the last authentic account we possess concerning them is contained in a letter of M. Almeras, Superior-General of the Congregation, dated February, 1664.

Mr. Brin and Mr. Waters labour, each by himself, in various parts of Ireland to maintain the Catholics in the faith and to bring back to the Church those who had fallen away. In three letters which he has written to me within the last nine or ten months that he is in that country, Mr. Waters tells me of several conversions which God has worked by his means, and amongst others that of an Englishman of distinction who was brought up in heresy, and has died a good Catholic. Mr. Brin

³⁰ On the same day the Queen-Mother wrote a similar letter to His Holiness.

suffered a month's imprisonment after his arrival, and then an illness which reduced him to the last extremity, but at last, by the grace of God, he has recovered health and liberty to labour, as he does, with fruit for the salvation of his poor fellow-countrymen.

After this date we have no record of Vincentians in Ireland until the nineteenth century. In 1687 the Vincentians were brought to England and placed in charge of the Royal chapel in London by his Majesty James II., who had come to know them at Versailles, where they had charge of the parish church. In a letter to the Superior-General, dated 8th May, 1687, the Superior, Father Le Lasseur, gave an interesting account of their reception and their work in England.³¹

We have been received [he writes] by his Majesty with every possible mark of affection. He has already conversed with us on two occasions, inquiring about the duties of our Congregation, and expressing the pleasure he felt in hearing us speak of them. Never was there a prince more zealous or more pious than he, but his zeal encounters great obstacles. The English mind is quite opposed to the religion of Rome. The King could find no disposition on the part of the members of Parliament to sanction liberty of conscience, which, none the less, he has proclaimed of his own authority. At the present moment there are in London seven or eight chapels in which Mass is publicly celebrated, besides the King's chapel, in which we officiate with all possible solemnity. While we officiate at the altar, attended by eight altar boys, the King's choir perform the musical part of the service. Neither the King nor the Queen ever miss High Mass or vespers, which we chant in their presence every Sunday and holiday. There are sermons, too, but in English. At the chapels of the French and Spanish Ambassadors the sermons are in French. We cannot get over preaching occasionally in the former chapel, and we must, I think, do the same in the latter. We are not yet lodged at the Louvre (*sic*), because the rooms destined for us will only be ready when we come back from Windsor, where the King is going to spend the summer, and where we are to go with him. We do not yet wear the ecclesiastical dress in the streets, but we keep as near to it as possible, in order to accustom the people to it. Up to the present we have been wearing cravats, presently

³¹ *Annals of the Congregation of the Mission*, tom. lxiv., p. 424.

we shall begin to appear with a clerical collar and a small wig, and I hope that in a short time we shall observe all the forms. The Jesuit Fathers are beginning to recover influence and to become powerful. One of them is the King's confessor, another that of the Queen, and a third is a great favourite with the King. We are on very good terms with them, though without much intercourse. Some noblemen have recently been converted; others are beginning to go to Mass privately, *propter meliorem salutem*. In a fortnight the Jesuits will open a college in London. There will be only two classes at first to begin with.

From May, 1687, to November, 1688, the Fathers continued to fulfil their duties in the Royal chapel. When the king fled to France on the landing of the Prince of Orange, his chaplains were obliged to quit London, and seek safety in France. Though there was no Vincentian Mission in the Three Kingdoms in the eighteenth century, yet some Irishmen continued to find their way into the Congregation of the Mission in France; and from 1660 to 1793, we find the names of about twenty Irishmen on the register of those received into the Order. The most remarkable amongst them was Edward Ferris, a native of Kerry. Edward Ferris was born near Tralee in 1738. At the age of sixteen he proceeded to France, and served in Duclan's Regiment of the Irish Brigade, under Captain Connaway and Colonel-Major Moor until he obtained the rank of gentleman cadet.² Leaving the army he entered the Congregation of the Mission in 1758, and having made his studies and been ordained priest, he was employed in the instruction of ecclesiastics. In 1771 he was named superior of the seminary of Toul, and obtained, no doubt at this time, the degree of Doctor of Theology of the University of Nancy. In 1774 he was appointed superior of the great seminary of Amiens, which he governed with success until 1788, when he was elected Assistant-General of the Congregation. After the sack of St. Lazarus in 1789, Father Ferris left Paris in company with the Superior-General, and proceeded with him ultimately to Rome in 1794. Here he resided

² Official statement of Dr. Ferris, *Annals of the Congregation of the Mission*, tom. xlv. n. 2, p. 190.

until 1798, when, through Father Luke Concannen, O.P., he was introduced, to the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, and induced to accept a position in Maynooth College, then recently founded. With the consent of his superiors he set out for Ireland along with Archbishop Troy, and was formally appointed Dean in Maynooth on 17th June, 1798. In 1801 the Chair of Moral Theology became vacant, and Father Ferris was appointed to that post, which he held until his death in 1809. In a notice of him which appeared at the time of his death his character is thus sketched :— ³³

His urbanity, his exemplary piety, his strict self-denial produced an effect more salutary than the best lessons in Moral Theology. His natural amiability, his tenderness of heart, and the affability of his manner endeared him to all.

The students venerated his name and virtues. He raised the College of Maynooth to so high a state of discipline that in 1800 and 1801 that establishment, by reason of the sanctity which reigned in it, might be styled the Bangor of modern times.

In the year in which Dr. Ferris died there was born one who was destined to re-establish in Ireland the work of missions, begun by Vincent de Paul, and discontinued on account of the evils of the time. This was Thomas Macnamara of the diocese of Meath. Thomas Macnamara made his studies in Maynooth College, and as he himself narrated to the present writer, towards the close of his theological course he was selected to fill the office of Monitor in the Junior House of the College. He requested the superiors to give him as his associate James Lynch, a student of the diocese of Dublin. These two young men were approaching the period of their ordination, and both had one desire, to found a body to give missions to the people throughout the country. They laid their project before the superiors, especially the Rev. Philip Dowley, Dean of the College. Having received approval and encouragement and a promise of co-operation from Father Dowley, the two

young priests, Fathers Macnamara and Lynch, succeeded in inducing two or three fervent young men to join them in their pious project. With the sanction of Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, they began in 1833 by opening a day school in Dublin for the education of boys. Their purpose was to provide themselves by degrees with means to commence the work of giving missions. Soon after, in 1835, they purchased a property at Castleknock, near Dublin, and opened a college. Learning that there already existed in the Church a body whose chief aim was to give missions to the poor, Father Macnamara and his associates resolved to unite themselves to it. Accordingly, they entered into communication with the Superior-General of the Congregation of the Mission, and in 1839 Father Philip Dowley, who had joined the new community at Castleknock, and been chosen superior, proceeded with some others to Paris, and entered the novitiate. In due time they were admitted to make the vows of the Institute. A master of novices was sent to Ireland to train those who could not, without serious inconvenience, be sent to France.

Thus the Vincentians were established in Ireland. In 1838 a second house had been opened in Dublin. In 1842 the work of giving missions was commenced. The good work prospered. Other bodies followed the example set by the first Vincentians, and to-day there are few parishes throughout the country strangers to the blessings of a mission. The grain of mustard seed planted in 1833 has grown up and become a great tree, and at the present time the Irish Vincentians possess seven houses in Ireland, three in England, one in Scotland, one in Paris, and three in Australia, with a personnel of about 110 priests, 20 students, and 40 lay brothers. As in the days of their founder, St. Vincent, they are still engaged in labouring for (*salutem pauperum et cleri disciplinam*) the salvation of the poor and the discipline of the clergy. In 1855 the Sisters of Charity, founded also by St. Vincent, were invited to found a house in Drogheda. Soon after they opened houses in Dublin and in London, and to-day they are in charge of 58 establishments in the

British Isles, viz., 12 in Ireland, 7 in Scotland, and 39 in England.

The history of the relations of Vincent de Paul with Ireland deserves a place in the history of the Church in Ireland. It shows, moreover, that the ideas of saints, even when they seem to have perished, often possess a vitality which makes them spring up, as it were, from the dust and produce much fruit.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

THE IDEA OF LIFE: ARISTOTLE'S THEORY v. MODERN SCIENCE

I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower—but *if* I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is.

TENNYSON..

BETWEEN the inorganic and the organic world there is a broad chasm. Here we have inert or *brute* matter, as it has been rather inaptly termed; there we have active, quickened, live substances, plants, animals, men. But though inert and not active in the sense in which organic matter is active, yet inorganic matter is endowed with many peculiar and wonderful forces. Gravity, repulsion, heat, light, electricity, are forces of inorganic matter. Still the phenomena of self-motion, growth and decay, generation and reproduction, are proper to the organic, and entirely unknown in the inorganic world. Again, in inorganic substances all the parts are homogeneous; in the organic world we meet that heterogeneity of parts which the word 'organism' signifies. The activity of an organism manifests the presence of life, of a vital force proper to organic substances. Between the lowest grades of life, between the simple cell and the highest inorganic substance there exists an impassable barrier. The vital activity of the cell shows that it is endowed with a force not to be found in the entire inorganic kingdom.

Naturally enough, the thinking men of all times have applied themselves to discover the secret of life. The phenomena are evident to every one and they must have a cause. What is it? What is the principle of the force by which a plant grows, flowers, bears fruit, reproduces itself? One modern school replies that this principle, this soul which is the source of the vitality of organisms, is a psychical and conscient force whether in the body of man or in the simplest of infusors. Another says: No, biological phenomena are not specifically different from physical and chemical phenomena, and the one and the other are capable of being accounted for by purely mechanical forces. The former is the answer of the

Neo-vitalists—Bunge, Rindfleisch, Haacke, etc.; the latter gives us the theory of the Mechanicists or Organicists.

Modern biologists will not admit the Neo-vitalist theory. Landois, Mosso, Bernstein and Helmholtz, have fiercely combated it. Life, they say, is a function of the organism, it is consubstantial to the elements and inseparable from the animated matter. There is no antagonism between physico-chemical and vital phenomena in the living being, there is rather a perfect harmony, a necessary connection between them.

The second hypothesis is as unscientific as the first. Science gives it no warrant. Everything goes to show that the phenomena of living organic matter are altogether inexplicable by physical and chemical forces. From the tiny splash of protoplasm up to the perfect body we find this true. We are in a different sphere from the inorganic kingdom, there is no identity between the one class of phenomena and the other. Mechanics and chemistry cannot throw a ray of light on the mystery by which the fecundated ovule develops and grows into the individual. No chemist can compound the elements of protoplasm in such a way that the result will be a living thing. The most conspicuous, the differential note of life, is the power of assimilation or nutrition. This perennial cycle of phenomena supposes a cause superior to any assigned by the hypothesis of mechanism. As Grassi well puts it, we are as much in the dark as the rustic who, having heard the phonograph, takes it to pieces to find out where the voice came from. And this confession is so warranted by facts that it ought to be enough to show the insufficiency of the hypothesis of Mechanicism. Neither the dissector's knife nor the analyst's vessels can explain to us the nature of life. Life is due to a principle of which they know nothing. And the old term *soul* is not to be replaced by any modern Greek coinages such as a *metabolical force*. Mechanical or chemical science cannot solve the mystery, and there is no denying the futility of such explanations as it pretends to give us.

What of the hypothesis of the Mechanicists? Is it literally true that the stomach is a crucible, the lungs a stove, the heart a force-pump, the brain a pile, the throat a flute, and

soforth? Is there no spontaneity, no finality in organic life? Is the cell after all but a chemical compound of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, azote, sulphur, phosphorus, sodium, etc.? The testimony of science says that this is not so. Berthelot says the chemist will never pretend to turn out of his laboratory a leaf, a fruit, a cell. Molecular forces, physical forces of polarity, attraction and repulsion may be verified in such artificial cells as that prepared with such labour by Traube; but self-motion and other vital phenomena, never. 'We must confess,' says Grassi, 'that such experiments do not allow us to remove the veil which shrouds the great mystery of life.' Müller and Milne Edwards recognise that the organism resembles a mechanical structure, but they observe that the organism is not the cause of vitality but its consequence, that the organism is due to the vital force of the embryo. After Pasteur and Tyndall no scientist will deny the truth of the old formula, *omne vivum ex ovo*. There can be no life without preceding life. This is, at least for the present, an uncontradicted law. Why should it be so if life is not specifically higher than the physico-chemical phenomena of inorganic matter?

It will be found that the old traditional theory first formulated by Aristotle, and afterwards adopted by the schoolmen, is still the most satisfactory and lucid. In Biology and many another science of our day the great philosopher is even yet as in Dante's day, *Il maestro di color che sanno*.

Let us review briefly the outlines of Aristotle's doctrine, applying to it the touchstone of the scientific discoveries of modern times, and seeing how it will bear the test.

According to Plato life consisted in the faculty or power of self-motion. Aristotle accepted this teaching while differing from Plato as to the nature of the soul. He rejected Plato's idealism and taught that the union of soul and body is natural, and that the living substance is one and complete, resulting from the conjunction of soul and body, which are the form and matter of the whole; so that not the soul, but the being composed of body and soul, lives and moves and acts. The essences of things are heterogeneous. Living things differ essentially from inert things. Organic activity is of a higher

grade than inorganic activity. Vital action cannot be explained by mere mechanical forces such as heat, light, and electricity. The principle of life is the soul, which is the substantial form of the body. It actuates the matter to which it is immediately united as a formal, consubstantial part. Organic substances are capable of exercising immanent actions which are terminated in and perfect the subject. All activity of inorganic things is transient, *ad extra*; they have not in themselves the faculty of self-motion, and are moved by gravity, elasticity, and other properties only when out of their natural equilibrium.

Aristotle taught that the activity of living substances was due to the soul, and that the soul was a formal principle, essentially different from the forms of non-living substances; that vitality was manifested by immanence of action in plants and animals; that though there are three grades of life essentially distinct, yet all three agreed in this, that they had in them the faculty of self-motion, and by this faculty they were distinguished from non-living things.

The greatest thinkers of many succeeding centuries accepted the theory of the philosopher. Athanasius, Basil, Augustine, Hugh of St. Victor, Albert the Great, Alexander of Hales, Thomas of Aquin, Duns Scotus, and others of great name found little to correct in Aristotle's doctrine about life and the soul, and scholastic philosophy owes its unity and stability to its logical adherence to the sound principles of the great Greek master.

He knew how to couple induction with deduction, and to confirm speculation by experience. His wonderful knowledge of nature safeguarded his Metaphysics. He built up his whole system on the solidest of foundations, belief in the testimony of his senses, and in the reality of the things they told him of. And even now, after so many centuries, with all 'the fairy tales of science and the long result of time' to guide us, we must confess that his work *Περὶ φύχης* contains pretty much all the outlines of psychology.

Every living substance is an organic substance, and all organic substances, however complex, derive originally from a cell. Living substances, both of the vegetable and of the

animal kingdom, are formed of a matter endowed with peculiar activities. This matter is known as protoplasm, and units of it form cells. In every cell there are two principal parts, the cellular body and the nucleus. Cellular life resides exclusively neither in the cellular body of protoplasm nor in the nucleus, but results from the union of both and from their reciprocal relations. Separated each is incapable of living. The phenomena of cellular vitality are as follows:—nutrition, growth, multiplication, irritability. Of these the chief is nutrition, of which growth and multiplication are consequences, and irritability a manifestation.

Under the microscope the most inferior of living beings have been observed to manifest these vital phenomena. The amoeba will extend its ramifications towards a nutritive substance, draw it to itself, and incorporate it in its own substance. It will digest it and assimilate it as truly as a higher animal digests and assimilates its food. The amoeba has the faculties of self-motion and nutrition, and all the essential notes of life. These, and the still more wonderful phenomena of reproduction observable in the simplest cells, proclaim that we are in the presence of the mystery of life. They bring home to us how little we know in reality, and they ought to inspire us with deepest humility and teach us not to be as dogmatic as we are prone to be where there is question of things beyond the ken of our reason. 'Life,' says Montegazza, 'even in its elementary forms, is such a complex fact that its analysis wearies thought and disheartens science. In one little atom is concentrated such force as to make us wonder and humble ourselves.'

The wonderful increase of knowledge of Biology, Anatomy, Histology, and other sciences has strikingly confirmed Aristotle's theory of life, and just as strikingly shewn how absurd are the theories of those who have been led away by false systems of philosophy invented to replace the old teaching. That life is due to a principle superior to mechanical and chemical forces, due to the soul which is the first principle of the vital phenomena of organic substances—ὡς εἶδος σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζῶντι ἔχοντος—is borne out by the confessions of science in our time. Call it a soul or not, we must admit

that vital actions, whether vegetative, sensitive, or intellectual, spring from such a principle as we with Aristotle call a soul:—*Ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ τοῦτο ᾧ ζῶμεν καὶ αἰσθανόμεθα καὶ διανοούμεθα πρῶτως*—the principle by which we live and feel and think, the source of self-motion, of immanent action.

In comparison of the insufficiency of modern definitions—or rather descriptions—of life, the old theory seems even more satisfactory and luminous. To quote them here would be unnecessary, besides they can be found collected and criticised in almost every up-to-date manual of scholastic philosophy, *e.g.*, Mercier, Pesch, Lorinzelli, De Mandato, etc.

Living substances, says Bernard, are endowed with spontaneity. Life is a perennial formation of the living organism. Flourens, Hyrtl, Quatrefages in so many words confess that the vital phenomenon of nutrition is as peculiar to organic substances as it is unknown in the inorganic kingdom. Modern Biology unmistakably testifies that self-motion, spontaneity, and immanent action are proper and differential notes of life. And if not explicitly, all Biologists implicitly grant that the difference between the activity of organic matter and inorganic matter is specific and essential. Landois says that to explain organic phenomena by the aid of physics and chemistry is extremely difficult, and seems at times impossible. Hyrtl affirms that the hypothesis of a vital force is indispensable in the actual condition of science, and that if the remains of an organic body contain only elements which may be found in inorganic matter, we cannot therefore conclude that the organism is the result of these elements alone. Bernard states that the power of evolution in the ovule has nothing to do either with physics or chemistry, that it is the *quid proprium* of life. Berta writes that although the physico-chemical constitution of organic substances is a *conditio sine qua non* of life we cannot hold that life is a purely physical or chemical phenomenon and that Biology must still maintain the old term *vital force*.

Biology tells us that there is a profound difference between living and non-living bodies. It points to life as an organic function, which even in its lowest forms has characteristics which transcend the forces of inorganic matter. Life comes

from a principle which is consubstantial to matter, and yet superior to all known forces of inorganic matter. Through this principle the elements are actuated and elevated ontologically. They acquire the faculties of self motion, nutrition, etc. They are parts of an organism. They are *living* things. Modern Biologists tell us that life is consubstantial and intrinsic to the organised matter, and as we have seen they are forced to confess that it is a force superior to mechanical and chemical forces.

A force consubstantial to the organism and yet hyper-physical: this is the sum of what Biology teaches us of the nature of life. And while this teaching refutes the hypotheses of the Mechanicists and the Neo-vitalists it is fully in accord with the traditional theory of Aristotle and the schoolmen. According to them life is certainly consubstantial and intrinsic to the organism. The old formula, *Vivere viventibus est esse*, is an affirmation of the same truth. And that life is due to the information of the matter by a soul specifically and essentially higher than the forms of inorganic substances sufficiently explains why vital phenomena cannot, as Beste confesses, be reduced to physical and chemical phenomena. Professor L. Chiesa says that Aristotle's definition of the soul: 'Εντελέχεια ἡ πρώτη σώματος φυσικοῦ οργανικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος, might be expressed in modern terms as follows: 'An intrinsic principle consubstantial to organised matter, elevating it ontologically and dynamically, and giving it the power of self-motion, spontaneity, etc.'

The old theory seems then the most lucid explanation of the mystery of life. We find that it stands where the others fall, and that, as a modern writer expresses it, Aristotle is the only naturalist who had a true conception of the nature of life and generation. Science says that the Mechanical hypothesis does not go far enough, and that the Neo-vitalist hypothesis goes too far. Midway between the two extremes comes the traditional hypothesis which is, as far as we can see, the most satisfactory and the most in keeping with facts.

Be this said to the greater glory of the great Philosopher. With the limited means at his disposal, in the imperfect stage in which he found the natural sciences of his day, his pene-

trating mind snatched secrets from the breast of nature which are but becoming fully manifest and palpable in our own time, after so many centuries. Read Mercier, read Pesch, and see how well the golden principles he first formulated bear the searchlights of modern science ; how whole his philosophy is in comparison of the systems of Kant, Hegel, Hartmann, and the many others who, to use the phrase of Socrates, seem to be 'fighting with shadows' where his hands grasp the realities of things. He is verily—and would that all knew it—*Il maestro di color che sanno!*

JAMES KELLY, PH.D.

WHAT IS A REASONABLE FAITH?

V

AND now I have completed my review of preliminaries, and advance to the exposition of my own views regarding the nature of the available Evidences of Religion and their relation to the average human mind. My purpose, I will again remark, is essentially practical, being in fact no other than to determine in what light the question of the reasonableness of believing in default of logical proof may best be presented to a doubter so as to induce him voluntarily to resume an attitude of faith. I approach the task not without serious misgivings lest I should injure so large and momentous a subject by a necessarily cursory handling; but I console myself with the reflexion that, as Newman points out, in these provinces of enquiry egoism is true modesty, since each man can speak only for himself, and for himself each has the right to speak.

The subject before us naturally falls into three divisions. In the first place, I have to show that there are cases in which evidence which does not admit of being drawn out into a formal proof may nevertheless be sufficient for assent and certitude, and that Theism is one of these cases. Secondly, I will seek to exhibit the practical impossibility of scepticism, by arguments analogous to those of Professor James and the Pragmatists. And, lastly, I will enquire how the Evidences of Theism must be approached by one who seriously seeks to extract from them the highest degree of certitude they are capable of generating in average minds. The first and third of these questions are obviously interconnected, and I shall treat of them separately only so far as convenience requires.

We have already considered the influence of our 'passional nature' upon the formation of beliefs, but the nature of the more purely intellectual factors in their production is at least equally worthy of attention in connexion with the present topic. No writer, so far as I am aware.

has treated this subject with more insight and ability than Newman, and it will be convenient, therefore, to refer once more to some of the characteristic teachings of the *Grammar of Assent*. Now, Newman is never weary of deprecating, 'in spite of Aristotle,' the value of mere logic as an instrumental art. Whether logic be, in truth, so clumsy an instrument as the Cardinal believes may be open to question, but that, in some degree, it falls short of the 'subtlety of nature' does not admit of doubt. To borrow Newman's own words¹ :—

It is plain that formal logical sequence is not in fact the method by which we are enabled to become certain of what is concrete ; and it is equally plain from what has already been suggested, what the real and necessary method is. It is the cumulation of probabilities, independent of each other, arising out of the nature and circumstance of the particular case which is under review ; probabilities too fine to avail separately, too subtle and circuitous to be convertible into syllogisms, too numerous and various for such conversion, even were they convertible. As a man's portrait differs from a sketch of him, in having, not merely a continuous outline, but all its details filled in, and shades and colours laid on and harmonised together, such is the multiform and intricate process of ratiocination, necessary for our reaching him as a concrete fact, compared with the rude operation of syllogistic treatment.

The complexity and variety of the evidence on which our belief in any proposition depends is recognised by all competent psychologists, and has been described by Dr. Venn in a striking passage :—

Our conviction [he says] generally rests upon a sort of chaotic basis, composed of an infinite number of inferences and analogies of every description, and these, moreover, distorted by our state of feeling at the time, dimmed by the degree of our recollection of them afterwards, and probably received from time to time with varying force, according to the way in which they happen to combine in our consciousness at the moment. To borrow a striking illustration from Abraham Tucker, the sub-structure of our convictions is not so much to be compared to the solid foundations of an ordinary building, as to the piles of the houses of Rotterdam, which rest somehow in a deep bed of

¹ *Grammar of Assent*, chap. viii., § 2, p. 281 (second edition).

soft mud. They bear their weight securely enough, but it would not be easy to point out accurately the dependence of the different parts upon one another. Directly we begin to think of the amount of our belief, we have to think of the arguments by which it is produced—in fact, these arguments will intrude themselves without our choice. As each in turn flashes through the mind, it modifies the strength of our conviction; we are like a person listening to the confused hubbub of a crowd where there is always something arbitrary in the particular sound we choose to listen to. There may be reasons enough to suffice abundantly for our ultimate choice, but on examination we shall find that they are by no means apprehended with the same force at different times. The belief produced by some strong argument may be very decisive at the moment, but it will often begin to diminish when the argument is not actually before the mind. It is like being dazzled by a strong light; the impression still remains, but it begins almost immediately to fade away. I think that this is the case, however we try to limit the sources of our conviction.²

So much for the psychological question of fact. But what interests us at the moment is the conclusion that certitude founded upon such fugitive and unanalysable evidence is nevertheless, in the strictest sense, rational. For this involves the further admission, that inability to defend one's convictions against the assaults of a ruthless logician is no proof of their intrinsic untenability. I, therefore, turn to the logical aspect of the case, and ask what is the real worth of the evidence which, as it were, forces conviction upon us in concrete matters? Now, it is the great merit of Newman's systematic and argumentative treatment of concrete knowledge and real assent that he bases our certitude upon the convergence of many probabilities, and not upon the use of presumptions drawn from practice. Mr. Balfour, who traverses much of the same ground in his *Foundations of Belief*, regards our certitude, on the other hand, as the product of non-rational factors which he groups together under the title of Authority. More recently, Dr. Illingworth, in a somewhat rhetorical treatise on *Reason and Revelation*, pleads for an appeal from ratioceration and historical criticism to the presuppositions and

² *The Logic of Chance*, chap. vi., pp. 126-7 (third edition).

prejudices of men immersed in the business of the world. Such appeals have one fatal flaw, unless, indeed, one is prepared to give up the 'reasonableness' of belief altogether. Every reader of Plato will recall the discussion wherein the distinction between 'knowledge' and 'opinion' is introduced. What Mr. Balfour and Dr. Illingworth both do is to contrast abstract knowledge, not with concrete *knowledge*, but with mere opinion. For, on their showing, the conclusions arrived at by the practical 'man of the world' as such are, after all, mere opinion. And I may remark in passing that Dr. Illingworth, as a theologian, is guilty of a further inconsistency, seeing, that if reason is to yield to practical opinion, there surely can be no such discipline as Christian theology.

From all such accounts of the nature of 'moral certitude' I emphatically dissent. That logic fails to follow the workings of the subtle mechanism of mind, affords, in my opinion, no ground for denying the essentially rational character of the mental processes which issue in convictions of the practical order. It is quite true that the kind of knowledge which deals with human experience in the concrete, with life as it is actually lived, never admits of exact exposition or logical demonstration; it is not the result of explicit reasoning, and is, therefore, not strictly rationalised. But this does not imply that it is not rational. This point is of such capital importance in the present connexion that it will be worth while to examine it carefully and in detail.

It is a profound saying of Butler's that probability is the guide of life. In many of our conclusions concerning matters of fact, we are swayed by an incalculable number of considerations, each tending to make the result we arrive at more and more probable, so that, collectively, they produce a belief so strong as to be easily confounded with certitude, and to which, indeed, the title of moral certitude has not infrequently been given. Such are the conditions of human existence, that a degree of assurance no higher than this will often be sufficient to justify action; in other words, this kind of 'certitude' may be called moral, inasmuch as it suffices for a moral agent. In the view of Professor James, it is

moral certitude in this sense which alone is required as the basis of religion. But, in strictness, a belief of the nature indicated can never have more than a very high degree of probability, since, as logicians tell us, no consilience of probabilities can ever of themselves produce such a degree of assurance as to exclude all reasonable doubt. It is, therefore plain, that, in this conception of the term, moral certitude is insufficient as the basis of a Catholic's belief. We must seek, therefore, to get at a better interpretation of the phrase. Now, moral certitude, as I understand the term, means certitude founded upon moral evidence, that is to say, upon evidence the appreciation of which is, in some sort, relative to the subject to whom it is presented. To illustrate my meaning I will refer to some penetrating remarks which Aristotle makes towards the beginning of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Speaking of the degree of accuracy which it is possible to attain in moral science, and of the class of persons who are best fitted to enter upon a course of ethical study, he points out, in the first place, that exactness of scientific treatment depends upon the subject matter, so that it would be ridiculous to expect the same degree of exactness in laying down moral rules, which must suit themselves to the varying exigencies of life (in so far as they do vary), as in (say) the deductions of Geometry. The applicability of the principle that various subjects of enquiry admit of different degrees of definiteness in their scientific treatment to our present topic will be obvious; but the point of my reference to Aristotle lies in the remarks he at once goes on to make. Having called attention to the fact that the young are too inexperienced in the difficulties of life rightly to appreciate a science which attempts to deal with them, he further shows that such knowledge of the principles and rules of morality as their intelligence is capable of attaining will be practically useless because they allow their passions rather than their knowledge to determine their action. In other words, it is useless to address the understanding until the passions have been brought into subjection.

When the youth has come to *like* and *habitually do* what his

moral instructors think right, then, and not till then, it will be useful to explain to him *how* and *why* it is right. The λόγος or moral understanding appealed to by a theory of ethics does not come into existence until the desires have been reduced by moral training to λόγος or order.³

Now, generalising from this, I venture to lay down the following statement: there is, or may be, evidence of a concrete nature, bearing upon truths of the practical order, to the perception of which the mere intellect is inadequate unless it be qualified and quickened by volitional and emotional influences, themselves the outcome of personal idiosyncrasy and character. Herein, as it seems to me, lies the true justification for Professor James's appeal to our 'passional nature;' and to my mind, also, it is only by invoking some such principle as this that the logical difficulties which stand in the way of Newman's statement, that certitude may be founded upon cumulating and converging probabilities, can be overcome. Doubtless, Newman is right in asserting the existence of such a tissue of probabilities as the objective basis (so to say) upon which our certitude in matters of religion is founded; but none the less, it behoves us to note that in order to perceive the probative force of the evidence as a whole a certain εἶς, or moral state, is frequently requisite. Something of this seems, indeed, to have occurred to the Cardinal, who adopts the words of Butler to the effect, that those investigating the foundations of Religion must be 'as much in earnest about religion as about their temporal affairs, capable of being convinced, on real evidence, that there is a God who governs the world, and feel themselves to be of a moral nature and accountable creatures.'⁴

It would carry me too far afield to enter on a minute enquiry into the nature of the personal element in the per-

³ Stewart, *Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics*, vol. i., p. 40. All Prof. Stewart's notes to this chapter (i., iii.) are well worthy the reader's attention. Remark that it is a quite inadequate account of Aristotle's meaning to say, as Grant does, that the youth will be 'an unprofitable student on account of a moral disqualification in the weakness of his will.' What the Philosopher wishes to convey is that the youth simply cannot see the truths of moral science in their true light as principles of human action—the scholastic *principia operabilia*—at all.

⁴ *Gram. of Assent*, p. 312.

ception of moral evidence,⁵ but I shall return briefly to the question at a later stage. Meantime, I direct attention to the fact that the inference to Theism is just one of those cases in which the complexity of the evidence upon which the conclusion depends, and its elusive, impalpable character, renders it but little amenable to the rough and ready methods of your 'brutal' logician. Ask any ordinary devout Catholic why he believes in God, or in the teachings of the Church, and the chances are that he will be unable to reply. At the same time, he will feel that his belief is not a *blind* belief, but that there are abundant reasons (whose very number defies analysis) in themselves amply sufficient to warrant him as a rational being in believing as he does. Throughout his entire life these reasons have been crowding in upon him with ever-increasing clearness. At one moment, it is the order and perfection of the universe which speaks to him of the existence of a Divine Artificer; at another, an unconscious, though extremely subtle, logic reveals to him the existence of the Eternal Lawgiver as implied in the consciousness of his power of self-determination. Now, through prayer, he finds himself in the presence of Omnipotence, and realizes the truth so beautifully expressed by the poet—

Speak to Him for He hears, and spirit with spirit may meet,
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands or feet.

Again it is the character of his fellow-worshippers and the unmatched saintliness of his creed that furnishes him with the strongest evidence of its truth. Who shall reduce all this to rule, or test it by the canons of the syllogism? And yet it is *there*. The living experience of which it forms part is a reality—contradict it who can. No: Theism, and especially Christianity, appeals to man in the concrete as an active agent who has to realise himself in the experience

⁵ Cf. Brugère, *De Vera Religione*, Appendix I., p. 264. For this reference I am indebted to the courtesy of the Dean of Limerick, who kindly called my attention to the learned author's handling of the subject. I may also refer to the dialogue entitled 'The Wish to Believe' in Wilfrid Ward's *Witnesses to the Unseen*. (London, 1893.)

of life. As 'the good life,' according to Aristotle, can only be understood by those who actually *live* it, so the truth of Theism does not spontaneously impress itself upon all, but only on those who desire it and willingly turn towards the light. *Nisi efficiamur sicut parvuli*. Insight into it is not to be obtained by appeals to abstract speculation, and the mere intellect is powerless as an engine of Faith. Theism, in a word, is a conviction which must be borne in upon the mind as a conclusion which each individual must realise for himself in the light of his own experience, intellectual, moral spiritual, æsthetic. It is in the broadest sense an inference from experience, and the process by which we arrive at it approaches in complexity that of the web of individual experience which constitutes its foundation and support. Theists, then, will have different degrees of knowledge according to their personal capacity, their history, and state of development; but in all cases the content of their knowledge will be essentially the same.

I have but one more remark to make in this connexion, and it shall be a short one. I think that, in dealing with our imaginary doubter, it might be profitable to put before him the consideration that, admitting the fact of a *cognitio infusa*, or non-rationalised knowledge, of the *præcambula fidei*,—a knowledge of the kind we have just been considering, and founded on moral evidence,—the immorality of religious scepticism becomes immediately manifest. If it be a fact, as indeed it is, that *invisibilia Dei a creatura mundi per ea quæ facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur; sempiterna quoque eius virtus et divinitas*,⁶ that with the development of the individual reason in its natural (*i.e.*, social) environment a fabric of knowledge is wrought concerning things divine,—knowledge so clear as to merit the title of *visio* which the psalmist bestows upon it—then surely, considering the tremendous practical import of the truths disclosed, it were folly, and worse, to cast aside all this knowledge merely because it does not readily lend itself to logical manipulation,

⁶ Rom. i. 20, *cf. ibid.* ii. 14 *sqq.*, Sap. xiii. 1, Ps. xliii. xviii. *Cf.* also Kleutgen, *Theologie des Vorzeit*, II. 33 *sqq.*

or because speculative difficulties lie in the way of its formal vindication.

VI

I now come to the second point I had to consider, viz., the practical impossibility, or 'unworkableness' of scepticism. And here again I will refer to *Bishop Blougram's Apology*. It is many years since I first read Browning's poem, but I shall never forget the impression produced on my mind by the subtlety and truth of his character-sketch of the Bishop, and by the convincing force of the arguments which Blougram is made to advance against the scepticism of Mr. Gigadibs. I do not, indeed, suggest that the intellectual position of Blougram is one likely to commend itself to Catholics generally, though perhaps not a few may murmur as they read,

Mutato nomine,
De te fabula narratur.

Blougram acquiesces in the judgment that Christianity and Catholicism are doubtful, and yet that they are no more probable as false than as true: that in one mood they appear false, in another true; that either the moods of faith or the moods of doubt may prove to correspond with truth, and that in this state of things, circumstances, and external advantages, may be allowed to decide his notion, and to justify him in professing consistently as true what in his heart of hearts he only regards as possible. But whatever one may think of this attitude, there is no denying the cogency of the arguments by which it is defended, and it is to them that I desire to draw the reader's attention.

It could only weaken the force of Blougram's arguments to attempt to translate them into other language, and, therefore I shall allow him to speak for himself. I have the less hesitation in doing this in that I believe Browning to be at once too much and too little of a religious philosopher to be popular amongst Catholics, and fear the piece from which I purpose quoting is not so well known as might be, and may possibly even be new to some of my readers. The Bishop begins by reminding his guest that the common problem

is, after all, to find how a man, situated in the world which we know, may order his life, including his religious beliefs, so as to attain the greatest amount of well-being on the whole 'Man is naturally a believing animal,' he says in effect; 'scepticism is very fine in theory, doubtless, but if man is to be man, and to do man's work, he must have faith—scepticism won't work.' Gigadibs doesn't, and can't, believe,

Not steadily, that is, and fixedly,
And absolutely and exclusively,
Is any revelation called divine.

'Very well,' answers the Bishop, 'but I, too, am in the same case; for my part

I do not believe—
If you'll accept no faith that is not fixed,
Absolute and exclusive, as you say.

I know where difficulties lie,
I could not, cannot solve, nor ever shall,
So give up hope accordingly to solve.

Away with theology then, Mr. Gigadibs; overboard with dogmas missing full credence; we have no use for either. But what then is our position?

And now, what are we? Unbelievers both,
Calm and complete, determinately fixed,
To-day, to-morrow, and for ever, pray?
You'll guarantee me that? Not so, I think!
In no wise! All we've gained is, that belief,
As unbelief before, shakes us by fits,
Confounds us like its predecessor. Where's
The gain? How can we guard our unbelief,
Make it bear fruit to us?—the problem here.
Just when we are safest, there's a sunset-touch,
A fancy from a flour-bell, someone's death,
A chorus-ending from Euripides,—
And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears,
As old and new at once as nature's self,
To rap and knock and enter in our soul,
Take hands and dance there, a fantastic ring,
Round the ancient idol, on his base again,—
The grand Perhaps! We look on helplessly,

There the old misgivings, crooked questions are,—
 This good God—what he could do, if he would
 Would if he could—then must have done long since:
 If so, when, where and how? some way must be,—
 Once feel about, and soon or late you hit
 Some sense, in which it might be, after all.
 Why not 'The Way, the Truth, the Life'?

All we have gained then by our unbelief
 Is a life of doubt diversified by faith
 For one of faith diversified by doubt :
 We called the chess-board white—we call it black.

Gigadibs is ready with his reply : 'Am I not as right as you when I drop the faith and you the doubt. Faith and unfaith are left to a man's choice?' Now, mark the point of Blougram's rejoinder. 'A simile! We mortals cross the ocean of the world each in his average cabin of a life. No use coming on board with a landsman's list of things he calls convenient. What we require is store of stout sea-furniture to fill our six-foot square. Now, to apply this, my friend :—

A man's choice, yes—but a cabin-passengers—
 The man made for the special life o' the world—
 Do you forget him? I remember though!
 Consult our ship's conditions and you find
 One and but one choice suitable to all.
 Belief or unbelief
 Bears upon life, determines its whole course,
 Begins at the beginning. See the world
 Such as it is—you made it not, nor I,
 I mean to take it as it is—and you,
 Not so you'll take it,—though you get nought else,
 I know the special kind of life I like,
 What suits the most my idiosyncrasy,
 Brings out the best of me, and bears me fruit
 In power, peace, pleasantness and length of days.
 I find that positive belief does this
 For me, and unbelief no whit of this.
 For you it does, however —that we'll try!
 'Tis clear I cannot lead my life, at least,
 Induce the world to let me peaceably,
 Without declaring at the outset, 'Friends,
 I absolutely and peremptorily

Believe !' I say faith is my waking life :
 One sleeps indeed, and dreams at intervals,
 We know, but waking's the main point with us,
 And my provision's for life's waking part.
 Accordingly I use head, heart, and hand,
 All day I build, scheme, study, and make friends ;
 And when night overtakes me, down I lie,
 Sleep, dream a little, and get done with it,
 The sooner the better to begin afresh.
 What's midnight doubt before the dayspring's faith?
 You, the philosopher, that disbelieve,
 That recognise the night, give dreams their weight—
 To be consistent, you should keep your bed,
 Abstain from healthy acts that prove you man,
 For fear you drowse perhaps at unawares !
 And certainly at night you'll sleep and dream,
 Live through the day and bustle as you please.
 And so you live to sleep as I to wake,
 To unbelieve as I to still believe?
 Well, and the common-sense of the world calls you
 Bed-ridden,—and its good things come to me.
 Its estimation, which is half the fight,
 That's the first cabin-comfort I secure.
 The next, . . . but you perceive with half an eye !
 Come, come, its best believing, if we may ;
 You can't but own that.'

To sum up : Man—to be frank, I would accept from Blougram's generalisation some philosophers, though *not*, to be sure, of the type of Mr. Gigadibs : but the exception may be neglected here,—Man is made for faith, and therefore, must believe. The context or environment in relation to which he has daily to live and act is far larger than he can rationally grasp, its fringes passing away on every side into the unknown. Hence he is obliged to act largely upon faith or trust, even in the most ordinary affairs of life. We act on trust from morning to night ; trust in the laws of nature, trust in the competence of our teachers and advisers, trust in the integrity of our commercial correspondents, trust in the love of our friends. Without continuous trust life could not be carried on. Hence it will be obvious that Christian faith is only a particular application of what is the universal and inevitable law of human life. It is trust resting on concrete knowledge in relation to religion. Man's religious context or environment, if I may so describe it,

is God—God who is infinitely above his faculties of comprehension, and who remains, even after revelation, beyond the limits of that revelation, unknown. If, therefore, we are to live in relation to God, it must plainly be by faith or trust, similar in kind to, though greater in degree than, that which we repose in the nature of our fellow-men. In support of these considerations, Blougram appeals, first, to the fact that it is impossible completely to eliminate faith. Man, in a word, has ‘too much knowledge for the sceptic side.’ In these circumstances, he urges us, in the second place, to be wise and cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt; to make a man’s choice and believe, and shape our lives in accordance with our belief, thereby securing to ourselves the greatest amount of good, on the whole, which life affords. Here Blougram is at one with the Pragmatists in laying stress on the working value of belief. I have no space to develop further this pregnant thought, which, after all, every man must apply to his own ideal of life, and in his own way. But before passing from the subject, let me once more remind the reader that the fact that not an atom of rationalised knowledge lies at the root of our most cherished beliefs which cannot be pressed so as to yield an argument against the reasonableness of believing. Religious belief depends upon perception of evidence, though of evidence of a quite special kind. Every human being of the slightest mental originality is peculiarly sensitive to evidence that bears in some one direction. Such sensitiveness may, in certain instances, be a natural endowment; but in matters of religion it can only be the result either of a direct outpouring of divine grace, or of a serious determination to see and embrace the truth.⁷

But we have not yet finished with Blougram. Like Newman, he recognises the fact that between Catholicism and Atheism there is no logical *via media*, and argues forcibly for the necessity of accepting the hypothesis of Revealed Religion in its entirety.

If once we choose belief, on all accounts,
We can’t be too decisive in our faith,
Conclusive and exclusive in its terms.

⁷ Cf. Brugère, *op. et loc. cit.*

In every man's career there are certain points concerning which one cannot afford to be indifferent. The world allows a pretty wide choice of ends : riches, honour, pleasure, work, repose—a man is free to select which he pleases, according to his theory of life and life's success. No one

Is judged a fool
Because his fellow would choose otherwise.
We let him choose upon his own account,
So long as he's consistent with his choice.
But certain points, left wholly to himself,
When once a man has arbitrated on,
We say he must succeed then or go hang.
. . . . Then, he must avouch,
Or follow, at the least, sufficiently
The form of faith his conscience holds the best,
Whate'er the process of conviction was,
For nothing can compensate his mistake.

'Now,' continues the Bishop, 'there is one great form of Christian faith, in which I happened to be born,—

The most pronounced, moreover, fixed, precise,
And absolute form of faith in the whole world,—

I find it the best and readiest means of living by, and I adopt it. But I must adopt it in its entirety : 'tis a case of all or nothing.'

I hear you recommend, I might at least
Eliminate, declassify my faith
Since I adopt it ; keeping what I must
And leaving what I can—such points as this.⁸
I won't—that is, I can't—throw one away.
Supposing there's no truth in what I hold
About the need of trial to man's faith,
Still when you bid me purify the same,
To such a process I discern no end.
Clearing off one excrescence to see two,
There's ever a next in size, now grown as big,
That meets the knife ; I cut and cut again !
First cut the liquefaction, what comes last
But Fichte's clever cut at God himself.

And he goes on to show that all this applies to natural religion as well. Put away theism, which is involved in the

⁸ The Naples 'liquefaction,' referred to a few lines previously

recognition of moral obligation, and the foundations of morals are sapped. For why, as Aristotle puts it, should one restrain one's inclinations merely for the sake of restraining them?

Religion—at all events the Catholic religion—is a logically coherent whole, and is to be approached as such, if at all. Insight into its truth, or, more accurately, into its credibility, is the outcome of a superior general reaction to a special kind of evidence, and is, therefore, rational, though not rationalised, knowledge, and is, in every instance of genuine *heartfelt* conviction, independent of any process of formal proof. This is the conclusion to which our investigation seems to lead. I hold myself to have established two things :—

I.—That the injunction to set about proving the truths of religion, and in this way to regain the faith one has lost or in which one wavers, involving as it does an appeal to the absurd abstraction of an intellect verbally formulating all its evidence, and weighing the possibilities thereof in serene independence of every subjective interest in the result, is as inept in theory as it is impossible to carry out in practice.

II.—At the same time, neither the impossibility of logical proof, nor the co-operation of will, taste, and passion—in a word, of the 'heart'—with the pure intellect in the formation of religious belief affords the slightest grounds for disputing either the essential reasonableness of faith, or the objective certitude of its content. On the contrary, it is the essence of a reasonable faith to repose on 'motives of credibility,' our certitude concerning which in turn reposes, and in the nature of things must repose upon evidence whereof the estimation can never be a matter of scientific logic, but demands an exercise of the larger logic of life.

I have now said my say upon this grave and important question. No one can be more conscious than myself of the inadequacy of my treatment, and of the many points of obscurity which I have been compelled to pass by unnoticed. My limitations are due in part to considerations of space, but far more to want of confidence in my own power to

handle fully so complex a subject. Whatever I have said I willingly submit to the judgment of better theologians than myself, merely reminding them that I have honestly tried to grapple with a real problem in my own way, and with no other intention than that of explaining and vindicating what I hold to be truth.

W. VESEY HAGUE, M.A., B.L.

A GREAT CELEBRITY OF THE LAST CENTURY

THOSE of us who are acquainted with the life and letters of Lacordaire will recollect doubtless the influence which a certain woman of his time had on the course of his life. Lacordaire's life was a stormy one. He was a man who was, with all his virtue, inclined to be somewhat visionary. The beaten path, which is always the path of safety, had not sufficient attractions for him, and he chose rather the dangerous one which his original and romantic mind recommended to him. As a result he encountered many dangers, and excited much hostility, and experienced many trials. He was always sincere and single-minded, whereas much of the opposition he encountered arose from unworthy jealousies and groundless suspicions. All this meant temptations, and rendered the counsel of friendships a necessity. These counsels were by no means absent. He had warm friends as well as relentless enemies. The warmest and indeed the wisest of them all was the woman to whom I have referred, Madame Swetchine. It was of her he wrote : ' You appeared to me between two distinct points of my life, as the angel of the Lord may appear to a soul wavering between life and death, earth and heaven ;' and again it is to her he referred when he said : ' Her soul was to mine what the shore is to the plank battered by the waves. I never met any one in whom such breadth and boldness of thought were allied to such firm faith.'

These encomiums coming from a man of the genius and sanctity of Lacordaire excite our curiosity with reference to

the distinguished person to whom they were addressed. Lacordaire was a great man to whom others looked up for counsel. Who was she whose advice he himself sought? He was a great teacher whose words the world could listen to with profit. How gifted with prudence must she have been who had for her pupil the great teacher, the greatest pulpit orator of his day!

As we learn the details of her life our curiosity is changed into admiration. Lacordaire was not the only pupil of Madame Swetchine. She wrote letters full of the truest wisdom to Montalembert at that critical time of his life when he was wavering between his devotion to De Lammenais and the Church. How little she was dazzled by the splendour of the young writer we can see from the tenor of some of her remarks to him: 'I can but think that the honesty and purity of your soul will rectify the sophistry of your mind, and that the chimerical compromise between a rash resistance and the submission of a pious and believing heart will appear to you an impossibility.' 'Doubtless it was looking high to take De Lammenais for your model: but the Christian can look higher; and for him the humblest path is not only the safest but the most sublime.' These are strange words coming from one who was herself a convert, and addressed to one who was not only a Catholic by birth and training but who aspired to the position of a leader in the Catholic world. What she thought of the dreams that were filling Montalembert we can see from the following extract: 'I fancy that I detect in these Utopian dreams the heresy of the Millenarians who attempted to naturalize upon the earth a happiness reserved for other spheres.' When reading these letters we think of Lacordaire's words: 'I never met anyone in whom such breadth and boldness of thought were allied to such great faith.' She was so firmly established in her belief; her reason and her education so thoroughly confirmed that belief, that she could look down from her vantage ground of severe superiority on the mental struggles of such men as Montalembert and Lacordaire, who with all their genius lacked her splendid mental equilibrium.

Another famous character who looked up to her was the great rival of Lacordaire, De Ravignan. 'I would so gladly,' he wrote to her, 'have you for my guide and teacher to check and chide and pray for me.' It is interesting, indeed, to read of her relations with the two great preachers between whom she formed, as it were, a connecting link. She admired and respected both, and loved to frequent the church where they preached. Lacordaire was the favourite, but she thought highly of the eloquence of De Ravignan. When Lacordaire had retired after his first series of discourses at Notre Dame and De Ravignan took his place, she wrote to him the following interesting letter, in which she gives him her impressions of De Ravignan, and chides him for his own desertion of the pulpit :—

I heard Father de Ravignan the last time he spoke, and admired him very much. His discourse struck me as carefully and finely arranged ; and the very grandeur of the ideas he reviewed made his language seem new and rich. His emotion was spontaneous and genuine. One is conscious, indeed, of a slight affectation in manner, and man is never master where he imitates ; but still it is a kind of homage rendered you, and a very touching proof, in my opinion, of that love and zeal for the truth, which induces him to try, in the hope of insuring an all important success, all possible expedients, even those which contradict his nature and are least flattering to his self love. A Christian orator is truly a gift of God ; but when Father de Ravignan assumes this beautiful office does he deprive another of it? Is there not room for two? One of the most grievous things in this world is the narrowness of absolute praise or blame. 'The envious poverty of an exclusive love' is universally applicable ; and Sainte Beuve spoke the truth even as regards preachers.

Lacordaire and the contemporary celebrities of the French Church were not, however, the only eminent men who were associated with Madame Swetchine. Chateaubriand was by no means a stranger to her. De Ronald entertained for her a warm admiration, and such a man as Lamartine, with his loose views on religious questions, was a visitor at her salon in Paris. She admired his genius and was superior to the contaminations of his teachings. Many of the political leaders were among her friends and frequented those brilliant reunions which took place almost daily at her home in Paris.

Yet all this galaxy of talent and celebrity gathered around her only during the latter part of her life. Before coming to Paris she led another life amid all that was best in the literary and social circles of her native land. Belonging to one of the highest Russian families, possessing abundant fortune, she was entitled to a place among the courtiers of the Russian Emperor. We know that the most enlightened of the Russian emperors, Alexander I., the real conqueror of Napoleon, at one time had a warm regard for her, and when she left her native land and took up her abode in Paris he maintained a correspondence with her—and this, notwithstanding her change of religion. It was during her residence in St. Petersburg that the French Revolution forced most of the members of the French aristocracy into exile. A great number of these found an asylum in the capital of the Russian monarch, who extended to them the utmost hospitality. All were gifted with fine instincts which made them desired guests, and some of them had great literary accomplishments. The Russian aristocracy freely admitted these exiles into their ranks, and even paid them the homage of copying some of their qualities. Madame Swetchine loved this French society, and very quickly made friendships with its members. Those with literary tastes, especially, she used to associate with. There was one above all, not a Frenchman by birth but a Frenchman in love and sympathy, whose company she loved to frequent. It is not Lacordaire, or Montalembert, or Chateaubriand who figures most prominently in the life of Madame Swetchine. It was another whom she met and admired and loved in those early days in St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg was at that time not only the residence of much that was brilliant formerly in the French capital, there lived there also one of the greatest intellects which the Catholic Church has produced in modern times. If we were asked to point out the man who, in the latter days of the Church, combined to the greatest extent reason and religion, genius and faith, we should mention the friend of Madame Swetchine's youth, the then Sardinian Ambassador to the Russian Court, Count de Maistre. He it was whom of all others she most admired. It was his memory which

she always held dearest. When Lamartine wrote that hostile and inaccurate account of him she at once came forward in his defence. In truth the admiration to his genius, his character, and religious life was unbounded. And well might she love his memory, for were it not for him she may never have found the true faith. She was religious before she met him, but his conversation and his influence increased her religious tendency, and his deep faith strengthened by the finest conviction drew her to think seriously on her own religious position, and commence that course of examination which ended in her conversion.

Madame Swetchine's life ought to be more than ordinarily interesting if for no other reason than the relations which existed between her and so many of the great men of her time, for in reading of her we are at the same time reading of others, each of whom might well excite our interest. But viewed in itself her life is well worthy of perusal. She was, as we might conclude from her friendships, a woman of great intellect, of firm character, of noble instincts, of profound and unwavering faith, of saintly life. She possessed social qualities which made her an ornament of any circle she moved in. She had talent which made her a fit companion for men gifted with the powers of De Maistre, of Lacordaire, Montalembert, Lamartine, Chateaubriand. Her virtues and unassuming piety made her the friend of all the religious men of her day from the Archbishop of Paris down to that humble priest whom she chose for her director. Even the members of the giddy and fashionable world were attracted by the fame of her name, as well as by her rank and wealth. She, whose husband was one time Governor of St. Petersburg, who was one of the most distinguished ornaments of the Russian Court, who was the friend of that great emperor to whose ability even Napoleon paid an unwilling tribute, could not fail to arrest the attention of those who, forsaking religion, are dazzled by the glitter of wealth and rank.

Madame Swetchine's life extended over an eventful period of history. Born in 1782, she was old enough when the French Revolution broke out to understand the horrors which were then let loose in France. She witnessed the

rise of Napoleon, his reign, his great victories, his invasion of her native land, and his final overthrow. She outlived her own Emperor Alexander and had an opportunity of seeing renewed revolutionary outbreaks in France. She was still living when another Napoleon ascended the French throne. She saw France once more in collision, as she regarded it, engaged in cruel war, and it was her fortune to see a second Emperor Napoleon in conflict with a second Emperor Alexander.

Madame Swetchine's birth takes us back to the days when the Empress Catherine ruled over Russia. Catherine, though not a blameless character by any means, was an imperious woman, of great ambition, and great powers of government. She inherited the traditions of Peter the Great and aimed at making Russia a civilized nation. Modern Russia has owed to Peter the Great that she is now one of the great European powers. History tells us how that great monarch, possessed of an enlightenment far superior to his people, determined to lead them out of the semi-barbaric state in which they lived, and how, to effect this purpose, he himself went into foreign countries to learn there the arts and sciences which he was to introduce into Russia. In the cause of civilization he sacrificed his own son when the latter put himself at the head of a reactionary movement. He removed his capital from the interior where Moscow was situated, to the banks of the Neva, that he might bring his people into closer communication with the western countries of Europe. He invited men of letters to his court, and treated them with marked consideration. He encouraged all the arts and sciences, and died, having done as much as one man could do to reform his people, though he owned with sorrow that he utterly failed to reform himself. 'Alas,' he cried, 'I have laboured to reform my people but I have not reformed myself.' Not many years after Peter the Great's death Catherine ascended the throne and took up his work. Eminent men of the West were invited to her court. Voltaire met with special favour, and she desired the French Ambassador to take particular care that he should be truly informed about the death of her husband, who, like

so many of the Russian emperors, met with a violent end. D'Alembert was offered the position of tutor to her son, the future Emperor Paul I. Germain and Diderot were also honoured. In Russia the Jesuits, persecuted in the countries of the West, found a home, and Catherine, much as she sought the approbation of the French infidel writers, was firm in her refusal to sacrifice the Jesuits. She wanted them for their educational abilities and placed four colleges under their direction. Thus, at the time of Madame Swetchine's birth, Russia, and especially the higher ranks in Russia, were displaying great energies to acquire the learning and civilization of the West. Unfortunately the learning which was most prized was the poisonous learning diffused by the infidel writers of France. France was then altogether at the head of the European nations. Politically she may have rivals but in the world of letters she was supreme. The French language was then the language of diplomacy, and was spoke in every court of Europe. The French writers were read and admired in every country as well as in their own. There may have been other writers in the various other countries possessed of equal if not greater abilities, but these were known only in their own country. The writers who influenced the world at that time were Rousseau and Voltaire and D'Alembert, and the other literary men whom France then produced. French literature was really European literature. Hume and Taylor were known only in England, Pascal and Bossuet were household words throughout Europe. I think it must be admitted by all who read modern history with an impartial eye that the French, whatever we may say of our own day, have been, until very recently at least, the teachers of the world.

All the advantages and disadvantages of this French literature Madame Swetchine experienced. The daughter of M. Soymonoff, the private secretary of the Empress Catherine, she was brought up in the Imperial palace under the influence of those writings which were then so popular in Russia. Little religion was included in her curriculum, and though at the age of fourteen he spoke with ease and fluency French, English, Italian, German, and Russian, as

well as made considerable progress in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, she knew practically nothing of sacred learning. Secular and infidel learning only she was taught, and, as a result, grew up irreligious. As she advanced in years, however, she combatted the effects of her education. Hers was one of those natures which are never satisfied till they find that peace which religion alone can bring. Like Cardinal Newman she was too spiritually inclined to believe that there is nothing in existence but what is material. The unseen world was to her a greater reality than the visible things of sense. Hence her nature rebelled early against her infidel teachers. Voltaire she always detested, and Rousseau she tolerated simply for his genius and his freedom from those unworthy jibes at religion which defile the pages of Voltaire. Literature by no means monopolized her time. She devoted herself to art and music, and acquired more than ordinary proficiency at both.

At the age of eighteen, this young Russian lady might well compare with any person of her age and rank in any of the European countries. If the Russian Court lacked the splendours and the brilliant accomplishments which adorned Versailles, it was by no means deficient in culture and refinement. Madame Swetchine at the time of her marriage when she was eighteen years old would adorn any court, and her manners, her learning, her accomplishments would draw around her as they did at St. Petersburg many suitors in any capital in Europe. General Swetchine, on whom her choice fell, had in his bride one of the most gifted women of her time.

The great event which affected the life of Madame Swetchine was the French Revolution. Were it not for it in all probability she would have lived and died a member of the Greek Church, and her name would never have been heard of outside her own land. The Emperor Paul was at first a violent opponent of the Revolution, as well as a staunch protector of the French nobility. Many of the latter crowded his court, and not only received there an asylum but were put into positions of trust and influence. Parisian society in its highest circles was transferred to St. Petersburg.

General Swetchine, who was at this time Governor of St. Petersburg, had princes, and dukes, and counts of France among his most constant visitors. His wife delighted in their society. Whatever were the faults of those French exiles they were, for the most part, men of high principles, of high sense of honour, and many of them were evidently devoted to their religion. Very soon they made their influence felt, and conversions to Catholicity occurred among the ranks of the Russian nobility. One of these exiles made a special impression on Madame Swetchine. His name was Chevalier d'Augard, and she has left it on record that he was the first who sowed the good seed. 'The honour of the introduction of Catholicism among the Russians belongs to,' she writes, 'the Chevalier d'Augard. Not even a beginning had been made : but when not merely the execution of such a work, but even the unexpressed desire of it seemed absurd and impracticable, it was for the genius of faith to conceive and rely on it. I never see a "seventy-four" without rendering a more lively and appreciative homage to the canoe of the first navigator.' The Chevalier d'Augard was an old marine officer, who was appointed assistant director of the Imperial libraries in St. Petersburg by the Empress Catherine.

It must not be thought, however, that Madame Swetchine fell an easy convert to those French influences. She was of too independent and original a mind to be so easily swayed. She loved the French society. It brought her into connection with the Catholic Church, which unconsciously shared in the general predilection she entertained for everything French. But no other effect had it on her.

Paul I. as we know became from being an opponent of the Revolution, an enthusiastic admirer of Napoleon with whom he formed an alliance. This meant trouble to the French exiles in St. Petersburg, who soon realized how uncertain is the favour of kings. The Russian nobles, however, remained true to their former *protégés*, and Paul being soon after assassinated the young Emperor Alexander who succeeded acted the part of a generous ruler. Meantime General Swetchine was disgraced and removed from his position, his

sense of honour not allowing him to league with the conspirators who murdered the Emperor.

Madame Swetchine's life in St. Petersburg was not a life of luxury and idleness. She devoted herself ardently to works of charity, and spent many hours of the day in study. She had a habit, which De Maistre also had, of copying extracts from the books she read, and sometimes of commenting on them. From these extracts and comments we learn how enormous her reading must have been. She must have read nearly every book in French literature worth reading. Such names as Barthelmy, Sante Pierre, De Genlis, Delille, La Harpe, Fénelon, Bossuet, Rousseau, Marmontel, Micheau, Lontenelle, Diderot, Duclos, Pascal, Massillon, Mercier, Father Brendaine, Bannet, Bourdaloue, Colton, Ducos, Lemiére, De Stael occur in these extracts. German and Russian writers are also noticed, as well as Italian sonnets, and even such a writer as Young, the author of *Night Thoughts*, is not forgotten. It is strange, however, that not one extract from Voltaire occurs. Rousseau, apart from his religious views, she seems to have liked very much. Bousset was always a favourite with her, and many years after she wrote to a friend that all her life she idolized Bossuet to the extent of injustice to Fénelon, and that if she had only one crown to give she would give it to Bossuet. Some of these extracts are very curious indeed. For instance these two from the *Souvenirs* of Thomas Necker : ' The gibbet is a species of flattery to the human race. Three or four persons are hung from time to time for the sake of making the rest believe that they are virtuous.' ' They blame you ; they assure you ; they say of you : they will say. Who then is this king, whose superiority is thus proclaimed ? It is a king without state splendour or visible throne ; yet all obey his voice and tremble before him. A remarkable king in this respect that he is sovereign in small matters as well as in great.' These extracts refer to the book she studied before she reached the age of twenty-three. Twenty-eight years afterwards when she was looking over these fruits of her early studies she wrote among them the following declaration : ' I bear witness with a smile at my old scruples that in the twenty-eight years that have elapsed

since then my faith has been growing ever stronger and clearer ; that the slightest doubt has never arisen within me ; and that firmly fixed on the great basis of Christianity I have never wavered except to become, in the bosom of the Catholic Church, more of a Christian than ever.'

As yet, however, Madame Swetchine did not come into contact with the power that of all others most influenced her life. De Maistre had not yet come to St. Petersburg. His name was well known in Europe by reason of his profound works on the French Revolution, and possibly Madame Swetchine knew him through his writings, but we have no evidence in her extracts that his teachings had any special interest for her. Some time after the accession of the Emperor Alexander he was accredited by the Sardinian monarch as Ambassador to the Russian Court. Madame Swetchine was then in her twenty-third year. Her studies had given her a love for everything French, but she was as yet profoundly attached to her own faith. Her independent mind prompted her to examine everything for herself and prevented her from submitting to the teachings of any man no matter how gifted. Hence we are told that when she met De Maistre she was by no means subdued by his great intellectual powers, and that, on the contrary, she by natural inclination rebelled against his rigid dogmatism and uncompromising religious views. Still she was fascinated by his genius as well as by his high moral character. He was a constant guest at her house, and she on her part often sought his company. When separated they corresponded with each other. When together they talked on all kinds of religious and philosophical subjects, and she never tired of his company. The letters which passed between them are very interesting reading. We can see the beautiful relationship which existed between them, she looking up to him as a father and treating him as a child would treat a father. Even in her letters to others constant references to De Maistre occur for he was the common friend of a group of talented ladies of the Russian Court. Writing to one of her friends she says : ' While I was at one estate, which was a perfect Limbo, Count de Maistre thought he did a prodigious thing to send me a short letter

every month. You had been gone but three weeks when he mentioned having written to you ; and shortly after he sends you an immense packet ; and who knows if the quality be not more outrageous than the quantity.' Again : ' Last evening was a pleasant one. M. de Maistre came. I was slightly indisposed and he took pity on me. Hence more sleep, more dogmas, and a good deal of kindly indulgence. We laughed, we chatted, took turns in telling stories, and retired, contented with ourselves and the world.' Writing to a common friend she says of him : ' I wish my friendship for him made him fond of my society ; but he must needs have yours in connection with it. With both of us he appeared content. Rudolph—De Maistre's son—goes to-day. When I know that he is gone I will get the Princess Alexis to visit his father with me, and use every effort to distract his mind from sorrow in the only way in which I conceive such distraction to be possible : that is by sharing it.' The Princess Alexis here mentioned was one of the early Russian converts who preceded Madame Swetchine into the Church. These extracts give us a fair idea of the intimate and unrestrained relations which existed between De Maistre and Madame Swetchine.

As giving an insight into De Maistre's ardent religious devotion the following reference in another of her letters is interesting :—

I told Count de Maistre your story of the German baron—a story whose patriarchal turn, embellished by all the poetry at my command, I thought should have conquered him. He charged me to tell you it was shocking. Thereupon followed a beautiful discourse, rather theological than sentimental. Do what we will, my friend Roux is always coming between him and his heart. As for me, who am not bristling with arguments, and in the matter of dogmas have a singular aptitude for that of sacrifice, I must confess that there was something preternatural in that act of self-devotion which powerfully attracted me.

Constant intercourse with a man of De Maistre's genius and faith could not fail to have its indirect influence on Madame Swetchine. Unconsciously, she must have fallen under the spell of the greater intellect. She disputed his opinions it is true, and refused to accept his dogmas, but all the while the undercurrent of her thoughts was flowing as he

directed. What he believed could never be a matter of indifference to her. We do not know the circumstances of that gradual change which culminated in her conversion. We do not know how and when De Maistre gained her over to the true faith. All we know is that as a result of an intercourse with him which lasted for years she determined to make a close investigation of the different claims of the Greek and the Catholic Churches. The difference between the two Churches centred in one great doctrine, viz. : the supremacy of the Roman See, and this doctrine was to be examined chiefly on historical grounds. Texts of Scripture could not be regarded in themselves as conclusive, different interpretations of these texts recommending themselves to different prejudices. The question was rather an historical one. How did the early ages of the Church regard the supremacy of Rome ? Did they acknowledge it ? Did they ever acknowledge it, as far as history sheds light on these times. If the doctrine was an innovation there ought be some evidence of its introduction, and some protest against unjust encroachment. If the Bishop of Rome claimed prerogatives which trenched on the right of other bishops it is inconceivable that the latter would tamely submit to such arrogance.

The question was clear to her and she determined to solve it. She retired to a mansion on the shores of the Gulf of Finland away from the bustle and distractions of the city, gathered around her all the books on the subject which might be useful to her, and plunged into close and laborious studies. De Maistre, when he heard of her intention, feared that the labour was too arduous, and that before she was half through the books she proposed to study, she would weary of her unpleasant task. He feared, too, that all this labour would be useless, and that she would arise from her investigation quite as undecided as ever. Hence he tried to turn her away from her purpose.

Never, madam [he wrote], will you reach the goal by the way which you have taken ; you will be overwhelmed with fatigue ; you will groan in spirit, but without unction and consolation ; you will be a prey to an indescribable dry anguish which will rend your heart-strings, one after another, but never relieve either your anguish or your pride. At present

you are reading Fleury, who was condemned by the Sovereign Pontiff, that you may know exactly what doctrine to hold concerning his sovereignty. That is very well, madame ; but when you have finished, I advise you to read the refutation of Fleury, by Dr. Marchetti. Then you will read Frebonius against the Roman See, and subsequently, in the capacity of a judge who hears both parties, the Anti-Frebonius of the Abbé Zacharia—there are only eight volumes octavo, that is nothing. Then, if you take my advice, madame, you will learn Greek, that you may know precisely what is meant by the famous ‘ *hegemony*,’ which St. Irenaeus attributed to the Roman Church in the third century, in accordance with ancient tradition. The celebrated Cardinal Orsi undertook to refute Fleury, and found so many errors in him that he determined to write a new history of the Church, being of the opinion that a good history is the best refutation of a bad one. He began upon his new history, and died at the twentieth quarto volume, which does not complete the sixth century. You must read this, madame, too, I assure you, or you will never find peace.

† De Maistre did not of course seriously draw out this programme. He only wished to frighten her by showing her the magnitude of the work she was about to commence. But she regarded his letter in a serious light, and so far from being deterred set herself to read all the books he referred to. In that secluded mansion by the shores of the Gulf of Finland, she spent many months reading and comparing those various writers, ancient and modern, who have written on the claims of the Roman See. As was customary with her, she took extracts of whatever passages in her reading seemed to her of importance. Fleury figures very largely in these extracts. She appears to have studied every one of his pages closely. The ancient writers are quoted, Tertullian, St. Augustine, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Germain, St. Isidore, St. Arsenius appearing under extracts.

Sir Walter Scott appears in a quotation from *Waverley* : ‘ The Church must light its candle at the old lamps ’ being the motto of the thirteenth book of these extracts. The myth of Pope Joan is referred to and its refutation noted. A beautiful quotation from St. Gregory Nazianzen, which we might all take to heart, is found in the eighth book of her extracts : ‘ Not that we should not always think of God ; we should think of Him oftener than we breathe ; but we

must only speak of Him at suitable times.' At last her labour was ended. She toiled for six months, but she had not toiled in vain. Notwithstanding De Maistre's gloomy prognostics, she cried out at the end of her task : ' Happy day when the darkness of my mind yielded to the *fiat lux*. Cloudless brightness does not yet pervade my soul, but the harbinger of day has appeared.' She rose up converted ; not fully enlightened as yet, but illumined with a light which as the first faint light of day was to go on increasing till it reached its meridian splendour. She was not long a convert when she possessed greater light and a firmer faith than the great majority of those who have been Catholics from their birth.

Madame Swetchine was over thirty years of age when she was converted. At first she concealed her conversion from the public, but when through the intrigues of some enemies of the Catholic Church in St. Petersburg the Jesuits were banished from Russia she openly avowed her change of faith. She lost none of her influence or the respect in which she was held by her so doing. The Emperor Alexander was no bigot, and though he yielded to pressure his heart was not in the work of persecution. It is told of him that the Jesuits who were banished were the recipients of gifts from him previous to their departure. Enemies, however, were at work and sought to undermine her influence by endeavouring to discredit her husband in the eyes of the Emperor. To avoid these machinations she determined to leave Russia. Her husband accompanied her, and they took up their residence in Paris, and made France equally with Russia their country.

Madame Swetchine's life in France was the most public portion of her career. She became, as I have mentioned, the centre of a famous literary circle. She was the friend of most of the eminent men who adorned Paris in her time. She lived in a hotel which she engaged for her own exclusive use, where she had a private chapel specially prepared. In this hotel she entertained her distinguished guests in princely style well nigh every day, whilst her little oratory was patronized by such names as Lacordaire, De Ravignan, Dom Gueranger, Dupanloup, the Abbé Gratry, the Abbé de la Bouillerie who preached there. Her husband, General

Swetchine, who to the end remained attached to the Greek Church, entered into her spirit, and co-operated with her in making their home the rendezvous of the Catholic celebrities of Paris. For Lacordaire and De Ravignan he entertained a great regard.


As in Russia, society did not engross all Madame Swetchine's time. Study and works of charity had their full portion, and her wide correspondence with her many friends in France and Russia demanded many hours. I cannot enter in detail into those studies and charities, nor quote from that beautiful correspondence which opens up to us the great perfection of her character. Suffice it to say, that her works soon made her known in Paris as one of the holiest women of her time, whilst her letters were appreciated by some of the most gifted men in the history of literature. Religion possessed her soul. Nearly everything she did and said emanated from it. She little knew that she was describing herself when, many years before in St. Petersburg, she wrote of De Maistre : ' Do what we will, my friend, Rome is always coming between man and his heart.' Religion, Christianity, Catholicism, thus became her only ruling passion as it was of De Maistre. For it she lived and laboured. To find her counterpart in this respect we must go back to the days of St. Catherine of Sienna.

Needless to say she visited Italy and Rome during her Parisian life. Rome was to her, in truth, the ' mother of her soul,' and she longed to see its historic sites, its religious monuments, its memorials of the saints. She longed, too, to wander through those galleries where the masterpieces of painting and sculpture are treasured up. Her romantic and cultured mind made Italy a land of magic for her. The portion of her correspondence inspired by her travels in Italy is intensely interesting. I cannot refrain from making a few quotations :—

Raphael—The gallery of the Grand Duke of Tuscany contains a good many Raphaels ; and here one may study the great master in his widest range of manner and of subject. An immense value attaches to masterpieces considered separately, but variety adds to the charm of a collection, and though genius

may be more surprising in the height it attains than in the extent it embraces, it is difficult not to be confounded when we see the same man trying his hand at all subjects and all styles and creating models in all.

Of some of Raphael's pictures of the celebrities of his time she says : ' Imitation can go no further, the figures stand out and seem to be alive.' The Vision of Ezechiel by Raphael especially fascinated her : ' Elsewhere,' she writes, ' Raphael has done well, but he never soared higher.'

 In another letter she cries out :—

What does not painting owe to religion and Christianity? What would they be without her? She might have numbered Davids, Teniers, Wouvermans, possibly a Titian ; but would she have had a Raphael, a Michael Angelo, a Domenichino, a Guido, or a Guercino? Deprive artists of religious subjects and what is left to them? Cold history, colder allegories, battles, nature without life, figures without expression, or the melancholy resource of those violent passions so incompatible with human beauty and dignity.

Of Titian she writes :—

I do not know how Titian dared to paint the Mother of Christ. All his genius rebelled against it. I wish to read the life of Titian. It will probably confirm me in my idea that no person is so utterly a stranger to the inspiration and light of Christianity as he who, born in its bosom, has rejected its spirit and its love.

In Paris Madame Swetchine saw little of De Maistre, who had retired to the seclusion of his Sardinian home. Lacordaire, if any, succeeded to the place he had occupied in her life. Her friendship with the great preacher lasted till her death, and a constant correspondence went on between them during their long acquaintance. To her, as to no other, Lacordaire unbosomed himself, and before her death she said that Lacordaire would never be rightly known till his letters to her were made public. Lacordaire it was who stood over her deathbed, and it was he who preached her panegyric after her death. At the two poles of her career appear two men whose superiors will not be soon produced in the Church, De Maistre and Lacordaire. Happy, indeed, may we say was she who enjoyed the friendship of two such men !

Madame Swetchine's life, as well as the lives of many others in recent times, has a moral. What is this moral? It is that sanctity and virtue are peculiar to no state in life or no place in the world. She lived in the world, she moved in the highest circles of society, wealth and luxury were hers, all the temptations which impart danger to high rank were hers, yet she always lived a life of unsullied virtue. She studied as if she were an inmate of a cloister. She laboured in the cause of the poor as if she were a Sister of Charity. In the world and in the midst of the temptations of the world she exhibited virtues akin to those of the saints. She teaches us, therefore, that in all places, under all circumstances, we can keep our hearts free from the contamination of the world and clean in the sight of God.

JOHN MURPHY.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

THE PRAYERS AFTER MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly say in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD whether the prayers after Mass are to be discontinued since the death of Leo XIII? I have heard it stated that they are, but I should be much surprised if such were the case.—Yours, etc.,

DOUBTFUL.

We do not think that the obligation of reciting the prayers after Mass is in any way affected by the death of the late Sovereign Pontiff. The Decree of the Congregation of Rites by which they were prescribed, is general, and contains no indication that the regulation was not to be fixed and permanent. Here are the concluding words of this Decree:—‘Itaque Sanctitas Sua, per praesens S.R.C. Decretum, mandavit ut in posterum in omnibus tum Urbis tum Catholici orbis ecclesiis preces infra scriptae, ter centum dierum Indulgentia locupletae in fine cujusque Missae sine cantu celebratae flexis genibus recitentur.’¹ The history of the prayers goes back to Pius IX. In 1859 this Pontiff ordered the recital after Mass, in the churches within Papal territory, of three Aves, Salve Regina, and the Deus Refugium, etc. In 1884 Leo XIII. extended these prayers to the Universal Church, and added subsequently the invocation to St. Michael. Now, if, as it would appear, the original prayers prescribed by Pius IX. did not cease with his death, may we not conclude that those ordered by Leo XIII. will also remain in vigour until revoked by some future legislative act? We have just seen the following Decree of the S.R.C. in the *L'Osservatore Romano* of the 24th September. It is decisive on the point:—

Rñus dñus Michael Andreas Latty, Episcopus Catalaunensis a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentis dubii solutionem hu-

¹ Cf. *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, Jan., 1884.

militer expetivit; nimirum: 'An preces post Missam a Summo Pontifice Leone XIII praescriptae adhuc, Ipso defuncto, dicendae sint?'

Et sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, audito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque mature perpensis rescribendum censuit: *Affirmative*.

Atque ita rescripsit die 11 Septembris 1903.

MARIUS Card. MOCENNI

L. ✱ S.

✱ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

In connection with these prayers there are a few points the discussion of which may be useful to readers.

1. Two conclusions are given for the 'Deus refugium nostrum,' etc., in different editions of the printed charts, namely, 'Per eundum Christum,' etc., and 'Per Christum,' etc. Which is the proper one? The former is certainly the correct conclusion. For the general rule applies that if in the beginning or middle of the prayer there is mention of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, the prayer should be concluded, 'Per eundem,' etc.² Now, the 'Deus, refugium,' etc., contains this reference, if not explicitly, at least implicitly and formally in the words, 'Die Genetrice Mariae.' The authority of the Missal also bears out this contention, for the Post Communion of the Mass of the Blessed Virgin from the Nativity to the Purification has this exact expression, and concludes, 'Per eundem,' etc. And, in fact, the same is the conclusion assigned to this prayer by the Congregation of Rites in the original Decree of promulgation.³ We understand, however, that the Congregation has sanctioned the use of those charts in which the wrong conclusion occurs, until they become exhausted.⁴ But an easy way out of the difficulty seems to be to make the correction, where required, in handwriting, with pen or pencil.

2. Another question often raised concerns the correctness of the word 'Josepho,' which occurs in the same prayer. It is stated that the word should be 'Joseph,' since the Latin form

² Cf. De Herdt, vol. i., p. 107, ed. 1902.

³ Vide *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, vol. xvi., pp. 239-240.

⁴ Vide *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Feb., 1902, p. 108.

when used to designate the Spouse of our Lady is always indeclinable, but is rightly inflected when it signifies any of the other saints. The distinction here made appears to have no foundation either in the usage of the Liturgy or in the practice of the Roman Congregations. Both forms are indiscriminately used in one place and in the other, and though examples are found which would seem to point to a preference for one form over another in certain cases, still they are scarcely enough to establish any general canon, or universal rule. Besides, we do not suppose that if there were any general rule of this kind, the Sacred Congregation of Rites would openly contravene it by using the word 'Josepho' in the prayer we are discussing.⁵ Probably the indeclinable form of the word was exclusively used in the early ages, as words of Hebrew origin, like Jacob, are still used, the inflected form being a growth of later days.

3. In the recitation of these prayers after Mass, different practices prevail. For instance, some priests, on the conclusion of the last Gospel, go to the centre of the Altar, take the Chalice, descend and recite them on the lowest altar step, while others leave the Chalice on the Altar till they have finished the recitation of the prayers. This method seems the best. De Herdt says of it:—'*Recte et decenter agunt ii qui calicem super altare relinquunt usque dum preces recitaverint et deinde ascendunt ad altare ut calicem assumant: siquidem minime decet una manu tenere calicem et altera tabellam orationum, aut hanc super bursam manu tenere: qualem orationis modum nunquam rubricarum regulæ permiserunt.*'⁶ The prayers, it has been decided, may be recited by the priest kneeling, '*vel in suppedaneo, vel in infimo altaris gradu.*'⁷ It is also decided that a reverence to the cross before descending the altar is neither prescribed nor prohibited.⁸ In a former issue of the I. E. RECORD,⁹ we inclined to the view that the priest should, on finishing the last Gospel, come to the centre

⁵ *Vide Acta Sanctae Sedis, loc. supra cit.*

⁶ *Vide De Herdt, vol. i., p. 375, nov. ed.*

⁷ Cf. S.R.C., 18th June, 1885.

⁸ *Item.*

⁹ I. E. RECORD, Dec., 1902.

of the altar and make a reverence before descending. This we meant to suggest as the more graceful thing, but not as a matter of obligation. It is recommended by De Herdt, and seems analogous to what is prescribed at the beginning of Mass, where the celebrant having arranged the Missal, is thus directed:—‘*Deinde rediens ad medium altaris, facta primum Cruci reverentia, vertens se ad cornu Epistolae, descendit. . .*’¹⁰ To many, on the other hand, it seems more graceful and convenient for the celebrant to go diagonally from the Gospel corner to the centre of the lowest step. As there is no preceptive rubric on the point each one may do as fancy or taste inclines him.

P. MORRISROE.

¹⁰ *Rub. Miss.*, Tit. II., 4.

DOCUMENTS

REQUEST OF THE IRISH BISHOPS REGARDING 'LITTERAE TESTIMONIALES,' 'LITTERAE EXCORPORATIONIS,' AND 'LITTERAE AD INGREDIENDAM RELIGIONEM'

At the June meeting of the Episcopal Board the following statement was adopted and ordered to be published:—

The Bishops desire to point out the grave inconvenience caused by the manner in which Testimonial Letters, Letters of Excorporation ('exceats'), and Letters *ad Ingređiendam Religionem* are sought. It sometimes happens that little or no information is given as to the place in which the applicant resided in the diocese of the Bishop who is asked to give such letters; and, more often still, that the application is made only a few days before the ordination is to take place, thus rendering it difficult, if not impossible, for the Bishop to obtain, in the short time at his disposal, the information which is necessary in the case.

To obviate inconveniences the Bishops have to ask:—

(1) That application for Testimonial Letters, etc., shall reach the Bishop to whom they are addressed, at least one month before the ordinations are to be held.

(2) That the letter of application shall contain such information, as to the locality—and, in the case of a town, as to the parish and street—in which the *ordinandus* resided, or will enable the Bishop to obtain without undue trouble the information he requires in order to enable him to issue the letters.

(3) That all applications for Testimonial Letters, etc., shall be countersigned by the President or Head of the College in which the *ordinandus* is pursuing his studies, who will take care that the conditions indicated in the two preceding paragraphs are observed in each case.

N.B.—It should be observed in the case of Letters of Excorporation, or 'exceats,' as they are generally called, that the acceptance of the student by the Bishop for whose diocese he is to be ordained, should be signed by the latter, and forwarded to

the Bishop of the diocese in which the student was born : otherwise ' exeats ' have no effect.

Signed,

✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE.

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|---|-----------------------|
| ✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford, | } <i>Secretaries.</i> |
| ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Elphin, | |

WILL OF POPE LEO XIII.

In nome del Padre, del Figlio e dello Spirito Santo.

Avvicinandosi il termine della Nostra mortale carriera, deponiamo in quest'olografo testamento le Nostre ultime volontà.

E innanzi tutto umilmente supplichiamo l'infinita bontà e misericordia di Dio benedetto di condonarci le colpe della vita e di accogliere benignamente l'anima nostra nella beata eternità, e questo speriamo specialmente per i meriti di Gesù Redentore ed affidati al Suo Sagratissimo Cuore, fornace ardentissima di carità e fonte di salute all'uman genere. Mediatrice pure imploriamo la beata Vergine Maria Madre di Dio e Madre nostra amerosissima e quella schiera di santi che in special modo venerammo in vita nostri patroni.

Ed ora disponendo del patrimonio di famiglia a noi spettante, a tenore dell'istromento di divisione pei rogiti del notaio Curzio Franchi stipulato il 17 novembre 1882, istituiamo di esso patrimonio erede il nepote Conte Ludovico Pecci, figlio del fu Gio. Battista nostro fratello.

Da questi beni vanno detratti quei già donati al Conte Riccardo, altro nostro nepote in occasione del suo matrimonio, giusta l'istromento 13 febbraio 1886 in atti del Franchi. Egualmente dalla suddetta disposizione sono esenti tutti quei beni esistenti in Carpineto Romano, che sono proprietà della Santa Sede, secondo la dichiarazione contenuta nel nostro chirografo 8 febbraio 1900.

In questa nostra testamentaria disposizione non abbiamo contemplato l'altro nepote Camillo e le due nepoti Anna e Maria — figlio e figlie del nostro fratello Giov. Battista. Ad essi abbiamo in vita convenientemente provveduto in occasione del loro matrimonio un decoroso mantenimento.

Dichiariamo che nessuno di nostra famiglia potrà far valere diritto alcuno in tutto ciò che da Noi non è stato contemplato nel presente atto, perchè qualunque altro bene di qualsiasi natura è a Noi provenuto come investiti del Pontificato e conseguentemente è, ed in ogni modo vogliamo che sia di proprietà assoluta della Santa Sede.

Affidiamo la esatta esecuzione di queste nostre disposizioni ai Cardinali

- Mariano Rampolla, Nostro Segretario di Stato ;
- Mario Mocenni ;
- Serafino Cretoni.

Queste dichiariamo essere le nostre ultime volontà.

Roma, Vaticano, questo dì 8 luglio 1900.

GIOACCHINO PECCI LEO PP. XIII.

THE CONCLAVE

OFFICIALES CONCLAVIS.

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Governor.—S. E. Rma. Mons. Ottavio Cagianò de Azevedo.

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Under Sacristan.—R. P. Agostino Pifferi.

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Minutante.—Rmo. D. Giulio Grazioli.

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Farmacista.—Fr. Adeodato Camurani.

EMORUM CARDINALIUM CONCLAVISTAE.

CARDINALI.

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| 14 | Gruscha | Rev. Franz Kamprahat |
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| 51 Aiuti | Rev. Campa |
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| 60 Vivès y Tuto | Don Vincenzo Rossetti |
| 61 Tripepi | Don Giuseppe Falco |
| 62 Cavagnis | Mons. Giov. Biasotti |

Sequentes editae sunt dispositiones pro custodiendis versatilibus tympanis (vulgo tours vel rote), quoad perduraverit Conclave :

Prima Rota a capo della scala, detta di Pio IX, presso l'appartamento di S. E. il signor Maresciallo del Conclave, custodita dai Monsignori Chierici di Camera.

Seconda Rota, presso il luogo medesimo accanto alla prima, custodita dai Monsignori Protonotarii Apostolici.

Terza Rota, a capo della scala detta della Floreria o scala del Museo, custodita dai Monsignori Vescovi Assistenti al Soglio e dagli Uditori della S. Rota.

Quarta Rota, all'ingresso carrozzabile del cortile di S.

Damaso, custodita dai Monsignori Votanti di Segnatura e dagli Abbreviatori del Parco Maggiore.

Oltre agli anzidetti ecclesiastici, i Capitani Assistenti appartenenti alla Corte del Maresciallo sono stabiliti di servizio alle Rote.

MANE. Illmus. Dnus. Cagiano De Azevedo, Gubernator Conclavis, providit custodiae versatilium tympanorum, ut infra :

Alla *Rota* di S. Damaso erano di servizio gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Giustiniani, Decano dei Chierici di Camera ; Nussi, Decano dei Protonotari Apostolici ; Pierantonelli, Zonghi, De Bisogno, Chierici di Camera ; i Capitani di S. E. il Maresciallo del Conclave, signori Alessandri e Tosi, ed i Cursori Pontificii, signori Luigi François e Luigi Santi.

Alla *Rota* posta sul Cortile detto dei *Pappagalli* erano di servizio gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Passerini, Decano della Segnatura Papale di Giustizia, e Campori, Votante del medesimo Supremo Tribunale, il Capitano del Maresciallo sig. cav. Filippo Fausto Marucchi ed il Cursore Pontificio sig. Vincenzo Pernacchini.

Alla *Rota* di Monsignor Segretario della S. Congregazione Concistoriale erano gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Constatini, Arcivesvoco titolare di Patrasso, Assistente al Soglio, Contini Riccardi, Uditore della S. R. Rota ; il Capitano del Maresciallo sig. Conte Senni, e il Cursore Pontificio signor Filippo Pacini.

Il Maestro dei Cursori Pontifici, signor Enrico Benaglia, ha l'incarico di dirigere gli altri Cursori e di far rapporto giornaliero a S. E. il Governatore del Conclave.

Gli Svizzeri, la Guardia Palatina d'onore e i Gendarmi fanno la guardia alla *Rote*.

A piedi dello scalone che immette alla porta del Conclave fa servizio un picchetto di quattordici uomini della Guardia svizzera i quali hanno il loro corpo di guardia nella prossima scala detta dei *Morti*. La Guardia Palatina d'onore ha il corpo di guardia nel Cortile del Maresciallo drimpetto alla scala del Conclave.

Stamane dalle *otto* alle *undici* per la grande Rota che dal cortile dei Pappagalli immette nel cortile di S. Damaso, sotto la sorveglianza del comm. Puccinelli, Provveditore del Conclave e degli addetti alla Rota, sono state fatte passare le provvigioni necessarie ai Conclavisti, lettere, giornali, stampe, ecc. E stato per parecchie ore un movimento interessantissimo.

Due carrozze delle scuderie dei SS. PP. AA. hanno stazionato nel Cortile dei Pappagalli pronte a qualunque servizio. Quivi pure hanno fatto sosta le carrozze dei Membri dell'Ecc. Corpo Diplomatico, che si sono recati in Vaticano. Abbiamo notato le LL. EE. l'Ambasciatore di Portogallo, il Ministro di Bavaria.

Le LL. EE. Mons. Governatore e il Marescialla del Conclave, scortate dagli svizzeri, si sono recate più volte personalmente ad ispezionare le Rote.

— Versus horam decimam fores clausurae cum solitis ritibus debuerunt aperiri ut introduceretur Sedia gestatoria pro adoratione electi Pontificis.

— Per integrum matutinum tempus, maximus fidelium concursus confluit in Basilicam Vaticanam, in qua, iussu Emi. Cardinalis Vicarii, solemniter expositum fuit SS. Sacramentum, pro impetranda electione Summi Pontificis.

— Hora undecima, summa hominum frequentia in foro Vaticano stipata conspisciebatur, anxie expectans elevationem fumi super tectum sacelli Sixtini, vulgo *sfumata*. Uti norunt, fumus ille provenit ex schedis quae post singula scrutinia ab ipsis Cardinalibus ad hoc deputatis comburuntur, ita, ut quoties infructuosum fuerit scrutinium, madidae addantur paleae ut crassior appareat copia fumi.

— Hora itaque 11,28, crassior apparuit fumus, et statim, solis ardore hortante, singuli cito dilapsi sunt.

SERO. Hora quinta, Illmus Dnus Gubernator Conclavis, tympana aperiri curavit et custodiri, scilicet :

Alla Rota di S. Damaso sono entrati in servizio gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Giustiniani, Decano dei Chierici di Camera, Dandini, Protonotario Apostolico, Pierantonelli, Zonghi e Di Bisogno, Chierici di Camera ; i Capitani Manni e Alessandri, i Cursori Benaglia e François.

Alla Rota dei *Pappagalli* gli Illmi. e Rev. Monsignori De Nicola, Votante di Segnatura, Termoz, Abbreviatore del Parco Maggiore ; i Capitani Tosi e Marucchi, il Cursore Pennacchini.

Aila Rota del Segretario della Concistoriale gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Sambucetti, Arcivescovo titolare di Corinto, Assistente al Soglio Pontificio ; Persiani, Uditore della S. Romana Rota ; il Capitano Conte Senni, il Cursore Santi.

S. E. Monsignor Governatore ha come stamane acceduto personalmente più d'una volta ai locali della Rota.

Il Commissario Conte Avvocato Capogrossi—Guarna e il Comm. Avv. Scifoni sorvegliano continuamente i locali esterni del Conclave.

Nelle ore pomeridiane si sono recati in Vaticano le LL. EE. l'Ambasciatore di Spagna, il Ministro di Baviera e il sig. de Navenne, Ministro Plenipotenziario, Incaricato delle funzione di Consigliere all'Ambasciata di Francia.

— Hora 6,10, densiores., super Sixtinam Aedem, fumum conspexere omnes, et de dilata Electione certiores facti, diverse opinantes, abierunt.

— Procurator Conclavis decernit ut deinceps reliquiae prandiorum quae supererunt, distribuuntur pauperibus in hospitali vulgo *Lazzaretto*.

DIE 2 AUGUSTI

MANE. In Basilica Liberiana SSmum. Sacramentum expositum patet piae fidelium venerationi.

— Nonnulli Excellentissimi Viri tradunt Illmo. Dno. Secretario Sacri Collegii, litteras respectivorum guberniorum, quibus deputantur penes Sacrum Collegium *Sede vacante*.

— Conclavis tympana tam intus, quam extra, reserantur et custodiuntur, videlicet :

Alla Rota Si. S. *Damaso* erano gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Talamo e Pierantonelli, Chierici di Camera ; i Capitani Tosi e Manni, i Cursori Pontifici François e Santi.

Alla Rota dei *Pappagalli* erano gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Terrinoni, Votante di Segnatura, e Bartolini, Abbreviatore del Parco Maggiore ; il Capitano Marucchi, il Cursore Pennacchini.

Alla Rota del Segretario della Concistoriale, erano gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Rubian, Arcivescovo titolare di Amasea, Assistente al Soglio Pontificio, De Montel, Decano delgi Uditori della S. R. Rota ; il Capitano Conte Senni, il Cursore Pacini.

Il servizio interno delle Rote è fatto dai Ceremonieri Monsignori Marzolini e Ciocci.

Durante la mattinata, sotto la sorveglianza dei Prelati ivi addetti e la direzione del comm. Puccinelli, Provveditore del Conclave, sono state fatte entrare per la gran Rota che dai *Pappagalli* immette nel cortile di *S. Damaso*, le provvigioni necessarie ai conclavisti, e tanto da questa, quanto dalle altre Rote, lettere, giornali e stampe. Molte persone hanno acceduto

per conferire o con Monsignor Segretario della Consistoriale, o con gli altri conclavisti.

— Ineunte matutina sessione, Emus Card. Puzyna, de mandato Celsissimi Francisci Iosephi Austriorum Imperatoris, expressum praelaudati Imperatoris *Votum* esse declaravit ne Emus Card. Rampolla, in Summum Pontificem eligeretur. Dixi *Votum* ; non ut alii, *interdictum*, vulgo *Veto* ; quamvis, a parte rei, salva reverentia verborum, hoc *Votum* cum formale *interdicto*, vulgo *Veto*, converteretur.

Emus Card. Rampolla declaravit sibi *nihil iucundius, nihil honorabilius*, accidere potuisse ; sed vehementer doluit de interventu laicae potestatis contra plenam Electorum libertatem.

Adversus hunc interventum, vehementius reclamarunt tum Emus Card. Oreglia, Decanus et Camerarius, tum Emus Card. Perraud. Dein, peracto scrutinio, 29 Patrum suffragia Emo. Rampolla accesserunt, et in serotino scrutinio, 30.

Interim, milliaria spectantium caterva, camini spiraculum avidè scrutatur. Hora 11,20 fumi densitas omnium expectationem frustratur.

SERO. Hora 5, iterum tympana recluduntur et custodienda committuntur iisdem fere viris, praeter dicendas substitutiones:

Alla Rota dei *Pappagalli* è entrato in servizio l'Ilimo e Rmo. Monsignor Raffaele Virili, Vescovo titolare di Troade, Abbreviatore del Parco Maggiore, e a quella del Segretario della Consistoriale gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Stonor, Arcivescovo titolare di Trebisonda, Assistente al Soglio Pontificio, e Magno, Uditore della S. Rota.

S. E. Rma. Mons. Governatore ha durante la giorata più volte acceduto a sorvegliare personalmente l'andamento del servizio.

— Sancti Petri platea multitudine pene infinita (50000) stipatur. Spem tollit fumi densitas ; hora est 6,37.

DIE 3 AUGUSTI

MANE. Tympanis custodiendis, ita providetur :

Alla Rota, che dal cortile dei *Pappagalli* immette a quello di S. Damaso, sono rimasti di servizio gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Procaccini di Montescaglioso, Votante della Segnatura Papale di Giustizia, e Schuller, Abbreviatore del Parco Maggiore Capitani Tosi e Marucchi ; Cursore Pennacchini.

Alla *Rota* di S. Damaso, hanno fatto servizio gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Nussi, Decano dei Protonotarii Apostolici, Di Bisogno e Zonghi, Chierici di Camera ; Capitani Manni e Alesandri ; Cursori François e Santi.

Alla *Rota* del Segretario della Sacra Congregazione Concistoriale di Patrasso, Assistente al Soglio Pontifico, e Sebastiane, Uditore della S. R. Rota ; Capitano Conte Senni ; Cursore Pacini.

Fino alle 11 1/2 ant., ora in cui S. E. Rma. Monsignor Governatore richiudeva le *Rote*, sono, come nei giorni precedenti, entrate le provvigioni, sorvegliate dal Provveditore del Conclave e visitate dai custodie. In tutte le *Rote* hanno acceduto persone per comunicare coi Conclavisti, e sono passate lettere, stampe, giornali, ecc.

S. E. Rma. Monsignor Governatore e S. E., il Principe Maresciallo hanno, durante la giornata, più volte acceduto personalmente a sorvegliare l'andamento del servizio.

Il Commissario e il Sotto-Commissario hanno ispezionato continuamente l'esterno del Conclave.

— Quum Emus. Cardinalibus Sebastianus Herrero y Espinosa gravissimo decumberet affectus morbo ; illi SSmm. Viaticum ministratum fuit.

— Hora 11,17, fumus ille, qui summa in omnium expectatione erat, iterum ominousus spiratur,

SERO. In locum Rmi. Dni. Nussi, Custodis, deputatus est Illmus. Dnus. Dandini : — et in locum Rmi. Dni. De Nicola, deputatus est Rmus. Dnus. Campori,

— Instante Emo. Card. Herrero y Espinosa, illi concessum fuit ut intra septa Conclavis admitteretur Rmus. Dnus. Bonifacius Marin, proprius Vicarius Generalis. Circa clausurae insolitam aperationem, authentica edita sunt documenta.

— Hora 6,25, ingentis multitudinis (25000) iterum spes frustratur, ex diuturna fumi spiratione.

DIE 4 AUGUSTI

Tympanis custodiendis praepositi fuere :

Alla *Rota* che dal Cortile dei Pappagalli immette nel Cortile di S. Damaso, assumevano il servizio gli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Terrinoni, Votante della Segnatura Papale di Giustizia ; Termoz, Abbreviatore del Parco Maggiore ; i Capitani del Mare

sciallo del Conclave, signori Tosi e Marucchi ; i Cursori Pontifici, signori Santi e Pennacchini. Da questa Rota, sotto la sorveglianza del comm. Puccinelli, Provveditore del Conclave, sono state fatte entrare le provvigioni necessarie ai Conclavisti, e tanto a questo Rota quanto alle altre, si sono recate molte personae a conferire coi Conclavisti, e vi sono state fatte passare le corrispondenze, i giornali, stampe, ecc.

La Rota di S. Damaso è stata custodita dagli Illmi. e Rmi. Monsignori Talamo e Poletto, Chierici di Camera, e Spolverini, Protonotario Apostolico ; Capitani, Manni e Alessandri ; Cursori, Benaglia e François.

— Interim, in matutino scrutinio, quod septimum fuit, et ultimum, Emus. Cardinalis *Iosephus Sarto*, Patriarcha Venetiarum, electus est in *Summum Pontificem*.

The *Analecta Ecclesiastica* of Rome believes the following table to represent accurately the scrutiny of votes at the recent Conclave : —

First Session : August 1, morning.

| | | |
|--------------------------|-----|----|
| Cardinal Rampolla, | ... | 24 |
| Cardinal Gotti | ... | 17 |
| CARDINAL SARTO | ... | 5 |
| Cardinal Ser. Vannutelli | ... | 4 |
| Cardinal Oreglia | ... | 2 |
| Cardinal Capecehatro | ... | 2 |
| Cardinal Di Petro | ... | 2 |
| Cardinal Agliardi | ... | 1 |
| Cardinal Ferrata | ... | 1 |
| Cardinal Cassetta | ... | 1 |
| Cardinal Portanova | ... | 1 |
| Cardinal Segna | ... | 1 |
| Cardinal Tripepi | ... | 1 |

Second Session : August 1, evening.

| | | |
|-------------------|-----|----|
| Cardinal Rampolla | ... | 29 |
| Cardinal Gotti | ... | 16 |
| CARDINAL SARTO | ... | 10 |
| <i>Various</i> | ... | 7 |

Third Session : Sunday Morning, August 2.

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| Cardinal Rampolla | ... 29 |
| CARDINAL SARTO | ... 21 |
| Cardinal Gotti | ... 9 |
| Various | ... 3 |

Fourth Session : Sunday afternoon, August 2.

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| Cardinal Rampolla | ... 30 |
| CARDINAL SARTO | ... 24 |
| Cardinal Gotti | ... 3 |
| Various | ... 5 |

Fifth Session : Monday morning, August 3.

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| CARDINAL SARTO | ... 27 |
| Cardinal Rampolla | ... 24 |
| Cardinal Gotti | ... 6 |
| Various | ... 5 |

Sixth Session : Monday afternoon, August 3.

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| CARDINAL SARTO | ... 35 |
| Cardinal Rampolla | ... 16 |
| Cardinal Gotti | ... 7 |
| Various | ... 4 |

Seventh Session : Tuesday morning, August 4.

| | |
|-------------------|--------|
| CARDINAL SARTO | ... 50 |
| Cardinal Rampolla | ... 10 |
| Cardinal Gotti | ... 2 |

THE NEW MARTYROLOGY

E S. CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

PROBATUR NOVA EDITIO MARTYROLOGII ROMANI

Praesens Martyrologium novissime recognitum et auctem, Sacra Rituum Congregatio probante Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII. imprimi decrevit per Typographiam Polyglottam Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide : statuitque ab aliis ubique locorum deinceps typis edi non posse nisi accedente

auctoritate Ordinarii loci et omnino ad normam huius exemplaris.

Die 1 Maii, 1902.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

EXPLANATION OF THE DECREE REGARDING MASS ON BOARD SHIP

E S. CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

EXPLICATUR DECRETUM 1 MARTII, 1902, CIRCA PROHIBITIONEM
CELEBRANDI MISSAM IN PRIVATIS CELLIS SUPER NAVIBUS

Illme. ac Revme. Domine :

Quod per Decretum S. huius Congregationis diei 1 martii ver-
tentis anni, est cautum super celebratione missae in navibus,
tantum respicit abusus illos qui orientur, si in privatis cellulis
viatorum, usibus vitae destinatis, indecenter offerretur augustissi-
mum Sacrificium Missae. Non autem absolute celebratio in
cellis prohibita est, quando adiuncta omnia removeant irreve-
rentiae pericula. Quamobrem firmis manentibus Decreti prae-
dicti praescriptionibus, velit Amplitudo Tua idem sincero sensu
intelligere ac missionarios sine causa turbatos quietos facere.

Ego vero Deum rogo ut Te diu servet ac sospitet.

Amplitudinis Tuae addictissimus servus.

Roma 13 Agosto, 1902.

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secret.*

PIOUS EXERCISES IN HONOUR OF THE SACRED HEART

E S. CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

PIA EXERCITA IN HONOREM SS. CORDIS JESU

Decretum Urbis et Orbis, 30 Maii, 1902.

Quo cultus ergo Sacratissimum Cor Jesu per Catholicam
Ecclesiam tam late diffusus adhuc majora incrementa susciperat
f.r. Pius IX. per decretum S. Congr. Indulgentiarum d.d. 8 Maii
1873, nec non SSmus. Dnus. Nr. Leo PP. XIII. per literas Emi.
S. Rituum Congregationis Praefecti sub die 21 Julii 1899 ad
Universos Episcopos transmissas, eum morem in pluribus Eccle-
siis jam abtinentem, ut per integrum mensem Junium varia
pietatis obsequia divino Cordi praestarentur quam maxime
commendarunt, eique indulgentias adnexuerunt.

Quoniam vero de eisdem Indulgentiis ab utroque Pontifice concessis, pro memoratis piis exercitiis mense Junio peragendis aliquod dubium obortum fuerit, ad illud removendum, immo ut Fideles amplioribus etiam collatis gratiis spiritualibus ad cultum ejusdem SS. Cordis validius excitentur, Sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, utendo facultatibus a SSmo. Dno. Nro. specialiter tributis ea decernit quae sequuntur. *Omnes Christifideles, qui sive publice, sive privatim peculiaribus precibus devotique animi obsequiis in honorem SS. Cordi Jesu mense Junio corde saltem contrito vacaverint, Indulgentiam septem annorum totidemque quodragenarum semel singulis dicti mensis diebus lucentur.*

Qui vero Christifideles privatim tantum singulis dicti mensis diebus praefata obsequia praestiterint simulque uno die vel intra memoratum mensem vel ex octo prioribus mensis Julii vere poenitentes, confessi ac S. Synaxi refecti, aliquam Ecclesiam vel publicum Oratorium visitaverint, ibique ad mentem Summi Pontificis pias preces effuderint Plenariam Indulgentiam consequentur.

Quam quidem plenariam Indulgentiam etiam ii Fideles lucentur, qui saltem decem in mense vicibus ejusmodi exercitiis publice peractis interfuerint itemque supra memorata pia opera adimpleverint. Quas omnes Indulgentias eadem S. Congregatio etiam animabus igne purgatorio detentis fore applicabiles declarat.

Praesenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secria. ejusdem Congnis. die 30 Maii 1902.

S. Card. CRETONI, *Praefectus*.

F. SOGARO, *Archiep. Amiden., Secret.*

ALIENATION OF ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY

E S. CONGREGATIONE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE

CIRCA FACULTATEM ALIENANDI BONA ECCLESIASTICA PRO INSTITUTIS RELIGIOSIS VOTORUM SIMPLICIUM.

(MILWAUCHIENSIS).

Illme. et Revme. Domine :

Pervenerunt ad me litterae ab Amplitudine Tua mihi datae die 14 elapsi mensis decembris, in quibus quaestiones fiunt circa facultatam alienandi bona ecclesiastica pro Institutis religiosi votorum simplicium.

Quoad primam quaestionem, utrum haec instituta sive virorum sive mulierum, sive a S. Sede approbata, sive tantum Dio-

cesana, indigeant, beneplacito Sedis Apostolicae pro alienatione suorum bonorum, responsio est affirmativa.

Relate vero ad alteram quaestionem, utrum Episcopi vi privilegii ipsis concessi circa alienationem bonorem Dioeceseos possint praedictis Congregationibus has alienationes permittere, responsio est, id posse Episcopis intra limites suae facultatis.

Tandem quoad imploratam sanationem pro alienationibus sine necessaria licentia bona fide peractis, Sacra Congregatio hujus modi sanationem et, si opus sit, etiam absolutionem a censuris transgressoribus concedit.

Interim Deum precor ut Te diu sospitet.

A. V. addictissimus Servus

FR. H. M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secret.*

Rmo. ac Illo. Archiepiscopo Friderico Katzer.

(*Protocollo N. 52982.*) Roma, 15 Gennaio 1903.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE RELIGIOUS STATE. By St. Thomas Aquinas. A Translation, edited, with Prefatory Notice, by the Very Rev. Father Proctor, S.T.M. London : Sands & Co. Price, 3s. *6d.*

MANY persons debarred by the language from perusing the works of St. Thomas in the original will welcome the appearance of this little volume in English. Three of the Saint's minor works have reference to the 'Religious Life,' and are now offered to the English-speaking public. The present volume will serve as an introduction to the other two, inasmuch as it treats of the 'meaning and object of the Religious Life.' In the words of the author, the purpose of the book is to explain 'what is meant by the term perfection ; how perfection is acquired ; what is a state of perfection.'

A thing is said to be 'perfect' simply when it attains the end to which, according to its own nature, it is adapted. Now, the spiritual life consists principally in charity, according to the words of St. Paul : 'If I should have all prophecy, . . . and if I should have all faith, . . . and have not charity, I am nothing.' Hence the perfection of the spiritual life is to be understood according to charity. Now, as 'the more a man is delivered from solicitude concerning temporal matters, the more perfectly will he be enabled to love God,' it follows that the best means of obtaining perfection in the spiritual life is to cut the ties that bind us to earth. This we can do by following the counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience given by our Lord. If a man binds himself permanently to the observance of these counsels, as happens in the case of Religious, he is said to be in the state of perfection ; the observance of them without such an obligation is, indeed, a perfect work, but, as St. Thomas says, 'a perfect work is one thing, a perfect state another.' Hence he concludes that Bishops, 'on account of the perpetual obligation whereby they bind themselves to the care of their flocks,' are in a state of perfection, whereas parish priests, owing to the absence of such obligation, are not. Such is a brief outline of the contents of the book.

The style, considering that it is a translation of a theological treatise, is very good. If lacking somewhat in smoothness, it is remarkable for its lucidity, brevity, and precision. As would

be expected from a work by the 'Angel of the Schools,' *The Religious State* is saturated with Scripture and the writings of the Fathers, and 'will serve,' to use the words of Father Procter, 'as a mine of wealth to chaplains of nuns and to preachers of retreats to religious.' To these, and indeed to priests and religious in general, we can strongly recommend it.

D. F.

CARMEL IN IRELAND. A Narrative of the Irish Province of Teresians or Discalced Carmelites. By Rev. James P. Rushe, O.D.C. Sealy, Bryers and Walker; M. H. Gill; Burns and Oates; Benziger Brothers.

THE title gives promise of an interesting volume. The reality surpasses our expectations. *Carmel in Ireland* is indeed, under many aspects, an interesting book. Our interest is soon awakened on reading that the precursor of St. Patrick—St. Palladius—was a Carmelite, and that interest is sustained and heightened as we follow the history of the great Order from their subsequent introduction into Ireland in the thirteenth century down to our own times. Betimes one almost forgets that the book he holds is a history of the 'Sons of the Prophet' in Ireland. As he reads of the doings of Henry VIII., Cromwell, and their successors, and of the hopes and sorrows of our ancestors in their incessant struggle, he thinks he reads a history of our country's past. And so he does. Ireland's history in the past is in the most part the history of Ireland's faith. Her greatest sorrows and her highest honours receive a deeper and a richer colouring from that fidelity. How, then, can anyone tell the history of an Order that shared our fathers' sorrows and their joys, as did the Carmelites, without telling, too, the history of the people amongst whom they laboured. The book has already received high praise from many whose praise means a great deal. It fully deserves their commendations. There is, however, one contention of the author which, while we do not oppose it, amused us somewhat; it is the first we saw. Elias is, he says, the founder of the Carmelites. We do not wish to offer any opinion on the question. We only say it was once a subject of warm controversy, and so far as we know *adhuc disputatur*. But whatever may be said of that point, it is certain that the Carmelites have other claims to men's reverence and to our gratitude besides those based on their connection with Elias.

T. P. F. G.

THE LITTLE OFFICE OF OUR LADY. A Treatise, Theoretical, Practical, and Exegetical. By Ethelred L. Taunton, Priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster. Browne and Nolan; Washbourne; Pustet & Co.

MOST of us who are privileged to read the Divine Office are familiar with Father Taunton's translation of Abbé Bacquez' devotional treatise on that prayer of the Church. The translator has now published a work of his own on *The Little Office of Our Lady*. It is primarily intended for those who are bound to read that Office, though not intended solely for them. Father Taunton has, we feel, fully accomplished his desire. The book cannot be too highly recommended to those for whom it is chiefly intended. His explanation of the psalms, hymns, lessons, etc., is complete and simple. It is not, he tells us, intended to be read through once and then laid aside; as the Office is a daily work, he wishes this to be a daily book for reading and studying, now one part now another. As such this book is all that could be desired. It is devotional, but unlike some devotional books, it is not all sentiment; it teaches solid facts, and gives clear exposition of the dogmas contained in the different parts of the Office. In the first part of his work he explains, and with great success to our minds, the nature and excellence of liturgical prayer, showing its great value above any private prayer, and how those who are delegated by the Church to pray in her name are really the mouthpieces of Christ, giving voice to the feelings of adoration, thanksgiving, supplication, and atonement ever welling up from His Sacred Heart. This, as well as the second part, dealing with the best means of saying the Divine Office according to the mind of the Church, might be read with profit by those commissioned to recite a greater prayer than the Little Office of Our Lady.

T. P. F. G.

LE LIVRE DES JUGES. Père Lagrange, des FF. Prêcheurs. Paris: Lecoffre, Rue Bonaparte, 90. 1903.

IN many respects the Book of Judges stands alone. None of the other historical portions of the Old Testament can be said even to resemble it; for the plain reason, that the condition of Palestine, which it describes, had no parallel in any of the centuries following. We might, indeed, search in vain through the records of all the troubled reigns, even those of Jeroboam or Achaz for anything to compete with what is stated respecting,

e.g., the men of Dan and of Benjamin. During a great part of the period of the Judges, confusion was found everywhere, and the following pithy remark, with which their history concludes, best describes the sad state of things: 'In these days there was no king in Israel, but everyone did that which seemed right in his own eyes.'

So much for the contents of Judges. As regards the language and style of the book, they often remind one of Deuteronomy and of Josue, but the pragmatic arrangement in quadruple sections is unique in the historical books, and among the prophetic books the only one written on the same plan is that of Malachias.

For many reasons that need not be specified, the Book of Judges possesses peculiar value for the student. It has been treated of by several living specialists, but we may, however, say that Père Lagrange's commentary on it is by far the best we have seen. It is, indeed, the only Catholic work that deals adequately with the numerous and complicated questions at present occupying the attention of scholars, and the solutions it proposes of the various critical, literary, and chronological problems, are in every instance deserving of most careful and respectful consideration.

Textual criticism, such as recommended by Leo XIII., has been made the subject of special study. In the first place, both in his Introduction and wherever the opportunity occurs in his Notes, Père Lagrange emphasizes the fact, that the received Hebrew, or Masoretic text, is in many passages inferior to the Septuagint version, a fact which may be accounted for by the translator having had before him a MS. of the original far better than any one of which the readings are still extant. This creates no surprise, at least in the case of readers of Kaulen or of Swete, but what is not generally known is that there are two distinct editions of the Septuagint, one being the earlier form, represented now by Codex Alexandrinus (A), Sarravianus, Coislinianus, Basiliano-Vaticanus, and virtually by the Syro Hexaplar (Philoxenian), Armenian, Ethiopic, and old Latin versions; the other edition, which is the result of an effort to approximate to the Masoretic text, being represented by Codex Vaticanus (B), several cursives, and virtually by the Sahidic version, of which fragments have been published by Cardinal Ciasca. Père Lagrange thinks that the first form was of Egyptian origin, but in his discussion of Lagarde's and Moore's critical theories regarding it, he prefers to leave its supposed

identity with the recension of Lucian, an open question. It is at any rate the one quoted by the early Egyptian fathers, Clement, Origen, and Didymus, while the second form is that which was used by St. Cyril of Alexandria. We have not space to pursue this interesting subject further, much less to enumerate passages on the meaning of which more light has been shed by a critically emended text, so we shall only remark that wherever various readings occur, the respective authorities are given and the whole question is so satisfactorily treated, that in Père Lagrange's notes the student will find a mine of valuable and most interesting information.

The literary or grammatical criticism will be appreciated by all good Hebrew scholars. Philology is evidently one of Père Lagrange's strong points, as his knowledge of Oriental languages has been made complete by intercourse with native speakers, and his notes in this respect are especially excellent. Every peculiarity of diction or of syntax is carefully noted and clearly explained. This is of the highest importance in treating of a literary composition such as the Book of Judges. One is glad to see the constant reference to the greatest work on Hebrew syntax that has ever appeared, viz., König's *Lehrbegänge*. As regards the higher criticism, one would be disposed to think that by adopting its phrasology Père Lagrange concedes too much, but readers of the *Revue Biblique* have not been left in doubt regarding his convictions on this all-important matter. Here, too (Introduction, p. xxx.), he thus expresses himself : 'J'est-il le Jehoviste du Pentateuque, E'est-il l'Elohiste? Nous ne pouvons ni ne voulons resoudre ainsi indirectement la question du Pentateuque.'

The chronology of the Book of Judges is excessively complicated, or rather beset with some so far insoluble problems. Many tentative explanations, all more or less ingenious, have been proposed. Wellhausen's first theory is, subject to certain modifications of his own, the one which finds most favour in Père Lagrange's eyes. (See for other hypotheses, Knabebauer's and Moore's commentaries, *Clark's Dict.*, and the *Encycl. Biblica*). In the present state of knowledge, perhaps the closest approximation to truth is to be found in these partly subjective explanations, and though as being somewhat artificial they create little or no sympathy in some minds, still so long as their authors believe in the inerrancy of Scripture, they have a certain claim on our respect. As regards the topography of Palestine, an intimate knowledge of which is so indispensable

to a commentator on the Book of Judges, it needs scarcely be said that Père Lagrange, who has traversed the country in every direction and has made many discoveries, is exceptionally qualified to speak. It is interesting to observe that in reference to Jephthe's vow, Père Lagrange dissents from Josephus, etc., and agrees with Professor Hoonacker of Louvain, whose brochure on the subject he, however, makes no mention of.

Page after page of the commentary bears evidence that the author is conversant with the most recent advance of knowledge, in a word, that he has more to tell us about every department of his subject than had Nöldeke, Moore, or Budde. It is a pleasure to think that Père Lagrange, who is a member of the Biblical Commission, has been summoned to Rome, and that the *Révue Biblique*, of which he is editor, is to be the official organ of the Commission. The work now before us fully sustains the high reputation he has acquired by various publication, notably by his monumental *Les Religions des Semites* (Lecoffre, 1902), which appears destined to supersede Wellhausen's and Robertson-Smith's lucubrations on a most fascinating subject. The same erudition and breadth of mind are to be seen in this *Commentaire sur le livre des Juges*, the first of a projected series entitled *Etudes Bibliques*, and the commentary itself is heartily commended to all those desirous of further knowledge respecting the Book of Judges.

R. W.

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By William Turner, S.T.D.
Boston, U.S.A., and London: Ginn & Company, The
Athenæum Press, 1903.

To Dr. Turner, of St. Paul's Seminary, Minnesota, the student is indebted for this very valuable history of philosophy. This is the first book of its kind that has appeared in English so far as the present writer is aware. It covers the whole subject, and although running to close on 700 pages it is not too bulky. It is clearly printed, on superior paper, and presents a decidedly attractive appearance,—no small recommendation to a text-book of the kind. On closer examination we find the author has adopted a plan and method that cannot fail to capture the attention of the student. Nothing heavy or tiresome here; everything to sustain the interest of the reader. We have a clear division of epochs and systems; titles of chapters and names of men and systems in deeper type; valuable lists of sources, and interesting outlines of philosophers' lives in smaller

type ; everything to please the eye and assist the memory. For the student the value of the book is considerably enhanced by the addition of those lists of sources, even although they are set down ' with a view to inculcate a proper idea of historical method rather than to supply a complete bibliography.'

Clearness of exposition, ease and grace of style, candour and breadth of view, depth and accuracy of insight into philosophic systems, ability in tracing their connections and in following the current of thought from school to school and from century to century ; these are some of the characteristics displayed in the author's presentation of the ' Doctrines ' and ' Historical Position, of the various leading philosophers, and in his occasional ' Retrospects ' of systems and periods. They leave a lasting impression and one entirely favourable to the book and its gifted author. His work has been a laborious one, but his labour is sure to be crowned with the success it so well deserves. The book may be unhesitatingly recommended to all students of philosophy—to students outside the Catholic schools : for they will find there what they could not have hitherto found in English text-books of the history of philosophy—a fair presentation of the Scholastic system in its due and proper historical perspective : to Catholic students especially ; they will find in it what they have been long waiting for—an attractive as well as instructive English hand-book of the history of philosophy.

P. C.

AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON LOGARITHMS AND THE THEORY OF DETERMINANTS, WITH NUMEROUS EXAMPLES AND EXERCISES. By J. J. O'Dea, M.A. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

PROFESSOR O'DEA needs no introduction to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. Nor does his latest work need to be recommended to the school world. It is a supplement to his *Explicit Algebra* and it has all the qualities which distinguish this well-known work. It has been written at the request of the mathematical masters who have been using the *Explicit Algebra*, and is intended to bring the latter work up to the extreme limit required by the Intermediate Education Board, and Senior Grade Students taking honours in Algebra. Though only a short time published, Professor O'Dea's *Algebra* has run through two editions, and has elicited the warm admiration of such mathematical scholars as Dr. Lennon of Maynooth, and Dr. Leebody

of Magee College. It has been adopted as the Maynooth Class Book in the subject. The Professor is also the author of an *Explicit Arithmetic* which has run through three editions. A long experience in teaching has made him familiar with the wants of students, and it is their suitability to meet these wants that accounts for the phenomenal success of our author's works. It is a great pleasure to find an Irishman holding such a prominent position in the scientific world, and Irish schools will discharge a duty of patriotism and at the same time consult for the success of their pupils in patronising Professor O'Dea's manuals.

F. P. G.

NOTES ON SOME PONTIFICAL FUNCTIONS. By Rev. T.

A. Mockler, St. John's College, Waterford. Waterford: N. Harvey & Co., 55 Quay, 1903. Price, 1s.

THIS book, which has been written at the suggestion of the Bishop of Waterford, has come to supply a want. There is no dearth of large books on liturgy, but there is some lack of cheap, handy books suited to the circumstances of our country. Father Mockler has given us one such book, and we feel bound to congratulate him not merely on the design of his work, but also on the workmanship. Under the headings, 'I.—Directions for the Choir,' 'II.—Pontifical High Mass,' 'III.—Solemn High Mass *coram Episcopo*,' 'IV.—Pontifical Requiem Mass,' 'V.—Solemn Requiem Mass *coram Episcopo*,' 'VI.—Holy Thursday, the Bishop celebrating,' 'VII.—Good Friday, the Bishop assisting,' 'VIII.—The Bishop at a Low Mass (*a*) Assisting, (*b*) Celebrating,' 'IX.—Visitation of Parishes,' he gives full and clear directions within the compass of 120 pages. We might almost say that the Catholic Church is 'visible' by the splendour of her ceremonial. Pontifical functions are particularly imposing, but the complication of their details imposes no light duties on those who have to provide for them. Here is a book, small, cheap, clear and practical, where the whole host of officers in Pontifical functions, from the celebrant to the Bugia bearer, not omitting the canons who assist in choir, are told what to do.

The writer of this short review is aware of the pains the author has taken to ensure accuracy and he has great pleasure in recommending this little volume to the patronage of the Bishops, to parish priests, and particularly to ecclesiastical colleges.

F. P. G.



PROFESSOR ZIMMER ON THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH

THE translation mentioned at foot,¹ 'originally suggested by Mr. Whitley Stokes,' was executed by the Fraülein Meyer, sister of Herr Kuno of that ilk, 'under the constant supervision' of the two aforesaid and two others named. Circumstances not unknown to many of our readers leave little doubt that the version could hardly have failed of obtaining the prompt 'approval of the author.' (To complete the cycle of reconciliation, it only remains for M. de Joubainville to insert a *rendition* in the *Revue Celtique*.) We incline to the belief, however, that the approval is likely to be somewhat qualified when the essayist recovers from the serious illness (continuing still, we regret to learn) which 'unfortunately prevented him from seeing the proof-sheets as they passed through the press.'

No doubt, in the present case, it cannot but afford enhanced pleasure to the writer to find his forty-page cyclopædia article expanded into a handsome octavo of 131 pages, with table of contents, numbered sections, sufficient paragraphs and running marginal summaries. Withal, this will scarcely compensate for the liberties taken with the text: omissions, insertions, reversed constructions, clauses made independent, with—unkindest cut of all!—substitution of

¹ *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, by Heinrich Zimmer, Professor of Celtic Philology in the University of Berlin. (Translated from Hauck's *Realencyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie u. Kirche*.) London, 1902.

metaphors. To aggravate the wrong, the metamorphosis is effected without notice. The brochure, in fact, is a *Zimmeru modificatus*.

The following are typical of the *modus agendi*. In the opening sentence of the opening chapter, the most important words are placed last. Of the three clauses that, with a reference to Bede (*H. E.*, i., 4), make up the next period, the two first are made into a sentence. Then follows a ten-line version, in verbal agreement with Giles's, of the Bedan text, introduced by 'To quote his own words,' the original filling eight lines at foot, with two glaring misprints: the whole serving the additional useful purpose of eking out space. 'We may safely conclude from Gildas' is altered into 'it may be safely concluded from the silence of Gildas;' 'the Saxons had received an apostle,' into 'an apostle to the Saxons had arisen;' 'the Lucius-fable emerges,' into 'we meet with the Lucius-fable.'²

How familiar the supervisors are with the authorities employed, a few instances will evidence. Some of the erroneous references to the Bollandists are left uncorrected.³ The substitution of Arabic for Roman notation sends the student on two fool's errands to the text, instead of the preface, of Reeves's *Adamnan*,⁴—a difference of eighty pages. Similarly, the place referred to⁵ of Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum* is twenty pages farther on. The well-known statement of Prosper's Chronicle relative to sending Palladius to the Scots is given in the essay without a reference.⁶ It was taken from the edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. In the translation, the words are cited at foot, with the number and column of the *Patrologia* volume prefixed. Now a glance would have sufficed to show that the text of Migne differed in three places from that of Mommsen.⁷

Here is an instance of an opposite kind,—a reference with-

² Wir aus Gildas schliessen dürfen; die Sachsen...einen Apostelerhalten hatten; taucht die Luciusfabel...auf (205⁵⁴⁻⁷, 1).

³ 210²¹, 17.

⁴ 210⁹⁸, 48; 229²⁶, 82.

⁵ 219⁹⁸⁻⁹, 48.

⁶ 211⁴¹⁻⁵, 32.

⁷ *Scriptores Antiquissimi: Chronica Minora* (ed. Mommsen), i. 473.

out a text. The essay rightly has it on the authority of Bede (*H. E.*, iii. 4) that the body of Columba lay in the grave in 731.⁸ The supervision was equal to the occasion. From the chapter indicated it copied *ubi et ipse sepultus est*. But Bede was too dull to perceive that once buried, always buried: at the end of the next sentence, he wrote *in quo ipse requiescit corpore*.

Two serious errors of translation are to be noted. No letter of Pope Celestine was sent⁹ to the Gallican bishops of Marseilles, for the obvious reason that the see had but one occupant alive at the time. It was despatched to the same to (*nach*) Marseilles. Cows were not received in lieu of the Patrician cess—they were the cess; money (silver valued by the ounce-weight) being sometimes accepted instead.¹⁰ But everything pales before the following. In going away home after the conference of Whitby, Colman took with him, according to the citation from Bede,¹¹ part of the bones of Aidan—*partem vero in ecclesia cui praeerat reliquit, et in secretario eius condi praecepit*. Thus rendered: ‘but the rest he left in the church over which he had presided, and commanded that they should be kept in a secret place.’¹² Just so: and so, too, when the same Bede (copying the *Liber Pontificalis*)¹³ states¹⁴ that Gregory the Great was buried in St. Peter’s, *ante secretarium*, we are, of course, to understand that the body was deposited *before a secret place*,—doubtless to make the sixteen-line epitaph open to the vulgar gaze! Now, those responsible may safely plead ignorance of Du Cange,¹⁵ but a similar plea will hardly be put in respecting the version of Giles,¹⁶—*in the sacristy*. In any case, they will find it somewhat difficult to erase the stigma of deliberate falsification for the purpose of nullifying an awkward testimony to the cult of relics. So much for the quadruple supervision.

The subject is divided into three periods: origin and

⁸ 241⁹⁵, 122.

⁹ 214⁹⁸, 32.

¹⁰ Die den Patrickspfennig bildenden Kühe, 234⁴⁵, 97.

¹¹ *H. E.*, iii. 26.

¹² 241⁹⁵, 122.

¹³ Migne, *P. L.*, cxxviii, 645-6.

¹⁴ *H. E.*, ii. 1.

Glossarium, etc., v. *Secretarium*, ed. 1736, vi. 300-2,

¹⁵ Ed. Bohn, 161.

earliest history of the Celtic Church ; Celtic Church from the sixth century to the ninth ; complete assimilation of same to the Roman, A.D. 800-1200. Confining ourselves to the Irish branch, we proceed to deal succinctly (adequate exposure would require a larger book than the translation) with statements of fact regarding (1) chronology ; (2) Paschal question ; (3) cult of relics, and (4) theories on the origin of the Church and on the National Apostle.

First, however, as to evidence of competence to expound *ex cathedra*. Ussher is called the 'father of Celtic Church History.' But his work has only a historical interest now. This is the *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiae* [!] (1639, *Antiquitates*, 1689),¹⁷ *Antiquitates Brittan.* [*sic*] *eccl.* (1587).¹⁸ As the titles were, of course, transcribed *de visu*, these hitherto unknown editions cannot fail to gladden the hearts of bibliophiles. Elrington, editor of the *Works*, who apparently had not the run of German libraries, knew only the '*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, Dublin, 1639, quarto ; reprinted, London, 1677, folio.'¹⁹

Readers of *Adamnan* are familiar with the condign castigation administered by the learned editor to the shallow Schoell.²⁰ Here, however, the two are bracketed (the 'Prussian clergyman' first ; the Irish, second) as pioneers in the critical investigation and valuation of the sources ; only, it is added, that their successors have not laboured all too much in that spirit.²¹

In the *Collectaneum* on the Pauline epistles, Sedulius Scottus, we learn, seldom indicates sources, but on closer collation one sees that Pelagius, whom he once names (*Aliter secundum Pil[agium]*, Migne, *P. L.*, ciii. 19), was his chief authority.²² Quite true : but why this failure on the part of one so well acquainted with the *Primordiae* to acknowledge that the credit of the equations *Pil* = *Pilagium* = *Pelagium* belongs to the 'father of Celtic Church History' ?²³

¹⁷ 205¹¹⁻¹³, omitted from translation.

¹⁸ 210²², 17.

¹⁹ *Works*, I. ccxvii.

²⁰ Xiii., lix.-lx., 6.

²¹ 205⁸⁻¹⁹ ; omitted from translation.

²² 211²¹⁻⁴, 21.

²³ *Aliter secundum Pil . . . Pilagium potius hic existem : quo nomine Pelagii in Pauli epistolas scholia non semel in antiquioribus manuscriptis notata reperi* (*Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. xvi. ; *Works*, vi., 356-7).

The Bollandists, it is said, simply omit from Jocelyn's *Life of St. Patrick* the chapter on the conversion of the Dublin Norsemen,²⁴ with a reference to Colgan. But they do a great deal more. They preferred, they state, to leave out the prolix narration, as being in every particular fictitious, the patchwork of some trifler; referring the reader to Colgan, to save themselves from tarrying to refute fables,—already well done by Ussher, who inquired into the origin of the fiction.²⁵ All this, it has to be added, is found on the page referred to in the essay. Once more, why conceal that the brilliant discovery of this fabrication was made by the author of the *Primordiae*?

Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt.

The above-named Sedulian *Collectaneum* came to us mutilated in the works of Jerome through Cassiodorus,²⁶ and Augustine banished Pelagianism from South-west Britain in 429-30!²⁷ These are plainly due to haste; but what is to be said of the following?

LITERAL VERSION

After Bede deals with Finan, who came as Aidan's successor from Hy to Northumberland, and his decade of activity (651-661) at the head of the Northumbrian Church, he gives prominence to his characteristic *studium pacis* [etc., down to *explere curabat*, without the Bedan reference, *H. E.*, iii., 17]. No doubt, in view of

AUTHORISED (?) VERSION

Bede, in speaking of Aidan, the founder of the Columbian Church in Northumberland, vividly sets forth the man's characteristics; but in order evidently to meet the narrow-minded Roman views held in the Northumbrian Church at his time—which could not forgive the Irish for their adherence to the institutions of the

²⁴ 236-2931, 105.

²⁵ *Sequebatur prolixa narratio de Dublinensium conversione per sanctum Patricium: quae, ut . . . omni ex parte fictitia ab aliquo nugatore insuta, omittere maluimus. Possunt ea apud Colganum legi, ne in refutandis fabulis hic cogamur immorari: quod satisfacit Usserius, pag. 862 [Brit. Eccl. Antiq. c. xvi. Works, vi. 422-4], in ipsam fabulae originem inquirens. (AA. SS. Martii t. iii. 556.)*

²⁶ 211¹²⁻¹⁸; omitted from translation, 20.

²⁷ 218⁵⁰⁻¹; omitted from translation, 45.

the narrow-minded Roman views in the Northumbrian Church in Bede's time, which could not forgive Finan for holding fast to the institutions of the Celtic Church, and his firmness against Roman fanatics (see Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 17), Bede felt himself occasioned to premise that he would neither praise nor blame the man, but as a veracious historian (*verax historicus*) narrate mere matter of fact (*H. E.*, iii. 17).

Celtic Church, and their firmness towards Roman fanatics (Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 25)—he deems it advisable to explain in a few prefatory words that he would neither praise nor censure Aidan, but merely wished to give the facts as a faithful historian should (Bede, *H. E.* iii. 17: *verax historicus*). This he proceeds to do as follows in his description of Aidan, than which no fitter conclusion could be found to a sketch of the Celtic Church: 'His love of peace' [etc., translation of Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 17, down to *explere curabat*] (p. 130-1).

Non nostrum tantas componere lites: we content ourselves with giving the original at foot.²⁸ The 'conclusion' of the essay, it has to be observed, is placed at the head of a paragraph on the last page but one of the translation.

In textual exegesis, Gildas ('a man,' it is interpolated in anticipation, 'animated by the most rigid monastic ideas') meant by *convertere ad Dominum* to go into a monastery.²⁹ His words, conveniently uncited, are: *nisi citius, ut psalmista ait* [Ps. vii., 13], *conversus fueris ad Dominum*. (*M.G.H. Scriptt. Antqss. Chron. Min.*, iii. 43.)

Paulo majora canamus. The manner in which far-reaching consequences are deduced from demonstrably unwarrantable assumptions is marvellous. The adherence of Armagh to the Roman Easter took place, it is 'well known,'

²⁸ Indem Beda von dem als Aidans Nachfolger aus Hi nach Nordhumbrien kommenden Finan und seiner 10-jährigen Thätigkeit (651-661) an der Spitze der nordhumbrischen Kirche handelt, hebt er an ihm als charakteristisch hervor *studium pacis* [—*explere curabat* (*H. E.*) iii., 17]. Offenbar gegenüber engherzigen römischen Anschauungen in der nordhumbrischen Kirche zu Bedas Zeit, die dem Finan sein Festhalten an den Einrichtungen der keltischen Kirche und seine Festigkeit gegenüber römischen Fanatikern (s. Beda, *H. E.*, iii. 25) nicht verzeihen konnten, fühlt sich Beda veranlasst vorauszuschicken, dass er denn Mann nicht loben noch tadeln wolle, sondern als *verax historicus* nur Thatsächliches berichte (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii., 17) (243²⁰⁻²⁶).

²⁹ 223, 2-8, 60.

at a synod of 697, through the submission of Flann Febhlán the abbot-bishop, who had carried on resistance to the last in the North of Ireland." For these 'well-known' things two references are given to Reeves's *Adamnan*: again, it is to be noted, without citations. First, as to the alleged date of this alleged synod, in one of the places indicated³² it is fixed at 596; in the other,³³ between 592 and 597. The Acts, ominous omission, were not dated, and Colgan, though generally assigning it to 595, is undecided between that year and 594, 596, or 597. Now, with one authority self-contradictory and the other wavering between four years, plodding people may demand the reasons for the selection made here. But they forget that exponents of sublimated speculations are not to be tied down to humdrum laborious accuracy.

As to the alleged submission, at the first reference³⁴ we read: 'It was possibly on the same occasion that the question of Easter was publicly discussed and the usage advocated by Adamnan adopted.' At the other³⁵ :—

It is possible also that Adamnan, in his exertions to promote the observance of the Roman Easter, may have attended synods of the Irish clergy; indeed, it is scarcely to be conceived that he could otherwise have effected such a change as Bede describes (*H. E.*, v. 15). But the reference in the text [*post Hiberniensis synodi conductum*, *Adamnan*, l. ii., c. 45] must be to an earlier period of his life.

It is hardly necessary to direct attention to the evolution of *well-known* from *possibly*, *possible*, and *may*.

The event, needless to say, was epoch-making! The rest of the North of Ireland conformed with the abbot-bishop;³⁶ nay more, hardly had the same North of Ireland been opened to Roman influence through the submission of Armagh in 697 and of Iona in 716 respecting the Easter question, when a series of (twelve) relic entries began in the *Annals of Ulster* with 726 [727] (and ended with 801). Simultaneously,

³⁰ 229²¹⁻²⁴, 81-2.

³¹ 230²⁵⁻⁶, 85.

³² *Adamnan*, l.

³³ *Ib.* 178.

³⁴ *Adamnan*, li.

³⁵ *Ib.* 179-80.

³⁶ 242¹²⁻¹⁴, 125.

Armagh goes around, with the Patrician relics alleged [gratuitously by the essayist] to have been found at Downpatrick in 733, to the large annual native fairs in 788, 830 [789, 831], and takes them to Connaught and Munster, respectively, in 817, 844 [818, 845].³⁷ All these entries will be duly dealt with ; meanwhile, the drollery of representing years three decades apart as *hardly* separated and 789—845 *simultaneous with* 727—801 is worthy of a comic history.

To laugh were want of dignity and grace,
And to be grave exceeds all power of face.

Nor is there wanting a decidedly excessive display of virulence. Changes are rung in the approved polemic manner on the 'spirit of conscious falsification,'³⁸ 'the conscious falsification,'³⁹ 'conscious falsifications,'⁴⁰ and 'deliberate invention'⁴¹ that came for the first time with the [imaginary] adhesion of the Irish to the Roman Church :⁴² the Patrick-legend reminding the essayist of a lurid passage in Herder descriptive of the sad moral effects consequent on the evil principle of lying for the good of the Church.⁴³

Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur !

In an (*Annals of Ulster*) entry, of which anon, '733 [734] *Commotatio martirum Petri et Poil et Phatraic ad legem perficiendam*,' the last three words, we are informed, mean carrying out the following injunction of the *Book of the Angel* (in the Book of Armagh) : *Nihilominus venerari debet honore summorum martyrum reliquias Petri et Pauli, Stefani et caeterorum* (in the translation : 'Nevertheless due honour and reverence must be shown to the relics of the chief martyrs Peter and Paul, Stephen, Laurentius and the rest,' p. 126). Whence it is inferred that, if the injunction was complied with in 733 [734], the *Liber Angeli* is approximately dated thereby : the *Book* must have been a kind of

³⁷ 243², 129.

³⁸ 240⁹⁻¹⁰, 117.

³⁹ 240²¹, 118.

⁴⁰ 240²², 118.

⁴¹ 240¹⁷, 118.

⁴² 240¹⁰⁻¹¹, 117.

⁴³ 240²⁹⁻³⁴, 118.

official writing of Armagh for the celebration of the three-hundredth jubilee of the advent of the pretended heathen-apostle Patrick on Ireland's ground (432); it consequently came into existence towards 732.⁴⁴ This terrifying sentence almost compels assent. But it is all sound and fury, signifying nothing. On verifying the reference,⁴⁵ the word *reliquias* will not be found! Conscious falsification, indeed!

'Tis the sport to have the engineer
Hoist with his own petar.

Best of all, to show the ludicrous character of this deliberate perversion, the text stands in no need of being tampered with! The object of veneration is the city of Armagh, as the veriest school-boy could have understood from the heading and opening words of the section, as set forth on the very page cited from: 'Of the special reverence due to Armagh and the honour due to the president of the same city let us speak. Now that city,' etc. To play the pedagogue for all concerned, the accurate rendering is: 'Nothing the less, one ought to venerate it [Armagh city] because of the honour due to the most eminent martyrs, Peter,' etc.

*Henricus Zimmer . . . vir et linguae rerumque Celticarum unice doctus et summo adeoque interdum nimio acumine instructus.*⁴⁶ Such is the encomium—the double-edged compliment would be dulled by translation—bestowed by Mommsen in requital of an investigation carried out at his request for his edition⁴⁷ of the *Historia Brittonum*. Adopting the division of the laudation, we have to invert the sequence of the sketch as regards the theories, in order to group the evidence respecting

vir et linguae rerumque Celticarum unice doctus.

⁴⁴ 242 ^{243M}, 126-7.

⁴⁵ *Tripartite Life*, ed. Stokes, 354 ^{126M}. De speciali reverantia [sic] Aird Machae et honore praesulis eiusdem urbis dicamus. Ista quippe civitas, etc. (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 21b.)

⁴⁶ *M. G. H. Scriptt. Antqss. Chron. Min.*, iii. 114.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, iii. 111-222.

1. *Chronology*.—This fundamental factor is thus expounded in what may be called :—

Canon I.—Down to the tenth century these [annalistic] collections vary from each other almost throughout by two, three, six, or seven years. This is well explained by the fact that the sources took their Easter Tables (wherein the most important annual occurrences were entered) from the different editions of Prosper's recension of the Hieronymo-Eusebian Chronicle, whereby the first and following years had different values in the different sources,—a matter not observed by the compilers.⁴⁸

The true test of this chronistic Canon—excluded, be it observed, from the translation!—is the accuracy of the dates given in the essay. Of years for which no authority is assigned, no less than seventeen are demonstrably erroneous: one date is set down twice; another, five times; a third, six; a fourth, seven: one is two years wrong; a second, three; a third, four! We take a year that can be determined by solar criteria. The obit of St. Columba is assigned no fewer than seven times to 597. A brief proof will show this year to be impossible. The second abbot of Iona died, after an incumbency of three years, in 599.⁴⁹ But $599 - 3 = 596$, the A.D. in which the demise of the founder and first abbot took place.

Take one determinable by Paschal data. Adamnan, we learn,⁵⁰ returned to Iona (for the last time) in 703. As the death occurred in September, 704, had he come back in 703, he must have held his final Easter in Iona. But Bede expressly states that, having celebrated the 'canonical Pasch' in Ireland, he returned and died before the next Easter; when he would be compelled to have graver discord with his monks. The words manifestly mean that the Easter he held and the Easter he did not live to hold differed from the 'uncanonical' Paschs. This, we know, is correct: the Roman (March 30) was three weeks in advance in 704, one week (April 12), in 705. In 703, however, the two fell on

⁴⁸ 204⁵¹⁻⁵⁸; omitted from translation.

⁴⁹ Excerpt from the Bollandist Life of Baithene (Ju. t. ii. 238) given in *Adamnan*, 182. Strange to say, Reeves failed to avail of the criteria.

⁵⁰ 230³⁷, 85. Celebrato in Hibernia canonico Pascha... ante ad vitam raperetur aeternam quam, reduente Paschali tempore, graviorem cum eis qui eum ad veritatem sequi nolebant cogeretur habere discordiam (*H. E.*, v. 15).

the same day (April 3).⁵¹ Adamnan, accordingly, came home to die after the Easter of 704.

Take a third instance. What Irish school-boy does not know how 'Brian the brave' fell at the battle of Clontarf on Good Friday, April 23, 1014? The A.D. is verified as follows in the *Annals of Ulster*: New Year's day was Friday, the moon's age on that day 20. The year was also the eighth of the cycle of Nineteen, the 582nd from the advent of Patrick [432]; the feast of Gregory [March 12] fell before the beginning [first Sunday] of Lent [March 14], and Little Easter [Low Sunday], in Summer [May 2]. Yet, here we find 'king Brian (1002-1013).'⁵² Nor is this a slip of the pen: farther on we have 'in the days of king Brian Boroma (died 1013).'⁵³ The supervision gives you a choice: retaining the first '1013,'⁵⁴ and replacing the second by '1014.'⁵⁵ In matters of the kind, it is obviously better to keep an open mind.

In 1894, the *unice doctus* informed the readers of Mommsen that the annual numeration of the *Annals of Ulster* differed from the true date by one year less, down to the close of the tenth century.⁵⁶ To pass over the facts that the erroneous counting does not begin with the *Annals*, nor end with the tenth century, let us see how the discovery is applied. Seven-and-twenty dates profess to be taken from these *Annals*. They are erroneous, every one! To twelve of them are appended the entries of the respective years relative to relics. The English versions have the rectified chronology, the texts of the essay being relegated to the foot. The remaining fifteen the 'constant supervision' saw nothing to be amended in. Such are the unique illustrations, whether at first or second hand, of this unique Canon.

2. *Paschal Question*.—Hereanent large use is made of the well-known letter of Cummian, written most probably in 632, to Segene, abbot of Iona. Cummian, it is said, ascribes

⁵¹ *Annals of Ulster*, IV. Tables K, L (Alexandrine), N, O (Cycle of 84).

⁵² 232¹⁸.

⁵³ 234²¹.

⁵⁴ 92.

⁵⁵ 98.

⁵⁶ *Annorum numeratio in his annalibus [Ultoniensibus] cum ad saec. X. mum a vere uno anno detracto differre solet* (*Chron. Min.*, iii. 6).

to Patrick the introduction of the Dionysian Easter reckoning; for, in enumerating the different cycles, he mentions 'that first [cycle] which St. Patrick, our pope, brought and composes, wherein the [Paschal] moon is, according to the rule, from the 15th to the 21st, and the equinox is observed on March 21,'—a system not introduced into Rome itself until the sixth century.⁵⁷ But Cumman carefully distinguishes between the cycles of Patrick and Dionysius: the one is his first, the other his fourth; whilst, to show that he knew the Latin version of the letter of Proterius, bishop of Alexandria, on the Easter of 455, his tenth and last is the 19-year cycle of the 318 [Nicene] bishops,⁵⁸—the well-known textual falsification⁵⁹ of the translator, Dionysius aforesaid.

But, though made by a German, in a German library, and published in Germany as far back as 1877, the discovery that sheds a decisive light on the place was still unknown to this investigator in 1901. That the Computus learned by rote before 610 from a sage Greek and committed to writing in a Patrician foundation, lest it should lapse from memory,⁶⁰ was known to Cumman, is plainly evidenced by the above accurate description of its (Alexandrine) principles. On the other hand, the fraud of attributing it to Patrick would have defeated its own purpose, had 'our pope' not been as revered by Segene as by Cumman, by North as by South. Moreover, an appeal is made to a matter of fact,—Patrick (*in his successor*) composes (*facit*) the cycle: in other words, where the Greek and Irish Easters differed, the former were observed in Downpatrick. A system in complete identity with the Dionysian is thus proved to have been introduced into the North of Ireland more than two decades before Cumman wrote. Therewith the paradox that Patrick was not known in the *Half of Conn* prior to the Paschal letter topples to the ground.

⁵⁷ 229⁵⁻¹¹, 81. Primum illum (cyclum) quem sanctus Patricius, papa noster, tulit et facit, in quo luna e xv. usque ad xxi, regulariter et equinoctium in xii. Kal. Apr. observatur (*Vet. Ep. Hib. Syl.* xi. Ussher, Works, vi. 440).

⁵⁸ Quarto Dionysium, ... decimo, cccxviii, episcoporum decennovennalem cyclum (*ib.*).

⁵⁹ *Annals of Ulster*, IV., lvi., lvii.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, IV., cxxxiii.-iv.

‘Honorius hurled excommunication (628) against Ireland, as Cummián informs us.’⁶¹ But why not have been candid and cited the texts? They would have shown that the (fictitious) excommunication in question was inflicted by ‘the aforesaid apostolic sees.’⁶² Accordingly, looking back we find this precious information, perhaps of Hibernian origin: ‘I have found it written [by a forger] that they are to be excommunicated . . . who contravene the canonical statutes of the four apostolic sees (namely, Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria), which accord in Paschal unity.’⁶³ If this be not ‘deliberate invention,’ what is?

The synodal decision to celebrate Easter in the following year with the universal Church was successfully opposed by Fintan (abbot of Taghmon, co. Wexford): forthwith (*non post multum*) a new meeting of abbots was called and held at Slievemargy, co. Carlow, wherein stood in contention Fintan, *princeps et primus eorum qui vetus Pascha defendebant*, and Laserian, abbot of Leighlin, representing the *novus ordo qui nuper de Roma venerat*. Cummián’s furious attacks on Fintan prove that the Roman party in the South bore away therefrom no decisive victory. They sent an embassy to Rome, which came home with books and relics.⁶⁴

Once more, the tell-tale text is left out. The omission is supplied below,⁶⁵ and readers can now judge for themselves when they see that (1) Cummián does not name Fintan (who, indeed, was not present); (2) the expression *non post multum* refers to the opposition, not to summoning a synod; (3) no such synod is mentioned; (4) the Fintan-Laserian excerpts

⁶¹ 228²⁵, 77.

⁶² De excommunicatione nostra a supradictis sedibus apostolicis facta (*Vet. Ep. Hib. Syl.*, ubi sup. 441).

⁶³ Inveni scriptum excommunicandos . . . eos qui contra statuta canonica quaternae sedis apostolicae (Romanae, videlicet, Hierosolymitanae, Antiochenae, Alexandrinae) veniunt, concordantibus his in veritate Paschae (*ib.* 435).

⁶⁴ 228²⁰, 77-8.

⁶⁵ Post in commune surrexerunt . . . ut Pascha cum universali ecclesia in futuro anno celebrarent. Sed non post multum surrexit quidam paries dealbatus . . . qui irritum ex parte fecit quod promissum est. Deinde visum est senioribus nostris iuxta mandatum, . . . misimus quos novimus sapientes et humiles esse, velut natos ad matrem, . . . et ad urbem Romam aliqui ex eis venientes, tertio anno ad nos usque pervenerunt . . . Et nos in reliquiis sanctorum et scripturis quas attulerunt probavimus inesse virtutem Dei (*Vet. Ep. Hib. Syl.*, ubi sup. 442-3).

(open to grave suspicion, owing to being unauthenticated either in essay or translation) are not contained in the letter ; (5) the Roman embassy was consequent (not on failure at Slievemargy, but) on the partially successful opposition of the 'whitened wall.' This is to adhere scrupulously to the text !

To come to the Easters mentioned. In 631, we are informed, the Irish and Roman differed by a month (April 21—March 24).⁶⁶ Quite right ; but why conceal that the first discovery was due to the author of the *Primordiae* ?⁶⁷ We may be permitted to add (what, owing to the lack of materials, Ussher was unable to supply) the explanation of the divergence. The moon's age on January 1 (and March 1) was the same, 23, in the three systems,—Irish, Dionysian (Alexandrine) and Victorian⁶⁸ (for the last-named is the 532-year cycle known to Cummián). This gave Easter on March 24 ; but, as they would not celebrate before March 25, the Irish had to defer to the corresponding day (April 21) of the next lunation.

We have two Easters for which 'the father of Celtic Church History' has given no assistance. In 628, the Irish and Roman Easters fell far apart ;⁶⁹ as to how far, there is cautious reticence. But they fell on the same day, March 27. In 629, east of a Dublin-Cork line, the majority followed the Roman reckoning ; between the Dublin-Cork and Dublin-Galway lines people were divided.⁷⁰ Cummián, however, despite the Papal excommunication (already dealt with), celebrated on the old date.⁷¹ (This reminds one that, though he thinks meanly of miracles, the essayist is himself no mean thaumaturge : witness his removal of Clonfert from within the lines to Longford, some twenty miles away north). With

⁶⁶ 228⁹¹¹, 77-8.

⁶⁷ Quum anno proxime insequente [A.D. 631] totarum quatuor hebdomadam inter utrumque calculum intercederet differentia ; illis xxi. Aprilis, Romanis vero xxiv. Martii, die Pascha suum celebrantibus : quo illam Cummiáni narrationem spectare minime dubitamus.—*Brit. Eccl. Antiq.*, c. xvii. Works. vi. 505.

⁶⁸ *Annals of Ulster*, IV. Tables U, V (Victorian).

⁶⁹ 228¹², 77.

⁷⁰ 228⁵⁷, 77.

⁷¹ 230⁵¹, 116.

⁷² 224¹⁹, 63.

all this erudite linear Paschal geography, why is 'the old date' conspicuous by its absence? To show the danger—fatal in this case—of theorizing, the dates, old and new, were one and the same, April 16.

Solventur risu tabulae.

In addition, we are treated to a list (quite beside the purpose) of four cycles successively used at Rome from 343.⁷³ This does not include the one beginning with 382, which we know from Paschasinus, bishop of Lilybaeum in Sicily, in his letter⁷⁴ on the Easter of 444, was official. On the other hand, it gives the cycle of Zeitz (so called from the fragments preserved on four, of the original eighteen, parchment folios, found binding a commentary on the Decretals of Boniface VIII. in the library of the Saxon town of that name), which Mommsen,⁷⁵ on grounds not necessary to adduce, rightly maintains against Krusch was not adopted in the Curia. Thirdly, every worker at first hand knows that the Victorian cycle began (not with 501, but four-and-forty years previously) in 457.⁷⁶ Finally, the Dionysian cycle commenced in 532,⁷⁷ eighteen years before 'the middle of the sixth century.'

3. *Cult of Relics*.—Two and a-half pages⁷⁸ (equal to eleven of the translation) are devoted to showing the unheard-of extension of this cult after the first adhesion of the Irish to the Roman Church. Now, it is quite superfluous to inform us (from Du Cange?) that *reliquiae* signified 'lifeless [!] corpse,'⁷⁹ and that the native equivalent (*relic*, pl. *reilce*) denoted graveyard⁸⁰ (contained for container). But when, to show how little the meaning *relics* attached to the (Irish) *relic* in olden times, it is stated⁸¹ that a famous Old-Irish

⁷³ 238¹³⁻¹⁶, III (line 3, for 344 read 444).

⁷⁴ *Annals of Ulster*, IV. lxxxii.

⁷⁵ *M. G. H. Scriptt. Antqss. Chron. Min.* i. 505-6.

⁷⁶ *Annals of Ulster*, IV. lxxxv.

⁷⁷ *Ib.* lv. sq.

⁷⁸ 240⁸⁵-243⁴⁷, 119-129.

⁷⁹ 240⁴⁷, 120. Cadaver exanime. Cf. Du Cange: *Reliquiae*. Cadaver exanime (*Glossarium*, etc., Paris, 1733, V. 1734).

⁸⁰ 240⁸⁵, 119.

⁸¹ 240¹⁴⁶, 119.

tractate on the great native graveyards in *heathen* times bore the title *Senchas na relec* (*history of the cemeteries*), the essayist is proved to have done what he justly reprehended in another⁸²—he has copied the heading and disregarded the contents!

This short tract of 73 short lines is so *heathen* that, according to it, Cormac, son of Art, was the third who believed in Ireland before the advent of Patrick,⁸³ and he directed not to bury him in the Brugh (because, the gloss interlines, it was an *idolatrous graveyard*), for it was not the same God he and every one there buried adored.⁸⁴ So, likewise, Art, son of Conn, believed, foretold the Faith,⁸⁵ and said his grave should be where Trevet is *to-day*, for the place was a Catholic church afterwards.⁸⁶ To complete the proof of *heathenism* and show the date, the piece is introductory to a poem of 22 quatrains by Kineth O'Hartigan, who died in 975! (It is well to have the admission that Old-Irish was not yet obsolete in the last quarter of the tenth century.) Similarly, in his *Glossary*, Cormac, who was slain sixty-seven years before the death of O'Hartigan, applies the word *relic* to heathen graveyards,⁸⁷ although deriving⁸⁸ it from *reliques of the saints*. We have here, in short, an instance of a Christian vocable proleptically used to designate a pagan thing.

Equally irrelevant (albeit accurate) is it that in the Latin of Irish writers *reliquiae* meant *remains* and *relics*⁸⁹ (remains of reputed saints). That *martre* was the older term for relics and was gradually superseded by *reilce* are linguistic commonplaces;⁹⁰ but, though the occasion well demanded it, neither of these facts is explained here.

‘What do we know of the cult of relics in the South of Ireland before 630, in the North before 697?’⁹¹ This vaunt-

⁸² M. de Joubainville.

⁸³ *Lebor na hUidhri*, 50b, 25-6.

⁸⁴ *Ib.* 37-9.

⁸⁵ *Ib.* 51a, 30-32.

⁸⁶ *Ib.* 36-7.

⁸⁷ *I relcib na n-gente*—in the graveyards of the gentiles, v. *Fe*.

⁸⁸ *A reliquiis sanctorum*, v. *Relic*.

⁸⁹ 240 48-55, 120.

⁹⁰ 240 56-241, 13, 120-1,

⁹¹ 241, 14-15, 121.

ing and taunting query shall have a reply once for all. In Canon XXIII. (admitted by Tillemont⁹² to be genuine), the first Patrician Synod enacts thus :— 'If any of the priests shall have built a church, let him not offer [Mass] before bringing his pontiff to consecrate it, because it so beseemeth.'⁹³

But then, as now, consecration could not take place without depositing relics in the church. Asked (in 386 or 387) would he consecrate the (Ambrosian) basilica, as he had consecrated the one at the Roman gate, St. Ambrose replied yes, if he should have found relics of martyrs.⁹⁴ He goes on to inform his sister how the bodies of SS. Gervase and Protase were discovered and carried to the basilica of Fausta; whence, after night-long vigil, they were borne to the Ambrosian basilica (Sant' Ambrogio Maggiore). 'Let the victors,' to quote from the Saint's address to the watchers, 'enter triumphantly into the place where Christ is the victim: but He upon the altar who suffered for all; they beneath the altar who were redeemed by His suffering.'⁹⁵ This puts it beyond doubt that *ingress of relics* signifies church consecration in the Hieronyman Martyrology; whilst the entry⁹⁶ in question furnishes, in return, the names of those whose relics were deposited on that occasion.

Of two inscriptions, perhaps the oldest of the kind, composed by Pope Damasus (died 384) and preserved in Bianchini's preface to the *Liber Pontificalis*, the first, on the front of the marble slab, records a consecration;⁹⁷

⁹² Ainsi nous ne verrions pas de difficulté à croire qu'il est véritablement de ce saint à qui Usserius l'attribue [*Brit. Eccl. Ant.* c. xvii. Works, vi. 510], sans le Canon 25, . . . et sans les Canons 14 et 15 (*Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique des six premiers siècles*, Venise, 1732, xvi. 786b).

⁹³ Si quis presbyterorum ecclesiam aedificaverit, non offerat antequam adducat suum pontificem, ut eam consecret, quia sic decet (*Villeneuve, Syn. Patr.* 4).

⁹⁴ Ep. 22. *Opera*, Paris. 1853, iv. 280.

⁹⁵ *Ib.* 282.

⁹⁶ Vi. Id. Mai. Mediolano[-i], de ingressu reliquiarum Apostolorum. Iohannis, Andreae et Thomae in basilica ad portam Romanam (*Mart. Hier.*, edd. De Rossi and Duchesne, 57; prefixed, with separate pagination, to the AA. SS. Nov. t. 2, part 1, Brussels, 1894).

⁹⁷ Ego Damasus, urbis Rom[ae] episcopus, [h]anc domu[m] consecravi (*Migne, P. L.* cxxvii. 75).

the second, on the back, the names of the martyrs whose relics were placed there.⁹⁸

To the foregoing are to be added two other Hieronymian entries, which are of enhanced value, as showing the *vigil of the relics* carried out by the Milanese : ‘ Aug. 26, At Bourges, translation of the body of St. Sulpice : Aug. 27, And dedication of his basilica.’⁹⁹

Coming home, we select a witness now for the first time identified. In the *Hibernensis* (*Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* : a classified collection of canons of various provenance applicable to the native Church), bishop Obius (namely, Mobi of Glasnevin, one of the twelve Fathers of the Irish Church, who died in 545) is quoted by a synod¹⁰⁰ as saying, *inter alia*—with obvious allusion to the custom he was familiar with of locating relics beneath the altar : ‘ The souls of martyrs cry aloud from under the altar, saying “ Avenge our blood.” ’ This testimony proves likewise that the church position of relics was the same in Ireland as in Rome, Milan, and Gaul.

To sum up, church connotes consecration ; consecration, relics. The conclusion is irresistible : throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, in valley, on plain and hill ; by stream and river and sea, our sacred ruins testify—all the more eloquently in decay—to the cult of relics in the Irish Church from the very beginning.

‘ Ireland herself had no martyrs ’¹⁰¹ (owing, it has to be added, to no lack of will on the part of the enemies of St. Patrick). But no more had Constantinople. For all that, however, to the Byzantines, no less than to the Irish, relics were something more than a ‘ mere literary concept.’^{101a} Else, why have introduced with all honour the remains

⁹⁸ [Hic re]quiescit caput Sci. Crescentini, M., et reliqui[a]e Sci. Superantii (*Ib.*).

⁹⁹ Vii. Kl. Sep. Beturico[-cis], translatio corporis Sci. Sulpicii: Vi. Kl. Sep. Et dedicatio ipsius basilicæ (*Mart. Hier.* III).

¹⁰⁰ Sinodus : Obius [*aliter* Ovius] episcopus dicit : . . animæ vero martyrum sub ara Dei clamant, dicentes : Vindica sanguinem nostrum, etc. [*Cf.* Apoc. vi. 9, 10.]. (*Coll. Can. Hib.*, lib. xlv. cap. xix. Ed. Waserschleben, 2 ed. 179.)

¹⁰¹ 24¹ 16, 121.

^{101a} 24¹ 27, 122.

of the Apostle Timothy and placed them underneath 'the holy table,' in the [church of the] Holy Apostles in 356, and those of the Apostles Luke and Andrew with psalms and hymns and laid them in the same church, in the following year?¹⁰²

The first proof adduced in support of the 'unheard-of extension' is a 'series'¹⁰³ of entries relative to relics from the *Annals of Ulster*, beginning at 726 [727] and ending at 800 [801]. The 'series' consists of the advent (2), return, enshrining (2) and *commotatio* (7), of relics,—in all, twelve for three quarters of a century. But the evidence falls sadly short: for *commotatio* signifies neither 'opening the graves of pious men and enshrining the remnant of their bones as relics,'¹⁰⁴ nor the solemn *translation* of 'bones' or 'particles of bones,'¹⁰⁵ but carrying relics to different localities to *enforce the law*; that is, to collect a cess for the needs of the community, fabric of the church, or service of the altar.¹⁰⁶ The 'unheard-of extension' is thus reduced to the beggarly total of two enshrining: one in the North, in the final year of the eighth century; the other in the South, in the initial year of the ninth.

In contrast with these eighth-century data, the same *Annals*, we are assured with the emphasis of spaced print, furnish no single notice of relics during the sixth and seventh centuries.¹⁰⁷ Now, which shall we admire more,—the eyes, or the honesty, of the essayist and his supervisors? For there is a 'notice of relics' under 501; there is a second 'notice of relics' under 553; there is a third 'notice of relics' under 668!

The second proof is that, simultaneously with the above series, Armagh carried the relics of Patrick, found at Downpatrick in 733, to the large annual native fairs and to

¹⁰² *Chronicon Paschale*: M. G. H., *Chron. Min.*, i. 238-9. With characteristic accuracy, Tigernach interposes four years between the entries (Kawl. B, fol. 66b).

¹⁰³ 243⁴, 129.

¹⁰⁴ 241², 129.

¹⁰⁵ 242, 128¹⁰, 128.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium* Paris, 1754, v. *Reliquiae*, V. 1305.

¹⁰⁷ 242⁸-243⁵, 129.

Connaught and Munster.^{107a} In the first place, however, the finding at Downpatrick is the merest myth, the inference from the textual falsification already exposed. In the second place, had the originals been given, it would have been seen at a glance that, of the five entries referred to, four mention (not relics, but) reliquaries (*minna*), 'articles of veneration, such as the crozier, books, or vestments, of a saint.'¹⁰⁸

We now proceed to evidence bearing on

summo adeoque interdum nimio acumine instructus.

4. *Theories on the origin of the Irish Church, and on the National Apostle.*—

(1.) A proof (of what is not denied) that Christianity existed in Ireland before the mission of St. Patrick is the esteem in which Pelagius and his Pauline commentary were held in the Irish Church. (On the same principle, it would follow that, as John Cassian was entered as a saint in its Calendar, the early Irish Church was Semipelagian !) But was Pelagius Irish ? Yes ; his chief opponent, Jerome, twice expressly calls him Irish (*Scottorum pultibus praegravatus ; progenies Scotticae gentis de Britannorum viciniâ*).¹⁰⁹ This is a new advancement of research. For, in the eighth chapter of the *Primordiae*,¹¹⁰ it is shown that Pelagius is called a Briton by Prosper, and is the Briton intended by the same Prosper and by Orosius ; whilst, as to Jerome's epitheta ornantia, the respective contexts there given prove that the person so described was (not Pelagius, but) the Irishman, Celestine, his disciple. The whole 80-line elaboration¹¹¹ comes crashing down accordingly.

(2.) Linguistic facts furnish a proof that Christianity must have come to Ireland from Britain,¹¹² and spread gradually there through Irish-speaking Britons, in the fourth century.¹¹³

^{107a} 243⁴⁻⁶, 129.

¹⁰⁸ *Adamnan*, 316.

¹⁰⁹ 211⁴⁵⁻⁷, 22.

¹¹⁰ *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. viii. (Works, v. 251-4).

¹¹¹ 210⁵⁶-212¹⁴, 19-23.

¹¹² 212¹⁷⁻¹⁸, 24.

¹¹³ 213⁴⁻⁵, 26.

(a) Old-Irish long *a* is equal to Old-English long *o*, and Irish has Latin loan-words in *a* long and *o* long. There is no apparent reason why in direct borrowing *a* should become *o*; but this fact is well explained if the *o*-words came through British mouths.¹¹⁴ If you ask how the theory accounts for the presence of the *a*-words, the reply is a distinction: the *o*-words were the first stratum, brought with Christianity and culture; the *a*-words were borrowed directly by the natives, when they became Christians and Latinists.¹¹⁵ In other words, the British missionaries borrowed for the use of their converts from that essential vocable *candelarius*, but passed over such accidentals as *adoratio*, *consecratio*, *oblatio*, and *peccatum*!

(b) Similarly, Latin *qu* is Old-Irish *c*, the British *p*.¹¹⁶ It seems somewhat paradoxical to deduce herefrom that *case*, for instance, came into Irish from *pascha* through British mouths. The explication, however, is plain: knowing this difference and endeavouring to make themselves understood in Irish, the British missionaries hibernicized the Latin loan-words, saying *case*, instead of their own *pasc*.¹¹⁷ If you worry with the query, how explain the presence of the *p*-words, the distinction already employed applies: the *c*-forms were the primary; the *p*-forms, the secondary.

Just what would surely happen in the conversion of pagans. The British missionaries deemed it of paramount importance to introduce, by hysteron-proteron, the *nun's veil* and the *nun* (*caillech* and *caille*, from *palliata* and *pallium*), leaving it to their converts to learn for themselves, when they became Latinists, the trifling notions conveyed by *passio*, *peccatum*, and *poenitentia*. How admirably the theory fits in with the history of missionary effort!

(c) The third fact—that, accommodating themselves to the Irish, the British missionaries changed the Latin initial *f*, *fl*, *fr*, to *s* and *sr*, instead of retaining them, according to their own tongue¹¹⁸—is irrelevant. The two Christian examples

¹¹⁴ 212 270, 24-5.

¹¹⁵ 212 271, 25-6.

¹¹⁶ 212 270, 24-5.

¹¹⁷ 212 270, 25.

¹¹⁸ 212 270, 24.

given cannot be shown to have first come with Christianity, and, what is more fatal, were not borrowed from the Latin. *Slechtain* is not *genuflexion*, but (quite another thing) *prostration*; nor does it, any more than *slechtim* (*I prostrate*), come from *flecto*, but from the root *slak*.

The earliest authentic information respecting the relations between the British and Irish Christians is supplied by the first Patrician Synod, an authority either unknown to, or ignored, for obvious reasons, by, the essayist. 'A cleric,' so runs Canon XXXIII.,¹¹⁹ 'who comes to us from the Britons without a [commendatory] letter, although he dwell amongst the people, may not lawfully minister.' But the theorist would doubtless reply that this was the rancorous enactment of a disappointed man against those who had succeeded where he failed.

(3.) For the historical Patrick could not have played in Ireland in the fifth century the part assigned to him in the seventh-century legend.¹²⁰ To supply the proof, the genuineness of the *Confession*, which was denied in 1891,¹²¹ is now admitted.¹²² We have, as a set-off perhaps, a lengthy Schoell-Zimmer vituperation of the author of that document, ending with the assertion that the seventh-century legend respecting the introduction of Christianity into Ireland cannot be reconciled with his writings.¹²³ This, however, being a matter of opinion, others may prefer a judgment which has stood the test of time,—that of a critic in regard to whose decision on another subject, the essayist's encomiast, no apprentice in his craft, made a retractation¹²⁴ equally honourable to both: *juvenis contradixi, hodie subscribo*.

For all its bad Latin, the *Confession*, Tillemont¹²⁵ is

¹¹⁹ Clericus qui de Britannis ad nos venit sine epistola, etsi habitet in plebe, non licitum ministrare (Villaneuva, 6).

¹²⁰ 213⁴⁷⁻⁹, 29.

¹²¹ *English Historical Review* ('Tirechan's Memoir of St. Patrick,' by Prof. Bury), April, 1902, 263.

¹²² 213²⁸⁻⁹, 28.

¹²³ 213²³-214⁴², 28-32.

¹²⁴ *M. G. H. Scriptt. Antqss. Chron. Min.* i. 533.

¹²⁵ Il faut avouer que le Latin en est fort mauvais, . . . outre les fautes que les copistes y ont faites. . . Mais pour le fonds, cet écrit est plein de bons sens, et mesmes d'esprit et de feu. Ce que est encore plus, c'est qu'il est

forced to avow, is full of good sense, and even of spirit and of fire. What is still more, it is full of piety. One sees throughout that the Saint had great humility, without, however, lowering the dignity of his ministry ; also that he had a great desire for martyrdom. In a word, one sees in it much of the character of St. Paul. Assuredly, he possessed a profound knowledge of Scripture.

(4.) Consequently, the historical Patrick was the same as the Palladius sent, according to Prosper, by Pope Celestine ;¹²⁵ who landed probably somewhere in Wicklow, where he died, after frustration of his hopes, in 459.¹²⁷ Connected herewith is a difficulty arising from the tradition that Palladius left Ireland after a brief and unsuccessful stay and died within a short time (instead of 459).¹²⁸ On the other hand, we have here a tedious argument¹²⁹ to prove that the ' rhetoric ' of Prosper in lauding Pope Celestine (' having ordained a bishop for the Scots, he made the barbarous island Christian ') is not to be taken literally. (Our readers, indeed, know by this time that panegyrics are not always to be construed strictly.) Rather, it leads to the conclusion that Prosper knew nothing of the failure, return, and death. But, as this has not been asserted of Prosper, the deduction, though ' safe,' is beside the question. Its leads also to another conclusion, namely, that the words expressed the first hopeful news received from Palladius (who was sent in 431) that lay before Prosper. Though qualified by ' perhaps,' this deduction is the ' safer.'

The crucial query arises : how long, if at all, after the *Chronicle* (containing the entry of Palladius having been sent) was the *Book against the Collator* (containing the Papal encomium) composed ? As to the time of the first-named,

plein de piété. On y voit partout que le Saint avait une très grande humilité, sans rebaisser néanmoins la dignité de son ministère. On y voit aussi un grand desir du martyre. . . En un mot, on y voit beaucoup le caractère de S. Paul. Il possédoit assurément fort bien l'Ecriture (*Mémoires*, etc., xvi. 464).

¹²⁵ 215¹²⁶, 35.

¹²⁷ 219¹²⁸, 48.

¹²⁸ *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. xvi. (Works, vi. 367 sq.).

¹²⁹ 215¹³⁰, 134-5.

no doubt exists; the edition in question was finished in 433.¹³⁰ Without reason assigned, the second is here dated 'probably 437,'¹³¹ '437,'¹³² 'about 437,'¹³³ 'towards 437.'¹³⁴ But why was the *Primordiac* not consulted, and this ludicrous conspectus avoided thereby? From internal evidence (which, we may observe, could be added to, if necessary), 'the father of Celtic Church History' dates¹³⁵ the book against Cassian 432 or 433! Students need not be informed that Tillemont¹³⁶ (with whom, if we may be permitted to say so, we are disposed to agree) decides for the former year; our erudite countryman, Noris,¹³⁷ for the latter. Accepting the later date for the present purpose, we have the *Chronicle* and *Book* composed in the same year: neither being consequently in opposition to the tradition respecting the failure and death of Palladius. The attempt to fuse these two single gentlemen all into one has thus signally failed.

(5.) 'It would not require much mental strain' to conceive that somewhere about the turn of the first and second thirds of the seventh century [the chronology being accommodated to the theory], Ireland's pious wish to show a heathen-apostle of her own believed it had discovered such a one in Patrick of the south-east of Ireland.¹³⁸ Regarding this legendary Patrick, his *Acta* are contained in the two Patrician *Lives* in the Book of Armagh, written respectively by Muirchu, in obedience to Aed, bishop of Sletty, who died in 698 [700], and by Tirechan, from the mouth and book of Ultan, bishop of Ardbraaccan, who died in 656 [657, or 663].¹³⁹

Though the facile dates of the obituary years cannot be determined, no hesitation is shown in declaring that these four—three of them reputed saints—were knaves or fools enough to suggest and propagate a pious fraud for base

¹³⁰ *M. G. H. Scriptt. Antqss. Chron. Min.*, i. 474.

¹³¹ 215², 33.

¹³² 215⁹, 33.

¹³³ 215¹⁵, 34.

¹³⁴ 215⁵², 36.

¹³⁵ *Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* c. xii. (Works, v. 418-9).

¹³⁶ *Memoires*, etc., xvi. 732.

¹³⁷ *Ib*

¹³⁸ 228⁵⁸⁻⁶, 80.

¹³⁹ 207³⁵⁻⁹, 7.

purposes. But what somewhat discounts this introspection is the instructive fact that in 1891 the work of Tirechan was declared by the essayist to be spurious! Still more instructive is one of his reasons: *Hirota* mentioned therein meant *Norway*. The place intended, we know beyond doubt, is in Galway!¹¹⁰ Such is a typical result of the bookish theorick.

(6.) This legendary Patrick was forgotten in the rest of Ireland.¹¹¹ In anticipation of the objection that Patrick is mentioned in the native annals of the fifth century, there is formulated on the very first page¹¹² what we may designate as:—

Canon II.—Since the Irish sources from which the notices concerning Ireland proceeded have perished in their entirety, and those sources were themselves in part apparently compilations of the 8th-10th centuries, based upon older monastic annals, the annalistic data on Irish history of the fifth century possess, it is clear, no decisive value, in so far as they accord with the views regarding that period universally accepted in Ireland since the middle of the eighth century.

This 'acute' Canon, 'made in Germany,' and omitted, to the dire detriment of paradoxical historical criticism, from the translation, gets rid by a timely stroke of the awkward entries in the *Annals of Ulster*. But, in dealing with unfamiliar subjects, theorists are liable to pass over essential data. What of 'views' well authenticated as 'accepted' in the middle of the seventh century, and in the middle of the sixth? Let us see. Adamnan, we are told, after passing over to the Roman party, prefixed a second preface to his *Life of Columba*, in which, of course, passing mention is made of Patrick, who was not yet known in the *Life*.¹¹³ Adamnan, namely, though *good and wise* in the opinion of Bede,¹¹⁴ was a deceiver or dupe; no better, in fact, than Aed and Muirchu, Ultan and Tirechan. Verily, the spirit of Schoell still lingers in the Fatherland!

¹¹⁰ *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1902, 263-4.

¹¹¹ 228, 229, 80.

¹¹² 204, 672.

¹¹³ 241, 110, 123.

¹¹⁴ *Erat enim vir bonus et sapiens.* *H. E.*, v. 15.

The *Vita* has been now before the literary world for well nigh three hundred years, but of the seven successive editors—some of reputed critical insight—not one, strange to say, possessed the ‘supreme acumen’ to discern this chronological cleavage in the text. One may consequently be pardoned for dismissing the discovery as made for the occasion. Adamnan tells us, what had been handed down to them by men of old who knew it as a certified fact, that a certain stranger, a Briton, a holy man, disciple of St. Patrick, bishop, named Mochta [patron of Louth], foretold Columba and that their two monasteries would be separated only by a small fence.¹⁴⁵ All this, it needs no Petavius to tell us, bears the impress of veracity. Your theorist can remove Iona to Ireland,¹⁴⁶ but the grave biographer who dealt with realities did not fabricate abbeys and create localities to serve a ‘passing mention.’ The relation of Ardpatrik in Louth to St. Mochta’s, Reeves writes,¹⁴⁷ ‘answers admirably to the statement of Adamnan.’ The notice of Patrick is all the more valuable for being incidental, attesting the time and character of the prophet.

But to appreciate it to the full, the testimony has to be taken in connection with an obit in the *Annals of Ulster* at 535,—a date falling outside the fifth century and consequently not coming under Canon II. :—The falling-asleep of Mochta, disciple of Patrick, on Aug. 19. Thus he himself wrote in his epistle [greeting] : *Mochta, sinner, priest, disciple of Saint Patrick, health in the Lord.*¹⁴⁸ Hereby we are enabled to connect Adamnan with St. Patrick through the tradition of the ‘men of old’ and, appropriate link, the British founder

¹⁴⁵ Nam quidam proselytus Brito, homo sanctus, sancti Patricii episcopi discipulus, Maucteus nomine, ita de nostro prophetizavit patrono, sicuti nobis ab antiquis traditum expertis compertum habetur . . Mei et ipsius duorum monasteriorum agelluli unius sepisculae intervallo disternabuntur—Praef. ii.

¹⁴⁶ 228²⁷, 78-9.

¹⁴⁷ *Adamnan*, 461.

¹⁴⁸ Dormitatio Muchti, discipuli Patricii, xiii[i]. Kl. Sep. Sic ipse scripsit in epistola sua : Mauchteus, peccator, prespiter [sic], sancti Patricii discipulus, in Domino salutem.

of Louth. Herewith, in fine, disappears the dual phantom of a historical and a legendary Patrick.

For the rest, had this essay, with its wearisome tale of inaccuracies, crudities, and irrelevancies (not to mention the aggressive malevolence which we deeply regret) been suffered to rest within the congenial pages to which it was first consigned, it had lain undisturbed, as far as we were concerned. In view, however, of the partial resuscitation in English, no option remained but to act in accordance with the warning given last year¹⁴⁰ in dealing with one of the present supervisors: the time has passed—never to return—when statements of the kind can be made public amongst us with impunity.

B. MAC CARTHY.

[The present writer is not to be taken as assenting to Tillemont's rejection of Canon 25 of the first Patrician Synod (*supra*, p. 401). The ancient custom (*mos antiquus*) of gifts to bishops on which his exclusion is based was manifestly that of the universal, not the Irish, Church.]

¹⁴⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, May 8, 1902.

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE ANCIENT ROMAN OFFICE

‘ ABOUT what time, or for what reason were the words “*mysterium fidei*” inserted in the form of consecration of the Mass ? ’ was the enquiry addressed by a non-Catholic gentleman to a priest of my acquaintance not long ago. I quote it here as type of many interrogations which may be put to priests and to which they might not unreasonably be expected to furnish an answer. We cannot, of course, be encyclopædias ; and there is an old saying to the effect that a fool can ask more questions in five minutes than the wisest of men could answer in five years. But, granting that the enquiry is made in good faith, and that it refers to what is regarded as part of our professional knowledge or to something very closely allied thereto, the interrogator has a right to expect an answer, and should we be unable to furnish an intelligent one, the situation may prove rather uncomfortable.

The Breviary is a constant travelling companion with many priests ; and its presence in a railway carriage, or on the deck of a steamer, or in any one of a thousand other places may readily suggest the putting of an honest *quæritur* which it would be stupid or discourteous to ignore.

Strictly speaking, no doubt, our obligations in the matter of the Breviary begin and end with the faithful recitation of the daily Office contained therein. But would it not seem incredible to most people outside ourselves, that any one of us should not strive to know pretty fully the history of a book so much bound up with each day of our lives ? I dare not venture to insinuate that any large number of priests are wanting in such knowledge, I feel certain there are many in the country from whom I could yet learn a vast deal on the subject. But I have heard of one venerable clergyman who had never even read the Bull *Quod a Nobis* which prefaces the *pars hiemalis*. Now, it is for the illumination of that old gentleman that I write the present article—not for the *lor’che sanno*. I do not address myself

to a learned auditory, and I trust the learned will take no notice of me.

I do not pretend to advance anything here that is either profound or original. The contents of this paper are drawn pretty largely from two standard works on the subject, published one in Paris, and the other in Friburg, namely, *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain*, by Pierre Batiffol, one of the five rectors of the Catholic Institut of Toulouse, and *Geschichte des Breviers*, by the late learned German Benedictine, Father Baeumer.¹

An exhaustive treatment of this subject would require a very large volume. The following remarks are intended to be merely suggestive, tracing meagre outlines which can only be filled in by much reading; but I believe that, such as they are, they will not be considered as entirely without value.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CANONICAL HOURS

Amongst the Jews it was the practice to sanctify each day by prayers at stated intervals, as we learn from frequent allusions in Scripture. The Christians, after the example of the Master Himself, did not hesitate to adopt what was good in the synagogue, and accordingly, this manner of prayer persevered among them even after their conversion from Judaism. We need not, however, expect to be able to scan *in every detail* the development of their forms of worship during the first three centuries. Where the eminent French *savant*, Mgr. Duchesne confesses himself unable to penetrate for want of light and guidance most of us will be satisfied to drop the investigation.²

Until the fourth century neither the matter nor form of these prayers had authoritative sanction from the Church.

¹ I may mention, in addition, Duchesne, *Origines du cult Chrétien*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1903; Kirsch, *Die historischen Brevierlectionen*, Würzburg, 1902; A Carpo, *Compendiosa Bibliotheca Liturgica*, Bonn, 1879; Semeria, *Gli inni della Chiesa*, Milan, 1903; Marucchi, *Éléments d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, 4 vols., Paris, 1901-3.

² 'On peut relever des faits liturgiques très intéressants dans les documents antérieurs à Constantin; mais ces faits sont isolés, ces documents sont rares et rarement explicites. La conjecture a vraiment trop à faire pour ces temps-là. Mieux vaut descendre à peu plus bas et procéder sur des renseignements à la fois sûrs et bondants.'—Duchesne, *Origines*, preface, iii.

They were simply private devotions, though often carried out in common, as on occasions of reunions of the faithful in the catacombs or elsewhere. Under the new and favourable conditions following the conversion of Constantine began the work of organisation in every department of Church policy. The noble basilicas and churches rising every where called for a fitting complement in some liturgical form of prayer and praise, solemn and universal—a form which could unite the aspirations of the thousands of all classes of the faithful who flocked thither in one great act of divine worship. For such a purpose the world had not then nor ever can have anything comparable to the Jewish psalms.³ With these, moreover, all were familiar. These were the medium of their converse with God: the people spoke to Him in the words of David, and in the same words they heard the Divine response. It was inevitable, therefore, that the psalms should be adopted as a main element in the common prayer now established by the Church.

Accordingly, the existing forms were taken up, and modified to suit the new order of things. But a perfect liturgy could not be worked out of all this by a mere *fiat*; and, indeed, the process of formation, as might be expected, advanced slowly. The work began in the fourth century, and reached its highest perfection about the time of Charlemagne, four centuries later.

The *ordo psallendi* of the eighth century differs little in its general outlines from the Breviary as approved by Pius V. and his successors; and a comparison with the oldest existing forms of the Roman *cursus* will show how much the office, in spite of a multitude of influences in various directions, has adhered to the traditional.

With the exception of prime and compline—sixth-century additions introduced by the monasteries—the several hours can be traced back in one form or other to the time of the Apostles. The Christians of the first ages, as indeed the Jews

³ 'Il n'y a pas dans la vie de l'homme un péril, une joie, une amertume, un abattement, un ardeur, pas un nuage, et pas un soleil qui ne soient en David, et que sa voie n'émeuve pour en faire un don de Dieu, et un souffle d'immortalité.'—Lacordaire.

before them, seem to have extended the system of *vigiliae* or night watches to a corresponding division of the day. The six parts which originally composed the office fall into two groups—the nocturnal, namely, of vespers, matins and lauds; and the diurnal, composed of terce, sext, and none. Each of these two distinct groups had attached a certain idea of unity in itself. There are those, indeed, who hold that lauds was an institution distinct from either of the other two. I will not enter upon the discussion of what seems to me a very unimportant question. I will content myself with summarising a few facts relative to the origin and development of each of the several hours in the Roman office, which is the one which chiefly concerns us.¹

Vespers.—In the eighth century, according to Amalarius, the form of vespers was practically the same as that of our ferial vespers, with the *preces feriales*. What we call the *capitulum*, however, is but the vestige of what was at that time a lesson of considerable length taken from the Scriptures. Another difference is to be found in the manner of antiphonating the psalms. As the same remark applies to several other parts of the office, I may state here what the ancient custom was. As early as the time of Pope Celestine (422-432) in Rome, and very much earlier in the East, it was the fashion for a soloist to recite the psalms, pausing after each verse whilst the assembly repeated an invariable formula. This was, no doubt, the origion of the *Gloria*

¹ Baumer, *Geschichte*, p. 19 *seqq.*, gives a most interesting explanation of the chief terms anciently used to express divisions of time. *Media nocte* does not mean the 'stroke' of midnight, but a period corresponding to from 12 till 2 or 3 a.m. of our computation. *Gallicinium* was the time of first cock-crow, the peep of dawn. *Canticinium*, when the cocks ceased crowing; aurora, the morning twilight. *Diluculum*, sunrise. *Manc*, early morning (Fruehmorgen), when the sun has fully appeared. *Crepusculum*, the evening twilight. *Concubium*, the time of going to sleep.

At first, time was only vaguely guessed. We are all familiar with the device of King Alfred for measuring this precious gift. But much earlier—in the time of Demosthenes, in fact,—the water-clock, or Clepsydra, was known among the Greeks (vide Prof. Ramsey's *Roman Antiq.*, or Gow's *Comp. of Sch. Classics*). In B.C. 159, Scipio Africanus, Censor of that year, introduced the Clepsydra into Rome. It was, indeed, a very crude and imperfect instrument in those days. A beautiful and well-known specimen of clepsydra, or water clock, of more modern times is that which stands in the middle of the Pincio gardens in Rome.

Patri, and all such forms of doxology. In the eighth century this antiphonal method still existed, considerably developed and embellished with all the graces of musical setting. The antiphon was a phrase of origin quite foreign to the psalms, sung after each verse or couple of verses by the body of the choir. The only relic we have of this system of antiphonation is the Invitatorium, *Venite exultemus*, at the beginning of our matins.

This practice of antiphonated psalmody did not, however, long outlive the eighth century; the neglect of it furnishing to holy men for many years after a ground for pious complaints against their confrères.

Compline was unknown before the end of the fifth century and even in the eighth its place in the office of the basilicas does not appear to have been firmly established. Strictly speaking it was no more than a conventual exercise—the night prayer of the monks to be said in private before retiring to rest.⁵ At the time of which I speak (eighth century) it began with a *lectio brevis*, followed by four psalms as at present, after which came the *Nunc dimittis* and a prayer as conclusion.

Matins.—The following were the parts of matins, taking the ferial office as the subject of analysis: (1) Domine, labia mea, etc.; (2) Twelve psalms recited exactly as at present, with the *Gloria Patri* at the end of each four; (3) A versicle and response; (4) Jube domne benedicere, followed by the blessing, bestowed by the presiding priest or cleric; (5) The first lesson,⁶ ending with *Tu autem*, etc., followed by a response; (6) The two remaining lessons executed like the first. These *lectiones* were considerably longer than what we find in the Breviary at present.

In the case of dominical offices two other nocturns were added, each of three psalms and three lessons. The psalms of the first of these were antiphonated, those of the second had the antiphons at the beginning and end only,

⁵ Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁶ Until the seventh century the ferial office had no scr. lessons. The dominical had them from the beginning.

and each followed by an *alleluia*. The lessons of both were taken from the writings of the Fathers.⁷

The *Te Deum*, though employed by the monasteries, had no place in the canonical office of this date, except in the feast of Popes.

Lauds.—These began at sunrise. The psalms were antiphonated in the manner above described, and of course the hymn was wanting,⁸ but, in all other respects, lauds in the eighth century were the same as we find them at present.

Prime has changed little during the last twelve hundred years, if we except the addition of the hymn, and one or two slight modifications in the latter portion; e.g., the *lectio brevis*, which now holds the place of what at first was a short chapter read from the *Rules* of St. Benedict even in the basilical functions. As has already been noticed of compline, prime was originally no more than a pious exercise, or morning prayer of the monks. The three psalms were said in private followed by *Kyrie Eleison*, and the Lord's Prayer. The symbol, *Quicumque vult*, with all that follows, was rather a community exercise performed when all had assembled together. It should, perhaps, be observed here that at the conclusion of lauds the monks used to retire again to rest for a short time. Prime was said as a morning exercise immediately after the second getting up.

To a writer on the Symbolism of the Breviary the office of prime would furnish the subject of a very interesting chapter. Such considerations, however, are outside the scope of the present article.

As regards the three remaining small hours of terce, sext, and none, the changes are so slight as to be unworthy of special notice in a brief survey of this kind.

We see that the hours of the Breviary were an institution of slow but steady development, rising gradually from the position of unauthorised and ill-determined private exercises to the dignity of being the public canonical prayer of the Church, universal and thoroughly systematized after an

⁷ Batiffol, p. 95 *et seqq.*

⁸ Hymns are not found in the Roman canonical office until much later.

evolution of more than seven hundred years. In its highest form it represented the happy combination of two elements, of which it had received one from the secular clergy, and one from the monks. The Order of St. Benedict may be said to have given the form to the divine office as seen at its best, But for the influence of the monasteries it is hard to see what would have become of it during those long ages of formation. We hear a great deal about the diminution of fervour among Christians from the third century onward, but there is hardly any doubt that the clergy too often shared, if they did not actually lead, in the decline. They were but a short time delivered from the catacombs until they became so relaxed as to be a scandal to the other faithful. In the time of Justinian it was only, we might say, at the point of the lance that they could be urged into the church to take part with the laity in the sacred office. One of the constitutions of that emperor, addressed to the bishops of the Roman world of his time, runs as follows: 'We wish that all the clerics belonging to each church shall themselves chant vespers, matins, and lauds.'⁹ For it is unbecoming that the clerics, on whom rest the duties of psalmody, should put *hired men* to perform it in their stead; and that the laity so numerous, who, for the good of their souls, show assiduity in coming to the church to take part in the office, should be able to state that the ecclesiastics appointed to that function fail to discharge it.'¹⁰ The secular clergy of that day might find in the increasing number of other duties an excuse, genuine or apparent, for such relaxation. They might indeed have found, as Batiffol observes, a solution of the difficulty by obtaining the assistance of the monks then so numerous everywhere. But the fact is that the parochial clergy were exceedingly jealous of their charges, and of any interference by the regulars. 'L'esprit romain voulait que les moines fussent des serviteurs anonymes et gratuits de l'Eglise.'¹¹ Indeed,

⁹ The small hours were not reckoned as a part of the office at this time (A.D. 528).

¹⁰ Cod. lib. I. tit. 3. Found in the Leipzig edition of the *Corpus juris Canonici*. Cf. Baeumer, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹¹ Batiffol, *Histoire*, p. 58.

the very earliest and most valuable work we have dealing with the question of the divine office in choir, namely, the *Liber diurnus*, contains, as Duchesne observes, surprising evidences of a spirit of bitter antagonism towards the monks existing thus early among the secular clergy.

Rightly or wrongly, however, the monks gradually came to be placed in charge of the principal basilicas, and already, in the eighth century, there were no less than three monasteries attached to St. Peter's in Vaticano.

Their principal charge was to chant the divine office; and thus the monastic *ordo psallendi*, having to adapt itself to the new conditions of a basilical function, became, after the necessary modifications, what we know as the canonical Roman office of the eighth century. Up to that period there had been no harmony in this matter among various portions of the Church. The Syrians had a rite of their own—the oldest, in fact, of all; the Christians of Egypt had another, the Franks a third, the Spaniards and Saxons theirs. Even our own country had its independent form of liturgy, and the Bangor Antiphonary, revealing a pre-Benedictine usage in this island, is among the most important records of the early Western Church.¹²

We know from many a page in history how tenacious people are of their national customs and traditions, and

¹² See Baeumer, *Geschichte*, p. 168. Referring to Egyptian influences upon discipline in the West, the author has (page 163) a paragraph well worthy of quotation here: — 'Wir werden uns hier nicht auf eine Erörterung der so schwierigen, die älteste Kirchengeschichte Irlands betreffenden Fragen einlassen, auch die Biographie des hl. Patricius und die Legenden nicht berühren, die sich im Laufe vieler Jahrhunderte um ihn gesammelt haben, wir müssen aber betonen, dass man bei einem aufmerksamen Blick in die Annalen der irischen Kirche und ihrer Heiligen während der ersten Jahrhunderte alsbald herausfühlt, wie sehr die Natur der Kelten sich für die ägyptische Ascese eignet und ihr nahesteht. Man erwäge nur ihre Einsamkeit, ihre Vorliebe für das anachoretische Leben, ihre Scheu gegen jene Pracht des Gottesdienstes, die in Palaestina heimisch, den Aegyptern aber so unsympathisch war, ihre Neigung zu aussergewöhnlichen Anstrengungen und Abtödtungen: und man wird finden, dass irischer Geist der Ascese und Mystik dem ägyptischen näher verwandt ist als dem palaestinen-sischen. Welche Lösung immer die Einzelfragen bezüglich der Urgeschichte der irischen Kirche finden mögen, so dürfen wir die Wurzel ihres Lebens und seiner Aeusserungen in der monastischen Disciplin, in dem nach ägyptischen Muster ausgebildeten Leben der südgallicischen Klöster suchen. Dies findet einen formellen Ausdruck in der Tradition oder der Legende von einem Aufenthalte des hl. Patricius in Lerin.'

probably the best proof of the high excellence of this Roman office of the eighth century is to be found in the fact that it was so readily and spontaneously adopted throughout the greater part of Christendom.

It will be remembered that hitherto I have spoken only of the Sunday and ferial offices, and that too only in general outline. A wider and more detailed review of the subject would altogether exceed the compass of a magazine article. But it is necessary that I should here make a few observations on the rise of the Sanctoral office, as well as of the introduction of the Hymnology.

THE FEASTS OF SAINTS

The Paschal solemnity of Apostolic times was, we need not doubt, the origin and first exemplar of what in after-time developed into the divine office of the Church. This paschal function was soon extended to the sanctification of each Sunday. Subsequently the two fast days—Wednesday and Friday¹³—of each week had to be marked by some special form of devotion of less solemnity, indeed, than that of Sunday, but after the same manner. In course of time, when the fervour of the Christians made every day a day of mortification and prayer, these ‘Stations,’ as they were called, of Wednesdays and Fridays were further extended to the other four days of the week. This seems to have been, in brief, the origin of the dominical and ferial offices, and contains practically all we know on the subject for the first three centuries.

On the anniversaries of the martyrs the faithful were accustomed to assemble the night before, and hold a vigil in the cemetery—generally in the catacombs—where the remains of the particular martyr were interred. The following morning was celebrated the Synaxis, when the Holy Communion was distributed. These reunions, and the accompanying exercises, gave rise to the Festa Sanctorum in our liturgy. At first, of course, these were very infrequent, and for

¹³ The Jews fasted twice a week—on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

several centuries they remained purely local, celebrated only in this or that particular cemetery.¹⁴

Whatever may be said of the tendency in our own day, it is certain that for sixteen or seventeen hundred years the mind of the Church was entirely opposed to the sacrifice of the temporal office in favour of the sanctoral. Up to the twelfth century, in Rome at least, the office of saints was never allowed to infringe upon the ferial: when the feast of a saint occurred on the Calendar, a *double office* was celebrated, as we have now, for example, on All Souls' Day. The vespers, matins, and lauds of the feast were added on to the full office of the *feria*. This is, in all probability, the origin of our word *double* as used in the *Ordo* in a generic sense. This custom of reciting the two offices disappears only in the thirteenth century. But this sacrifice of the ferial office was followed by speedy repentance. The modern office was never a universal favourite; and an examination of the facts will show how steadily the Breviary-reformers of the next five hundred years aimed at restoring the ferial office to its rightful position.

A moment's reflection will be enough to convince us of what a deterioration the office has suffered since the classic days of Charlemagne, and how unfaithful it now is to the ideas which first gave it birth. That the whole of the Psalter should be read or sung regularly at least once a week, and that the whole of the Scriptures should be gone through in the course of the year, seems to have been the ruling idea in the minds of those who gave to this prayer of the Church in earliest times its form and significance. In the psalms is said to be found the compendium of all Catholic theology. The expression of all Catholic devotion is there too in its highest form: and there every thought or emotion of men—faith, hope, love, sorrow, rejoicing, fear, triumph, penance, supplication, thanksgiving, and all the rest, can find full utterance. Yet on that sublime instrument of

¹⁴ In the eighth century the number of saints' feasts on the Calendar including those of the Blessed Virgin, was 76, or an average of one every five days or so. The entire list, which is too long to quote here, is given by Batiffol from Muratori.

endless tones and wondrous harmony we keep fingering day after day practically the self-same chord. We seldom or never number its one hundred and fifty keys. With the voice of the spirit speaking from its higher reaches and profounder depths, we are quite unfamiliar. Then, again, the Scripture lessons have been truncated and chopped until we possess their mere remains. As a substitute for all this we have got sketches of the lives of the saints, and very unsatisfactory those same sketches are, often even after half a dozen attempts at correction. Many of them are made up of legends poorly authenticated, from apocryphal *acta*, and from the coloured or exaggerated writings of *voteens*. Some contain statements contrary to the ascertained facts of history. Of course, we cannot entirely put aside the so-called 'incredible' whilst we believe in the supernatural; nor can we admit a thing to be false simply because it cannot be proved historically to be true; nevertheless we find enough in the Breviary—at least in its earlier editions—to explain if not to justify that French *mot*: 'He lies like a second nocturn.'¹⁵

HYMNOLOGY

The hymns are exclusively of Christian origin, and many of them date back as far as the fourth century. The classic age of this kind of liturgical literature is reckoned as having begun with St. Ambrose, and ended with St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Ambrose is looked upon as the father of Christian hymnology, and by far the largest share of the hymns of the Breviary were penned by him. For true poetic excellence, however, the Spanish Prudentius, Bishop of Poitiers, is generally considered his superior; whilst another Bishop of that see, Venantius Fortunatus, author of the *Vexilla regis*, is placed by the suffrages of not a few at the head of the list of hymnists.

All those hymns lived at first through a period more or less extended when they were sacred merely, but not

¹⁵ Of course, I need hardly remark, that those lessons of the Breviary are not a subject of the Church's Infallibility. They are merely historical documents, and as such easily liable to err.

liturgical. It was only when the Church, recognising in this or that one among such lyric pieces the fitness to express effectively a portion of her divine message to man, adopted it as her own, that it gained this latter distinction. The number of sacred hymns in the world is countless : the number of liturgical ones is easily reckoned.

Even those of severest æsthetic tastes will admit that the divine office has gained largely not only in grace, but in expressiveness by the adoption of this element.

There are ideas [says a modern scholar and orator¹⁶], which from their nature or otherwise remain entirely or nearly so in the high, cold region of Intelligence, ideas which affect a man's thought and no more : these are translated into language by words colourless and cold, however clear and precise. But often an idea takes possession of the entire man, sets all his interior spiritual world in a ferment of emotion : whenever a man is full of such an idea he no longer talks : he sings.

Our Hymnology is 'the song, the cry of the Church, the solemn voice of the Christian people,' echoing down the ages in triumph or in mournful plaint. Whatever about the respective merits of the various portions of which it is made up, all will be willing to admit that it is one of the most beautiful and precious possessions which the Church owes to the genius and devotion of her children. To which of those children in particular she is indebted for each one of that priceless collection is often hard to determine. In more than one instance it is clear that the honour was not given to whom it was due. We no longer credit the composition of the *Te Deum* to either St. Ambrose¹⁷ or St. Augustine, but to a quondam obscure Dacian bishop ; just as we put aside the names of all the great men regarded at various times as authors of the *Stabat Mater*—St. Bernard, Innocent III., St. Bonaventure, Gregory IX., John XXII.—and fix that distinguished title upon the name of its rightful

¹⁶ Semeria, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ It is worth noting that in the *avviso* recently addressed by the Vicar-General of Rome to the clergy, regarding the form of Thanksgiving for the election of Pius X., the *Te Deum* is still referred to as the "Ambrosian hymn."

owner, Giacomo de Benedetti, a Franciscan monk from Todi in Italy.

It would appear that up till the twelfth century hymns were not admitted into the canonical Roman office. But from a comparatively early date—as far back, indeed, as the fourth century—they formed part of the *cursus* in various parts of Spain, France, and Italy. St. Benedict, in the fifth century, introduced them into the *ordo psallendi* of his monasteries to pretty much the same extent as they are found in the Breviary of to-day.¹⁸

DECLINE OF THE OFFICE

Liturgists point to the eighth century as an age of perfection in the form of the divine office. At that time the Roman *ordo psallendi* may be said to have reigned supreme by universal adoption.

It had now [says Batiffol, in a fine passage¹⁹], arrived at a state of perfection which could neither be surpassed nor maintained, but which incontestably merited the exceptional fortune which made it the admiration of the Germanic, French, and Anglo-Saxon Churches. An anonymous work, slowly and unconsciously achieved ; but a singular work, animated by the soul of Rome ! For Rome had, in fact, bestowed upon it the best of her literature and her history ; her psalter, her bible, her fathers, her martyrs. She had placed upon it the impress of her piety direct and simple, historical rather than subtle ; of her æsthetics expressed in compositions sober, broad and harmonious ; of her language, brief, clear, concrete, biblical in terms, hieronymic in scope, rhythmic in numbers. Finally, she had given it her music—that full Gregorian chant, which the low middle age has disfigured, which the renaissance has despised, which the seventeenth century, in the traditions of which we still live, failed to understand, but which need only be heard once properly ren-

¹⁸ Of the hymns in the breviary St. Ambrose († 397) has been credited with the authorship of 36 of these, *Aeternæ rerum conditor, Deus tuorum militum, Jam lucis orto sidere, Jesu, corona celsior, Jesu corona virginum, Nunc Sancte nobis Spiritus*, and *Te Lucis ante terminum*, are probably amongst the most familiar. To Prudentius († 410) are attributed 8 ; to Fortunatus 4—namely, *O gloriosa virginum, Quam terra, pontus, sidera, Pange, lingua . . . lauream, Vexilla Regis prodeunt* ; to Gregory the Great 7 ; St. Bernard wrote the *Jesu, dulcis memoriae*, and, perhaps, the *Ave Maris Stella*.

¹⁹ *Histoire*, p. 140.

dered, in its true notation, by the monks of Solesmes or Beuron, to recall something of the elegance which ravished with emotion the pilgrims of St. Peter's. . . . The Roman office of the eighth century was all this.

But a period of disintegration and rapid decadence was soon to follow : the beautiful office of the Church was destined to share in the general social and moral *abaissement*. For the next two or three centuries contemporary liturgical records are wonderfully scant ; and this comparative dearth of positive testimony has left ample room for controversy on the subject. But it will be enough for our present purpose to note that during the ninth and tenth centuries the old form was gradually abandoned in most places outside of Rome, that clerics frequently abridged the office at will, or omitted it altogether, until this portion of the liturgy, so majestic and beautiful in the time of Charlemagne, was found a couple of centuries later to have sustained almost a total wreck.

Out of the liturgical confusion of this period came forth an abbreviated office, known as the *Officium modernum*, which in the beginning of the twelfth century, by a kind of prescriptive right obtained widely among seculars and regulars, and was finally sanctioned by Pope Gregory IX. It would be impossible now to trace the origin of this short office, or the steps by which it was introduced ; or to determine how far its introduction was due to a spirit of relaxation among the clergy or to the exigencies of secular affairs. Of course, the practice of the Papal Court would be all-powerful in determining the form of the office for the universal Church, at least outside some of the monasteries ; and there is no denying that in that age the Papal Curia and its *entourage* were largely occupied with temporal concerns.

THE BREVIARY

The abbreviated office had become the recognised office of the Church. But this was not all. Clerics in travelling were permitted to abridge even this shortened office, a privilege largely availed of, as there was, indeed, much

coming and going in those days. Now, a great difficulty presented itself to a monk thus bound to even an abridged office when journeying to and fro, or to a secular priest of slender means reciting it privately. The various tomes used in choir—lectionaries, antiphonaries, etc.—were by no means portable for the one, and were often quite too expensive for the resources of the other. The former required something portable, the latter something cheap. Moreover, every priest was supposed to know the Psalter by heart. Usage had so familiarised them with the antiphons and versicles that a word was sufficient to suggest the entire text. The circumstances in each case might easily justify a considerable abridgment of the lessons. By excluding the unnecessary, then, a small volume, at very moderate cost, might be made to contain sufficient for the private recitation of the office. Accordingly, as early as the eleventh century, we find mention of various *breviaria seu epitomata* fully answering to these demands.

The abridgment in such an office, it may be seen, was chiefly attained by curtailing the lessons. It was not long till the monks in choir adopted the new and tempting method. The Friars Minors obtained the sanction of Gregory IX. for using a breviary compiled on similar lines as regarded the lectionary. Nicholas III., in turn, adopted this Franciscan breviary in the Curia, and formally prohibited the use of any other. This took place about the year 1280. The grand old Roman office was at length abolished even at Rome itself. The tomes which had so long stood on the monastic *legile*, witnesses of a better time, were now ruthlessly expelled by Papal decree, and the beggarly makeshift of the Friars Minors was placed in their stead. This latter was to hold possession for nearly three hundred years.

The new office of the Roman Court, as it is called, differed little in its main outlines from that which we find in Breviaries of to-day. But it marked a great fall from the grand simplicity of the ancient Roman office. The ferial was gradually supplanted by the introduction of sanctoral feasts; and the office of the day was overburthened by the

almost daily recital of the office of the Blessed Virgin, or of the Dead, by the Suffragia of the Saints, or by Penitential Psalms. Rubrics were much complicated, the volumes were without indexes or pagination. The result of all this was to render the recitation of the hours tedious and irksome. It is questionable whether in the event the indolent could congratulate themselves on the change from the venerable Roman office.

It was impossible that Christendom could rest satisfied with this new and inferior product. The need of extensive improvement was seen even from the first, and various attempts were doubtless made to remedy the more glaring defects. A misguided effort for reform afterwards issued in the ill-starred Breviary of the Holy Cross. The Popes of the sixteenth century would restore this part of the liturgy to something of its ancient splendour. Paul IV. and Pius IV. put energetic hands to the work. The Fathers of the Council of Trent for a time took up the task, which was in turn handed back by the Council to the Roman Pontiff. In 1568, Pius V. issued the reformed edition preceded by the Bull with which we are all familiar. The good Pope, highly satisfied with the work, wished it to be forever fixed and immutable. Like another St. John, he wrote these words, which we read in his Bull: '*Statuentes [nos] Breviarium ipsum nullo unquam tempore vel totum vel ex parte mutandum vel ei aliquid addendum vel omnino detrahendum esse.*' Yet we know that both Clement VIII., and Urban VIII., revised the book afresh, adding and subtracting as seemed fit. Nor did they attain finality in the matter. For the last half dozen years of his brilliant pontificate Benedict XIV. devoted his best energies towards the self-same work of reform. It was talked of under Pius VI. and Pius IX. It was amongst the *Agenda* of the Vatican Council. Finally, Leo XIII., of happy and glorious memory, appointed a commission of five, which is still, I believe, engaged at Rome upon the revision of the Lessons.

J. HASSAN, C.C.

REASON'S REAL DATA IN REGARD TO DIVINE EXISTENCE AND THE FOUNDATION OF ETHICS

THESE 'real data' of reason, regarded as reflection's principles for thought's *processus* to its term,

I have said I hold to be 'objective judgments' at once 'synthetic' and '*a priori*:' *synthetic* as having predicates not contained in their subjects; yet to be called '*a priori*' as affirming self-evidently essential truths and, on that account, to be taken as the dialectic principles of thought's self-evidence for its supreme conclusion—'the existence of the Essential One, the Real-Ideal whereto as to its term every spirit aspires.' See the report of my paper read at the Fribourg meeting of the 'International Scientific Congress of Catholics,' and in part translated in the I. E. RECORD for March, 1898.

In my paper for the last meeting of this Congress, that held at Munich, I said:—

I hold these data to be thus judgments such that their truth, naturally presented to (so directly cognised by) every thinking soul as *real* (hence said to be *synthetic*), may immediately be recognised as essential or absolutely necessary (hence to be called *a priori*) seeing that the predicate in each case represents what viewed in general (*regardé en général*) could not be conceived as caused, and, therefore, could never have commenced and could never cease.

Such judgments, I noted, should be called '*a priori*' even in the received sense of that term for immediately formed judgments, as, in each case, affirming the subject to be *so and so* by reason of the self-evidently absolute *impossibility* of the opposite.

Here is the series of them as I then gave it, 'in its entirety, in the ascending order of actuality's perfections:'

1. Something in general *exists*, actually *is*, or, is *actual*; 2.

Something existing or actual is *substantial*, or, there is a substance ; 3. Something substantial *subsists*, or there is an individual ; 4. An individual *acts* in the way that is natural thereto, or, there is one naturally acting ; 5. An agent in the nature of things *lives*, or, there is a living being ; 6. A living being *thinks* or there is one thinking ; 7. A thinking being *loves*, or there is some one loving—willing well—acting as being of good-will.

These *data* I held (in reply to an objector) solely regarded as *real* should *all* be called 'synthetic' judgments or propositions or expressions of truth ; and solely as *reason's data* should all be named '*a priori*.'

Concluding the paper, I said :—

Now, in order to give a concrete, striking, practical, and, as freed from technical terms, universally intelligible, form to what I take to be the root of the question, this is the problem I propose :—Ought one say (as is held by so many Theists at the present time) : in the order of reflection, I *posit* as principle the existence of God ; that is to say, I see, if only in the way of dialectic intuition, or, I believe quite naturally, or, I take for philosophical postulate after the manner of a scientific hypothesis to be subsequently verified by its results—in a word I *suppose* the existence of a Being existing of absolute necessity ; therefore, by way of deduction (through the principal of identity) I infer the absolute necessity of existence in general ? Or rather should it not be said : I see the absolute necessity of existence in general ; therefore, by way of induction not ideal but real, by way of objective inference, or, it may be said of rational elevation (through the principle of sufficient reason), I infer the existence of One that exists of absolute necessity ? In short, ought one to say : I see or suppose there is a Being that exists necessarily, thence I infer that existence is necessary ? Or rather ought it not be said : I see that existence is necessary, thence, I infer there is a Being that exists necessarily (that there exists a Necessary Being) ? The same problem may be presented in the same way, with regard to substance, subsistence, *natural* action, life, intelligence, and good-will's act with all which that as love imports of liberty and of rectitude or law-observance in the universal order. Throughout, it will be seen, the 'root' of the question is touching our mode of rational evidence for the objective necessity of *perfection* such as we know it, such as we naturally desire it, from self-assured existence to everlasting love. And precisely there I note in conclusion shows what all points to as the philosophical problem of problems, especially

between eastern and western thought, in the great century now opening before us.

Since the publication of these words,¹ friends at home and abroad have frequently asked me why I let the matter rest there, why I never undertook to discuss it, why I never even gave my own views as to the proper answer to be given to the question—according to myself, most important dialectical question—which I there proposed for discussion? Well, in the first place, I meant to have it discussed at the next meeting of the Congress, which meeting has not as yet taken place. Then, I *have* discussed it where it is my duty to do so: in class. Moreover, my view of the whole was sufficiently evident from the position I had taken up in regard to what I said I considered to be the ‘root’ of the general question. Finally, and this I now principally wish to accentuate, my view as to the proper solution of the problem I proposed was expressed with sufficient distinctness, though indirectly, towards the conclusion of the paper which I read at the very first meeting of the Congress, its first meeting in Paris. I said:—

Those who have to deal with such questions, if only in the way of methodic doubt, at first experience some difficulty in seizing their real import, in even perceiving the possibility of human reason’s self-presenting them distinctly in thought. But let us reflect a little; let us suppose, as we may well do, that all human thinking on earth should cease, that even all terrestrial life here should come to an end. Let us for the moment with some scientists admit that the earth, continuing to turn around the sun as it is doing, will infallibly end by rushing into it. Then mind may well ask: That having happened, might there be no more *thought*, no more *life* even left anywhere actually being? And what about *act* itself? At the present time almost all non-Christian philosophers confound movement (or motion) and act; now, we can easily conceive that all movement should cease; the difficulty is to conceive of its lasting for ever. Well, if movement (or motion) in general should cease, according to those philosophers there would no longer be act:

¹ Given at page 219 in the Report: *Athen des Fünften Internationalen Kongresses Katholischer Gelehrten zu München*, and translated in the last number of *All Hallows Annual*.

there would be nothing therefore in act, nothing more actually existing. There would be only—'Nirvâna.' There should thus be said to be no absolutely necessary Being : for, if there were one, the total annihilation of existence would be impossible. On the contrary, the existence of an absolutely necessary or essentially existing Being follows from the absolute necessity of existence as the only sufficient reason of such necessity. For if of all the beings that exist actually *no one exists essentially*, each being capable of ceasing to exist, they may all cease at once, leaving nothing more actually existing (and thus existence could not be said to be absolutely necessary, there might be only 'Nirvâna'). The same reasoning may be applied to *life*, to *thought*, to *love*, to all that reflecting reason realizes in existence as the attributes of its self-judgments, the terms of its syntheses, ending always with requiring a Being essentially existing to be as *living, thinking, loving* agent the really determining reason of the necessity of what is in general expressed by these terms. That is why I noticed at the beginning that the question of the existence of God, regarded as *object of Metaphysics*, appertaining to pure reason's consideration, ought, in final analysis, be referred to the self-evidently essential or *a priori* truth of the judgments of which we are speaking : for instance, the question of the existence of a necessary Being, to the necessity of existence in general ; that of an essentially living Being, to the absolute necessity of life, that of an essentially thinking or personal Being, to the absolute necessity of thought, and so on (that of one essentially loving—of God as Love's Self or Good-Will Self-subsisting—to the self-evident necessity of love or good-will in general). 'Qui donc'—I continued, as using French, giving to my thought a form of expression I would not, indeed could not well, give it in English—'Qui donc dit : *Vive Dieu*, dit : *Vive la vie, la science, l'amour ! vive tout ce que la raison saisit en acte avec un caractère de perfection et auquel elle se trouve forcée de tendre comme à son terme : quia Deus scientiarum Dominus est, et ipsi præparantur cogitationes.*' (Reg. II, '3.)

Whatever may be said of the logical value of the way it is presented, there assuredly *is* presented my view as to the proper solution of 'the problem I proposed for discussion.'

Here, I admit, it may reasonably be asked, as in the way of objection was asked by one of my Continental critics : 'What, if accepted, is the practical outcome of this view but the logical supremacy of Love's concept in the rational series of reflection's self-data ?' In other words : 'Con-

ceding the *series* to be as thus taken, what is the term-truth of the whole but the supremacy of Love in the order of actuality's dialectical consideration? Certainly, from the purely logical point of view of this ideal self-presentation, the 'supremacy of Love' is the logical 'term-truth of the whole.' In reason's series of self-evident synthetic judgments, as I have elsewhere shown in detail, the attribute appearing as supreme term of *being in act* is *love*, not *thought*; still less is it *life*. Loving implies thinking with knowledge, as thinking implies living and living implies *acting* in the way of one's nature. While, as *acting* does not imply living, nor living imply thinking, thinking does not imply loving what is thought of or *loving* at all. In its first true sense, therefore, as energizing good-will on the part of thinking or conscious being, Love shows in the series as the perfection of *being in act*. Dialectically regarded, it shows there as all-implying verb or reason-word or *logos* giving act's supreme thought-term. So far it may logically be said that 'Love's supremacy' is the 'term-truth of the whole.'

This, however, I hold, it is to be said not merely in the logical, rational, subjective sense of the saying, but in the ontological, real, objective sense also: and wholly and absolutely so, in the physical and metaphysical and moral order of truth. Thence it is that while the act of love self-realized (*philo*) is philosophy's first full *datum* (*primum philosophicum*), love's supremacy *in act* is philosophy's full outcome—*culmen atque corona*—the one rational ground of morality, the foundation of Ethics. That it will be seen to be, regard it as one may: in the light of reason or revelation; in the way of poetic vision, or philosophic speculation or practical review of the results of human experience in the government of individuals, of families, of communities and of nations. Thus it may finally be said that while, regarded in the abstract, in the way of act's abstract consideration, Love is, scholastically speaking, the material, *Love's supremacy in act* is the formal 'foundation of Ethics.' So that from the absolutely real, concrete, synthetic, theological point of view, this 'foundation' should purely and simply be said to be God—The Supreme—as Supreme Good Will—as Love Self-subsisting, Love's Essential Self.

In modern modes of presenting this view for approval or disapproval there is so much confusion, not of terms only, but also of thought-truths, it is here well to remember that clearly our rational nature's fundamental dictate, made in its own act-abstract way, is—'first of all, *love*.' Then for supreme term-thought, put in thought-truth's naturally self-echoing way, the dictate gives—'*love Love*': hence everywhere and always strive to be acting lovingly and to make others be acting lovingly and thus be loved of all life truly loving; and this for Love's own sake, for Love is the All-good, what on the whole is best—so above all and before all, '*love Love!*' On the other hand, Truth-Incarnate's teaching, assuming love, in love's own living personal way puts it: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and with thy whole soul and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and first commandment. And the second is like to this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments dependeth the whole law and the prophets.' Each one's fundamental mandate is—'first of all, *love!*' But for supreme object of that tending, the term-thought in one order is simply 'Love;' in the other, it is the Supreme Self, it is 'God.' The thought harmonising both is that of the supreme truth: 'God is Love'—The Absolute (as such in regard to us The Supreme) is Absolute Good-Will—'Whereunto every will is speaking'—*Cui omnis voluntas loquitur*.

Elsewhere I have had occasion to emphasise the fact that when all is said that may be said on this question of really-rational foundation for the constructive efforts of human life's highest aims, about which so much is said and written at the present day, one statement remains assured and clear: it is that this one really rational foundation is God—The Absolute—conceived as, for being Ab-solute, 'The First and the Last,' so thought-wise showing every way supreme in regard to all else that in any way may be. Evolving that statement I here only note that while, conceived as Absolute Life, He is to be considered the foundation of Art in all its forms; and as Absolute Thought or Truth, the foundation of Science in general; so of Ethics,

morality, rectitude or universal self-government, He must be considered the foundation as being Absolute Love, Love Self-subsisting, The *Being* Who is *Love*. Accordingly whoever in the way of government may be said, in any capacity, to represent Him among men, in that capacity must universally be understood, in due degree and measure, to present the personal character that is His as being Who 'is Love' in truth and deed.

In this connection there is for us now distinct actuality in an utterance of the present Pope—*qui ex littore venit ignis ardens*—when referring to the Papacy in a sermon preached there while he was yet Patriarch of Venice. 'The Pope'—he said—'represents Jesus Christ Himself and therefore is a loving Father. The life of a pope is a holocaust of love for the human family. His word is love; love, his weapon; love, the answer he gives to all those who hate him; love, his flag—the cross, which signed the greatest triumph on earth and in Heaven.' That not the doctrine alone there so distinctly expressed, but the spirit there breathing still goes to form his notion of 'the Papacy,' now that he himself is 'The Pope,' is for such as we most touchingly evidenced in his late—his first—Encyclical to the world. Addressing the Church's chief pastors in reference to their priests, he says:—"Be not lacking in solicitude for young priests who have just left the seminary. From the bottom of our heart we urge you to bring them often close to your breast, which should burn with celestial fire—kindle them, inflame them, so that they may aspire solely after God and the salvation of souls.' Surely, not sense only, or reason's mere light, but love's *ignis ardens* shows there. And, love, observe, there shows in its first true sense as energizing good-will: that of whose absolute existence and absolute supremacy the advent of the World's 'Prince of Peace' was the Divine Self-revelation to Mankind. So in effect, on the morning of that supreme revelation, Earth's lowliest heard the citizens of Heaven singing: 'Glory be to God (The Absolute Good-Will) on High, and peace to men of good-will on earth.'

T. J. O'MAHONY.

MORLEY'S LIFE OF GLADSTONE¹

MR. MORLEY has achieved a notable triumph in his great biography. The work has put to the test his highest powers as a writer, a scholar, a historian and a friend, and they have proved equal to the strain. It is impossible to take up any one of the three volumes without being attracted as much by the charm of the style as by the absorbing interest of the subject. No doubt the style is uneven, and, in parts, does not, in our opinion, represent Mr. Morley at his best; but on the other hand there are passages that could scarcely be surpassed in the beauty of form and the finish of the narrative. There are also passages that will sound a little harsh and somewhat unfair in the ears of Catholics. There are in particular a few sentences that we regard as slightly unjust to the Irish clergy; but then Mr. Morley is a man whose sincerity everyone must respect and for whose judgments allowances can be made that deprive his hardest expressions of their sting.

In the most troubled times in Ireland Mr. Morley certainly was not behind the scenes and had little opportunity of forming an opinion as to the attitude of the Irish clergy towards the most violent sections in a disturbed society. He is therefore not in a position to judge accurately either of their influence or of their inclinations. If some day or other he has time to examine the question fully we are confident that several of his expressions in these volumes will not be maintained. We should add that apart from the few expressions to which we have referred, his tone is on the whole fair and friendly.

In each of the volumes we find chapters of fascinating interest to Catholics. Early in the first volume, for in-

¹ *Life of William Ewart Gladstone.* By John Morley. 3 Vols. London Macmillan. 1903.

stance, we come on a chapter headed 'Maynooth,' in which Mr. Morley relates how Gladstone resigned his post of President of the Board of Trade on Sir Robert Peel's proposal to increase the grant to the College, to put the grant on the Consolidated Fund, and to incorporate the Trustees.

It was not that Gladstone was then directly opposed to the increased endowment; but that the principle of the concession ran counter to the fundamental principles of the relations between Church and State which he had expounded in a famous work but six years before. It is curious that Gladstone himself should have suggested that he might then be employed as envoy to the Vatican.

One of the most powerful chapters in the whole work is that which deals with Gladstone's visit to Naples in 1850, and the campaign that he started against King Ferdinand and his government on his return to England. Mr. Morley relates how he was brought into contact with the revolutionary party through the medium of Panizzi and Lacaita.

Sitting in court for long hours during the trial of Poerio, he listened with as much patience as he could command to the principal Crown witness giving such evidence that the tenth part of what he said should not only have ended the case, but secured condign punishment for perjury—evidence that a prostitute court found good enough to justify the infliction on Poerio, not long before a Minister of the Crown, of the dreadful penalty of four-and-twenty years in irons. Mr. Gladstone accurately informed himself of the condition of those who for unproved political offences were in thousands undergoing degrading and murderous penalties. He contrived to visit some of the Neapolitan prisons, another name for the extreme of filth and horror: he saw political prisoners chained two and two in double irons to common felons; he conversed with Poerio himself in the Bagno of Nisida chained in this way; he watched sick prisoners, men almost with death in their faces, toiling up stairs to see the doctors, because the lower regions were too foul and loathsome to allow it to be expected that professional men would enter. Even these inhuman and revolting scenes stirred him less, as it was right they should, than the corruptions of the tribunals, the vindictive treatment for long periods of time of uncondemned and untried men, and all the other proceedings of the Government, 'desolating entire classes upon which the life and growth of the nation depend, undermining the foundation of all civil rule.' It was this violation of all law and of

the constitution to which King Ferdinand had solemnly sworn fidelity only a year or two before that outraged him more than even rigorous sentences and barbarous prison practice.

We have frequently seen the other side of the picture, and it is well to bear in mind that there is another side to it ; but it is also well to see the case put at its worst by the master-hand of a sympathiser with the movement of which these men were the victims.

In the second volume there are other chapters on Italian affairs of scarcely less interest : but the chief attraction in the second volume will be found in the sections in which Mr. Morley deals with Gladstone's famous University Bill of 1873, with his subsequent retirement from office and angry campaign against 'Vaticanism' :—

Everybody knew [writes Mr. Morley] that the state of University Education in Ireland stood in the front rank of unsettled questions. Ever since the establishment of three provincial colleges by Peel's Government, in 1845, the flame of the controversy had been alight. Even on the very night when Graham introduced the Bill creating them, no less staunch a Tory and Protestant than Sir Robert Inglis had jumped up and denounced 'a gigantic scheme of godless education.' The Catholics loudly echoed the Protestant phrase. The three colleges were speedily condemned by the Pope as fatal to faith and morals, and were formally denounced by the Synod of Thurles in 1850. The fulminations of the Church did not extinguish these modest centres of light and knowledge, but they cast a creeping blight upon them. In 1865 a demand was openly made in Parliament for the incorporation by charter of a specifically Catholic University. Mr. Gladstone, along with Sir George Grey, then admitted the reality of a grievance, namely, the absence from Ireland of institutions of which the Catholics of the country were able to avail themselves. Declining, for good reasons or bad, to use opportunities of college education by the side of Protestants, and not warmed by the atmosphere and symbols of their own Church and faith, Catholics contended that they could not be said to enjoy equal advantages with their fellow-citizens of other creeds. They repudiated a system of education repugnant to their religious convictions, and in the persistent efforts to force 'godless education' on their country, they professed to recognise another phase of persecution for conscience' sake.

It is worth while quoting Mr. Morley's account of the

impressions made by Mr. Gladstone's first pamphlet on 'Vaticanism':—

That the pamphlet [he says] should create intense excitement was inevitable from the place of the writer in the public eye, from the extraordinary vehemence of the attack, and above all, from the unquenchable fascination of the topic. Whether the excitement in the country was more than superficial; whether most readers fathomed the deep issues as they stood, not between Catholic and Protestant, but between Catholic and Catholic within the fold; whether in fastening upon the civil allegiance of English Romanists Mr. Gladstone took the true point against Vaticanism—these are questions that we need not here discuss. The central proposition made a cruel dilemma for a large class of the subjects of the Queen: for the choice assigned to them, by assuming stringent logic, was between being bad citizens if they submitted to the decree of Papal Infallibility, and bad Catholics if they did not. Protestant logicians wrote to Mr. Gladstone that if his contention was good we ought now to repeal Catholic Emancipation and again clap on the fetters. Syllogisms in action are but stupid things after all, unless they are checked by a tincture of what seems paradox. Apart from the particular issue in his Vatican pamphlet Mr. Gladstone believed himself to be but following his own main track in life and thought in his assault upon 'a policy which declines to acknowledge the high place assigned to liberty in the counsels of Providence, and which upon the pretext of the abuse that like every other good she suffers, expels her from its system.'

The third volume brings us down to events with which the public of our day are more familiar. It covers a great deal of ground—Majuba, the Soudan, Egypt, Home Rule, the Special Commission, the breach with Parnell, the last administration, the retirement from public life, and the close.

Nobody who wishes to become acquainted with the inner history of the events of the last twenty-five years can afford to dispense with this part of Mr. Morley's work. Here we can only quote one or two of the descriptive passages in which the author so much excels. Describing one of Parnell's speeches on the Home Rule Bill of 1886, he says:—

The Irish Leader made one of the most masterly speeches that ever fell from him. Whether agreeing with or differing from the policy, every unprejudiced listener felt that this was

not the mere dialectic of a party debater, dealing smartly with abstract or verbal or artificial arguments, but the utterance of a statesman with his eye firmly fixed upon the actual circumstances of the nation for whose government this Bill would make him responsible. As he dealt with Ulster, with finance, with the supremacy of Parliament, with the loyal minority, with the settlement of education in an Irish legislature, soberly, steadily, deliberately, with that full, familiar, deep insight into the facts of a country which is only possible to a man who belongs to it and has passed his life in it, the effect of Mr. Parnell's speech was to make even able disputants on either side look little better than amateurs.

Mr. Morley's description of Parnell's downfall is very vivid. After the proceedings in the Divorce Court, he says:

In England and Scotland loud voices were speedily lifted up. Some treated the offence itself as an inexpiable disqualification. Others argued that even if the offence could be passed over as lying outside of politics, it had been surrounded by incidents of squalor and deceit that betrayed a character in which no trust could ever be placed again. In some English quarters all was expressed with a strident arrogance that set Irishmen on fire. It is ridiculous, if we remember what place Mr. Parnell filled in Irish imagination and feeling, how popular, how mysterious, how invincible he had been, to blame them because in the first moment of shock and bewilderment they did not instantly plant themselves in the judgment-seat, always so easily ascended by Englishmen with little at stake. The politicians in Dublin did not hesitate. A great meeting was held at Leinster Hall, in Dublin, on Thursday, November 20th. The result was easy to foresee. Not a whisper of revolt was heard. The chief Nationalist newspaper stood firm for Mr. Parnell's continuance. At least one ecclesiastic of commanding influence was supposed to be among the journal's most ardent prompters. It has since been stated that the Bishops were in fact forging bolts of condemnation. No lurid premonitory fork or sheet flashed on the horizon; no rumble of the coming thunders reached the public ear.

Later on, however, Mr. Morley does justice to the Irish Bishops, quoting Dr. Walsh's telegram to an Irish member, and another telegram of Dr. Croke, whom he describes as 'a manly and patriotic Irishman if ever one was.' With great verve and power the author leads us through the last campaign, and thus tersely concludes:—

Yet undaunted by repulse upon repulse, he (Parnell) tore over

from England to Ireland and back again, week after week, and month after month, hoarse and haggard, seamed by sombre passions, waving the shreds of a tattered flag. Ireland must have been a hell on earth to him. To those Englishmen who could not forget that they had for so long been his fellow-workers, though they were now the mark of his attack, these were dark and desolating days. No more lamentable chapter is to be found in all the demented scroll of aimless and untoward things that seem as if they made up the history of Ireland. It was not for very long. The last speech that Mr. Parnell ever made in England was at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in July, 1891, when he told the old story about the Liberal leaders, of whom he said there was but one whom he trusted. A few weeks later, not much more than ten months after the miserable act had opened, the Veiled Shadow stole upon the scene, and the world learned that Parnell was no more.

It is quite evident that, comprehensive as are these three volumes, the whole Gladstone has not been presented to us. Much has been held back either out of regard for persons still alive, or because it did not fall in with the main outline of the biographer's plan. And yet much of what has been held back must be full of interest for classes differing widely asunder. It was, we believe, Lord Rosebery who once stated in Gladstone's presence that it would take a limited liability company to write his life. Mr. Morley has done his part as head of the firm. Let us hope that his partners may not be too slow in doing theirs.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

PENANCES IMPOSED ON NEWLY-ORDAINED SUB-DEACONS, (OR DEACONS) AND PRIESTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Towards the end of the impressive ceremonies of ordination to Deaconship and Sub-Deaconship the officiating Prelate imposes a penance on the newly ordained. In the words of the Pontifical, the form runs thus :—‘ *Ad subdiaconatum (vel Diaconatum) ordinate dicite Nocturnum talis diei*, etc.’ What are we to understand by the ‘ *Nocturnum talis diei* ’ in question?

NEO-SACERDOS.

I. The Nocturn of the Divine Office to be read by the newly-ordained Deacons or Sub-Deacons will be that which is specified by the ordaining Bishop. He has power to designate the Nocturn of any particular office he desires, and this one, whichever it is, must be recited. Supposing the Bishop’s intention is not clearly expressed, the Congregation of Rites has laid down the following rule for interpreting it :—‘ *Nocturno talis diei intelligendus est Nocturnus ferialis, vel primus Festi aut Dominicae in Psalterio, prouti ordinatio in Feria, Festo aut Dominicae habita sit.*’ That is to say, if the Bishop, for instance, as he usually does, employs these words, ‘ *Dixite Nocturnum hujus diei*,’ etc., then we are to understand that he means the matins of the Ferial Office if the ordination takes place on a week-day, and the first Nocturn of the Dominical office if the ordination be held on a Sunday. But if instead of the words ‘ *hujus diei* ’ he were to use the words ‘ *hujus Festi*,’ then we should presume he meant the first Nocturn of the Festive office that happened

to be celebrated on the particular day of the ordination. A recent Decree² of the Congregation of Rites declares that the Nocturn thus prescribed does not include the Invitatory, Hymn or Lessons. It consists of the Psalms and Antiphons only. The question was asked: 'Utrum ad hunc Nocturnum etiam Psalmus *Venite exultemus*, *Hymnus*, et *Lectiones*, addendae sunt, vel potius sufficient Psalms cum respectivis Antiphonis ad talem Nocturnum spectantes?' And the answer was: '*Negative* ad I. partem; *Affirmative* ad II.' It is no longer then a matter of obligation to say anything except the Psalms, with their Antiphons, belonging to the Nocturn which is prescribed.

2. A point of kindred character to the above is also raised in connection with the three Masses that are imposed by way of penance on Neo-Sacerdotes. Must these Masses be private Votive Masses? Obviously they need not be *private* as contradistinguished from *solemn*. For we take it that 'quod abundat non vitiat.' Besides there is no obligation of offering them for the Bishop's intention, and *honoraria* may be accepted for them.³ The common impression is that they ought to be said as Votive Masses, and there is a Decree⁴ of the Congregation of Rites that seems to lend colour to this view. The question put was: '... Ad hoc ut obligatio isthaec facilius adimpleatur, possunt ne dictae Missae in diebus duplicibus minoribus celebrari?' and it was answered, '*Negative*, sed in diebus a Rubrica permissis.' This response, however, does not really militate against the opinion which says that the Masses need not be said as Votive Mass, but all it states is that assuming, as the query seemed to assume, that they are to be said as such, then they enjoy no privilege beyond the ordinary private Votive Masses. Since then there is nothing in the words of the Pontifical to the contrary, it may fairly be contended that the Masses in question may be said either as Votive Masses, or as the current Masses of the days on which

² S.R.C., 10th July, 1903.

³ Cf. Ballerini, n. 717.

⁴ N. 2802 (nov. col.)

they happen to be not only permitted, but prescribed. The *quality* is the only thing to be observed. So that a young Priest might discharge his obligation as far as these Masses are concerned, by saying the Mass of the Holy Ghost on the Festival of Pentecost, that of the Blessed Virgin on any of her Feasts, and that for the Dead on any of the days that are privileged *pro defunctis*.⁵

P. MORRISROE.

⁵ *Sic apud*, Eph. Liturgicas xvii., 553.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI DIVINA PROVIDENTIA

PII PAPAE X.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA, AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS, ALIOSQUE LOCORVM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES

VENERABILIBVS FRATRIBVS, PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBVS, ARCHIEPISCOPIS, EPISCOPIS, ALIISQUE LOCORVM ORDINARIIS, PACEM ET COMMVNIONEM CVM APOSTOLICAM SEDE HABENTIBVS

PIVS PP. X.

VENERABILIS FRATRES, SALVTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

E supremi apostolatus cathedra, ad quam, consilio Dei inscrutabili, euecti fuimus, vobis primum eloquuturos, nihil attinet commemorare quibus Nos lacrymis magnisque precibus formidolosum hoc Pontificatus onus depellere a Nobis conati simus. Videmur equidem Nobis, etsi omnino meritis impares, convertē in rem Nostram posse quae Anselmus, vir sanctissimus, querebatur quum, adversans et repugnans, coactus est honorem episcopatus suscipere. Etenim quae ille moeroris indicia pro se afferebat, eadem et Nobis proferre licet, ut ostendamus quo animo, qua voluntate Christi gregis pascendi gravissimum officii munus exceperimus. *Testantur, sic ille (Epp. l. iii. ep. 1). lacrymae meae et voces et rugitus a gemitu cordis mei, quales nunquam de me, ullo dolore, memini exiisse ante diem illam, in qua sors illa gravis archiepiscopatus Cantuariæ visa est super me cecidisse. Quod ignorare nequiverunt illi qui, ea die, vultum meum inspexerunt....Ego magis mortuo quam viventi colore similis, stupore et dolore pallebam. Huic autem de me electioni, imo violentiae, hactenus, quantum potui, servata veritate, reluctatus sum. Sed iam, velim nolim, cogor fateri quia quotidie iudicia Dei magis ac magis conatui meo resistunt, ut nullo modo videam me ea posse fugere. Unde iam, non tam hominum quam Dei, contra quam non est prudentia, victus violentiâ, hoc*

solo intelligo me uti debere consilio, ut, postquam oravi quantum potui, et conatus sum ut, si possibile esset, calix iste transiret a me ne biberem illum...meum sensum et voluntatem postponens, me sensui et voluntati Dei penitus committam.

Nec plane repugnandi causae, multae, et maximae, defuerunt Nobis. Praeterquam enim quod honore pontificatus, obtenuitatem Nostram, nullo pacto Nos dignaremur; quem non moveret ei se successorem designari, qui, cum ecclesiam sex fere ac viginti annos sapientissime rexisset, tanta valuit alacritate ingenii, tanto virtutum omnium splendore, ut vel adversarios in sui admirationem traduxerit et memoriam sui nominis factis praeclarissimis consecrarit?—Dein, ut pretereamus cetera, terrebat Nos, quam quod maxime, ea quae modo est humani generis conditio afflictissima. Quem enim lateat, consociationem hominum gravissimo nunc, supra praeiteritas aetates, atque intimo urgeri morbo; qui in dies ingravescens eamque penitus exedens ad exitium rapit? Morbus qui sit, intelligitis, Venerabiles Fratres: defectio abscessioque a Deo: quo nihil profecto cum perniciē coniunctius, secundum Prophetarum dictum: *Quia ecce, qui elongant se a te, peribunt* (Ps. lxxii. 27). Tanto igitur malo, pro pontificali munere quod demandabatur, occurrendum esse Nobis videbamus; arbitrabamur enim Dei iussum ad Nos pertinere: *Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna, ut evellas et destruas, et aedifices et plantas* (Ierem. i. 10); verum conscii Nobis infirmitatis Nostrae, negotium, quod dihil simul haberet morae et difficultatis plurimum, suscipere verebamus.

Attamen, quoniam numini divino placuit humilitatem Nostram ad hanc amplitudinem postestatis provehere; erigimus animum in eo qui Nos confortat, Deique virtute freti manum operi admoventes, in gerendo pontificatu hoc unum declaramus propositum esse Nobis *instaurare omnia in Christo* (Ephes. i. 10) ut videlicet sit *omnia et in omnibus Christus* (Coloss. iii. 11). Erunt profecto qui, divina humanis metientes, quae Nostra sit animi mens rimari nitantur atque ad terrenos usus partiumque studia detorquere. His ut inanem spem praecidamus, omni asservatione affirmamus nihil velle Nos esse, nihil, opitulante Deo, apud consociationem hominum futuros, nisi Dei, cuius utimur auctoritate, administros. Rationes Dei rationes Nostrae sunt; pro quibus vires omnes vitamque ipsam devovere decretum est. Unde si qui symbolum a Nobis expetant, quod

voluntatem animi patefaciat ; hoc unum dabimus semper : *Instaurare omnia in Christo !*

Quo quidem in praeclaro opere suscipiendo urgendoque illud Nobis, Venerabiles Fratres, alacritatem affert summam, quod certum habemus fore vos omnes strenuos ad perficiendam rem adiutores. Id enim si dubitemus, ignaros vos, non sane iure, negligentes putaverimus nefarii illius belli, quod nunc, ferme ubique, commotum est atque alitur adversus Deum. Vere namque in Auctorem suum *tramuerunt gentes et pupuli meditati sunt inania* (Ps. ii. 1) ; ut communis fere ea vox sit adversantium Deo : *Recede a nobis* (Iob. xxi. 14). Hinc extincta omnino in plerisque aeterni Dei reverentia, nullaue habita in consuetudine vitae, publice ac privatim, supremi eius numinis ratio ; quin totis nervis contenditur omnique artificio, ut vel ipsa recordatio Dei atque notio intereat penitus.

Haec profecto qui reputet, is plane metuat necesse est ne malorum, quae supremo tempore sunt expectanda, sit perversitas haec animorum libamentum quoddam ac veluti exordium ; neve *filius perditionis*, de quo Apostolus loquitur (II. Thess. ii. 3), iam in hisce terris versetur. Tanta scilicet audacia, eo furore religionis pietas ubique impetitur, revelatae fidei documenta oppugnantur, quaeque homini cum Deo officia intercedunt tollere delere prorsus praefracae contenditur ! E contra, quae, secundum Apostolum eundem, propria est *Antichristi* nota, homo ipse, temeritate summa, in Dei locum invasit, extollens se *supra omne quod dicitur Deus* ; usque adeo ut, quamvis Dei notitiam extinguere penitus in se nequeat, Eius tamen maiestate reiecta, aspectabilem hunc mundum sibi ipse veluti templum dedicaverit a ceteris adorandus. *In templo Dei sedeat, ostendens se tamquam sit Deus* (II. Thess. ii. 2).

Enimvero hoc adversus Deum mortalium certamen qua sorte pugnetur nullus est sanae mentis qui ambigat. Datur quidem homini, libertate sua abutenti, rerum omnium Conditoris ius atque numen violare ; veruntamen victoria a Deo semper stat : quin etiam tum prior clades imminet, quum homo, in spe triumphi, insurgit audentior. Haec ipse Deus nos admonet in Scripturis sanctis. *Dissimulat scilicet peccata hominum* (Sap. xi. 24), suae veluti potentiae ac maiestatis immemor : mox vero, post adumbratos recessus, *excitatus tamquam potens crapulatus a vino* (Ps. lxxvii. 65), *confringet capita inimicorum suorum* (Ps. lxxvii. 22) ; ut norint omnes quoniam rex omnis terrae Deus (Ib. xlvii. 8), et sciant gentes quoniam homines sunt (Ib. iv. 20).

Haec quidem, Venerabiles Fratres, fide certa tenemus et expectamus. Attamen non ea impediunt quominus, pro nostra quisque parte, Dei opus maturandum nos etiam curemus : idque, non solum efflagitando assidue : *Exsurge, Domine, non confortetur homo* (Ps. ix. 19) ; verum, quod plus interest, re et verbo, luce palam, supremum in homines ac naturas ceteras Dei dominatum adserendo vindicandoque, ut Eius imperandi ius ac potestas sancte colatur ab omnibus et observetur.—Quod plane non modo officium postulat a natura profectum, verum etiam communis utilitas nostri non conficiat trepidatio ac moeror, quum homines videant, partem maximam, dum quidem humanitatis progressus haud immerito extolluntur, ita digladiari atrociter inter se, ut fere sit omnium in omnes pugna? Cupiditas pacis omnium profecto pectora attingit, eamque nemo est qui non invocet vehementer. Pax tamen, reiecto Numine, absurde quaeritur : unde namque abest Deus, iustitia exsulat ; sublatâque iustitia, frustra in spem pacis venit. *Opus iustitiae pax* (Is. xxxii. 17).—Novimus equidem non paucos esse, qui studio pacis ducti, *tranquillitatis* nempe *ordinis*, in coetus factionesque coalescunt, quae ab *ordine* nominant. Pron tamen spes curasque inanes! Partes *ordinis*, quae pacem affere turbatis rebus reapse queant, unae sunt : partes faventium Deo. Has igitur promovere necesse est, ad easque qua licebit plures adducere, si securitatis amore incitatur.

Verum haec ipsa, Venerabiles Fratres, humanarum gentium ad majestatem Dei imperiumque revocatio, quantumvis licet conemur, numquam nisi per Iesum Christum eveniet. Monet enim Apostolus : *Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Iesus* (1 Cor. iii. 11). Scilicet unus ipse est, quem *Pater sanctificavit et misit in mundum* (Io. x. 36) ; *splendor Patris et figura substantiae eius* (Hebr. i. 3), Deus verus verusque homo : sine quo, Deum, ut oportet, agnoscere nemo possit ; nam *neque Patrem quis novit nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare* (Matth. xi. 27).—Ex quo consequitur, ut idem omnino sit *instaurare omnia in Christo* atque homines ad Dei obtemperationem reducere. Huc igitur curas intendamus oportet, ut genus hominum in Christi ditionem redigamus : eo praestito, iam ad ipsum Deum remigraverit. Ad Deum inquam, non socordem illum atque humana negligentem, quem *materialistarum* deliramenta effinxerunt ; sed Deum vivum ac verum,

unum natura personis trinum, auctorem mundi, omnia sapientissime providentem, iustissimum denique legis latorem, quosque plectat, praemia proposita vitutibus habeat.

Porro qua iter nobis ad Christum pateat, ante oculos est : per Ecclesiam videlicet. Quamobrem iure Chrysostomus : *Spes tua Ecclesia, salus tua Ecclesia, refugium tuum Ecclesia* (Hom. de capto Eutropio, n. 6). In id namque illam condidit Christus, quaesitam sui sanguinis pretio ; eique doctrinam suam ac suarum praecepta legum commendavit, amplissima simul impertiens divinae gratiae munera ad sanctitatem ac salutem hominum.

Videtur igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, quale demum Nobis vobisque pariter officium sit demandatum : ut consociationem hominum, a Christi sapientia aberrantem, ad Ecclesiae disciplinam revocemus ; Ecclesia vero Christo subdet, Christus autem Deo. Quod si, ipso favente, perficiemus, iniquitatem, cessasse aequitati gratulabimur, audiemusque feliciter *vocem magnam de coelo dicentem : Nunc facta est salus et virtus et regnum Dei nostri et potestas Christi eius* (Apoc. xii. 10).—Hic tamen ut optatis respondeat exitus, omni ope et opera eniti opus est ut scelus illud immane ac detestabile, aetatis huius proprium, penitus eradamus, quo se nempe homo pro Deo substituit : tum vero leges Evangelii sanctissimae ac consilia in veterem dignitatem vindicanda ; adserendae altius veritates ab Ecclesia traditae, quaeque eiusdem sunt documenta de sanctitate coniugii de educatione doctrinaque puerili, de bonorum possessione atque usu, de officiis in eos qui publicam rem administrant ; aequilibras demum inter varios civitatis ordines christiano instituto ac more restituenda.—Nos profecto haec Nobis, Dei nutui obsequentes, in pontificatu prosequenda proponimus, ac pro virili parte prosequemur. Vestrum autem erit, Venerabilis Fratres, sanctitate, scientia, agendorum usu, studio cum primis divinae gloriae industriis Nostris obsecundare ; nihil aliud spectantes praeterquam ut in omnibus *formetur Christus* (Gal. iv. 19).

Iam quibus ad rem tantam utamur adiumentis, vix dicere oportet ; sunt enim de medio sumpta.—Curarum haec prima sunt, ut Christum formemus in iis, qui formando in ceteris Christo officio muneris destinantur. Ad sacerdotes mens spectat, Venerabiles Fratres. Sacris namque quotquot initiati sunt, eam in populis, quibuscum versantur, provinciam sibi datam norint, quam Paulus suscepisse testatus est amantissimis iis verbis : *Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur*

Christus in vobis (Gal. iv.). Qui tamen explorare munus queant, nisi priores ipsi Christum induerint? atque ita induerint, ut illud Apostoli eiusdem usurpare possint: *Vivo ego, iam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus* (Gal. ii. 20). *Mihi vivere Christus est* (Philipp. i. 21). Quamobrem, etsi ad fideles omnes pertinet hortatio *ut occurramus in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi* (Ephes. iv. 3); praecipue tamen ad illum spectat qui sacerdotio fungitur; qui idcirco dicitur *alter Christus*, non una sane potestatis communicatione sed etiam imitatione factorum, qua expressam in se Christi imaginem praeferat.

Quae cum ita sint, quae vobis quantaque, Venerabiles Fratres, ponenda cura est in clero ad sanctitatem omnem formando! huic, quaecumque obveniant, negotia cedere necesse est. Quamobrem pars potior diligentiarum vestrarum sit de seminariis sacris rite ordinandis moderandisque, ut pariter integritate doctrinae et morum sanctitate floreat. Seminarium cordis quisque vestri delicias habetote, nihil plane ad eius utilitatem omittentes, quod est a Tridentina Synodo providentissime constitutum.—Quum vero ad hoc ventum erit ut candidati sacris initiari debeant, ne quaeso excidat animo quod Paulus Timotheo perscripsit: *Nemini cito manus imposueris* (I Tim. v. 22); illud attentissime reputando, tales plerumque fideles futuros, quales fuerint quos sacerdotio destinabitis. Quare ad privatam quancumque utilitatem respectum ne habetote; sed unice spectetis Deum et Ecclesiam et sempiterna animorum commoda, ne videlicet, uti Apostolus praeceperat, *communicetis peccatis alienis* (Ibid.). — Porro sacerdotes initiati recens atque e seminario digressi industrias vestras ne desiderent. Eos, ex animo hortamur, pectori vestro, quod coelesti igne calere oportet, admovete saepius, incendite, inflamate ut uni Deo et lucris animorum inhiant. Nos equidem, Venerabiles Fratres, diligentissime providebimus ne homines sacri cleri ex insidiis capiantur novae cuiusdam ac fallacis scientiae, quae Christum non redolet, quaeque, fucatis astutisque argumentis, *rationalismi* aut *semirationalismi* errores invehere nititur; quos ut caveret iam Apostolus Timotheum monebat, scribens: *Depositum custodi, devitans profanas vocum novitates et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae, quam quidam promittentes, circa fidem exciderunt* (I Tim. vi. 20 s.). Hoc tamen non impedimur quo minus laude dignos existimemus illos e sacerdotibus iunioribus, qui utilium doctrinarum studia,

in omni sapientiae genere, persequuntur, ut inde ad veritatem tuendam atque osorum fidei calumnias refellendas instructiores fiant, Veruntamen celare haud possumus, quin etiam apertissime profitemur, primas Nos semper delaturos iis qui, quamvis sacras humanasque disciplinas minime praetereunt, proxime nihilo secius animorum utilitatibus se dedant divinae gloriae studiosum. *Tristitia Nobis magna est et continuus dolor cordi Nostro* (Rom. ix. 2), quum cadere etiam in aetatem nostram conspicimus Ieremiae lamentationem; *Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat qui frangeret eis* (Thren. iv. 4). Non enim de clero desunt, qui, pro cuiusque ingenio, operam forte navent rebus adumbratae potius quam solidae utilitatis: at verum non adeo multi numerentur qui, ad Christi exemplum, sibi sumant Prophetarum dictum: *Spiritus Domini unxit me, evangelizare pauperibus misit me, sanare contritos corde, praedicare captivis remissionem et coecis visum* (Luc. iv. 18, 19).—Quem tamen fugiat, Venerabiles Fratres, quum homines ratione maxime ac libertate ducantur, religionis disciplinam potissimam esse viam ad Dei imperium in humanis animis restituendum? Quot plane sunt qui Christum oderunt, qui Ecclesiam, qui Evangelium horrent ignorance magis quam pravitate animi! de quibus iure dixeris: *quaecumque ignorant blasphemant* (Iud. ii. 10). Idque non in plebe solum reperire est aut in infima multitudine, quae ideo in errorem facile trahitur; sed in excultis etiam ordinibus atque adeo in iis, qui haud mediocri eruditione ceteroqui polleant. Hinc porro in plerisque defectus fidei. Non enim dandum est, scientiae progressibus extinguere fidem, sed verius inscitia; ut idcirco ubi maior sit ignorantia, ibi etiam latius pateat fidei defectio. Quapropter Apostolis a Christo mandatum est: *Euntes, docete omnes gentes* (Matth. xxviii. 19).

Nunc autem, ut ex docendi munere ac studio fructus pro spe edantur atque in omnibus *formetur Christus*, id penitus in memoria insideat, Venerabiles Fratres, nihil omnino esse caritate efficacius. *Non enim in commotione Dominus* (III. Reg. xix. 11). Allici animos ad Deum amariore quodam conatu, speratur perperam: quin etiam errores acerbius increpare, vitia vehementius reprehendere damno magis quam utilitati aliquando est. Timotheum quidem Apostolus hortabatur: *Argue, obsecra, increpa*; attamen addebat: *in omni patientia* (II Tim. iv. 2). Certe eiusmodi nobis exempla prodidit Christus. *Venite*, sic ipsum alloquutum legimus, *venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos* (Matth. xi. 28). Laborantes autem

oneratosque non alios intelligebat, nisi qui peccato vel errore tenerentur. Quanta enimvero in divino illo magistro mansuetudo! quae savitas, quae in aerumnosos quoslibet miseratio! Cor eius plane pinxit Isaias iis verbis: *Ponam spiritum meum super eum; non contendet neque clamabit; arundinem quasatam non confringet et linum fumigans non extinguet* (Is. xlii. 1 s.).—Quae porro caritas, *paciens et benigna* (1. Cor. xiii. 4), ad illos etiam porrigatur necesse est, qui sunt nobis infesti vel nos inimice insectantur. *Maledicimur et benedicimus*, ita de se Paulus profitebatur, *persecutionem patimur et sustinemus, blasphemamur et obsecramus* (Ibid. iv. 12 s.). Peiores forte quam sunt videntur. Consuetudine enim aliorum, praeiudicatis opinionibus, alienis consiliis et exemplis, malesuada demum verecundia in impiorum partem translati sunt: attamen eorum voluntas non adeo est depravata, sicut et ipsi putari gestiunt. Quidni speremus christianae caritatis flammam ab animis caliginem dispulsuram atque allaturam simul Dei lumen et pacem? Tardabitur quandoque forsitan laboris nostri fructus; sed caritas sustentatione nunquam defatigatur, memor non esse praemia a Deo proposita laborum fructibus sed voluntati.

Attamen, Venerabiles Fratres, non ea Nobis mens est ut, in toto hoc opere tam arduo restitutionis humanarum gentium in Christo, nullos vos clerusque vester adiutores habeatis. Scimus mandasse Deum unicuique de proximo suo (Eccli. xvii. 12). Non igitur eos tantum, qui sacris se addixerunt, sed universos prorsus fideles rationibus Dei et animorum adlaborare oportet: non morte utique quemque suo atque ingenio, verum semper Episcoporum ductu atque nutu; praeesse namque, docere, moderari nemini in Ecclesia datur praeter quam vobis, *quos Spiritus Sanctus posuit regere Ecclesiam Dei* (Act. xx. 28).—Catholicos homines, vario quidem consilio at semper religionis bono, coire inter se societatem, Decessores Nostri probavere iamdiu bonaque precatione sanxerunt. Institutum porro egregium Nos etiam laudatione Nostra ornare non dubitamus, optamusque vehementer ut urbibus agrisque late inferatur ac floreat. Verum enimvero consociationes eiusmodi eo primo ac potissimum spectare volumus, ut quotquot in illas cooptantur christiano more constanter vivant. Parum profecto interest quaestiones multas subtiliter agitari, deque iuribus et officiis eloquenter disseri, ubi haec ab actione fuerint seiugata. Postulant enim actionem tempora; sed eam quae tota sit in divinis legibus atque Ecclesiae praescriptis sancte integreque servandis, in re-

ligione libere aperteque profitenda, in omnigenae demum caritatis operibus exercendis, nullo sui aut terrenarum utilitatum respectu. Illustria eiusmodi tot Christi militum exempla longe magis valitura sunt ad commovendos animos rapiendosque quam verba exquisitaeque disceptationes; fietque facile ut, abiecto metu, depulsis praeiudiciis ac dubitationibus, quamplurimi ad Christum traducantur provehantque ubique notitiam eius et amorem; quae ad germanam solidamque beatitatem sunt via. Profecto si in urbibus, si in pagis quibusvis praecepta Dei tenebunter fideliter, si sacris erit honos, si frequens sacramentorum usus, si cetera custodientur quae ad christianae vitae rationem pertinent; nihil admodum, Venerabiles Fratres, elaborandum erit ulterius ut omnia in Christo instaurentur. Neque haec solum coelestium bonorum prosecutionem spectare existimentur: iuvabunt etiam, quam quae maxime, ad huius aevi publicasque civitatum utilitates. His namque obtentis, optimates ac locupletes aequitate simul et caritate tenuioribus aderunt, hi vero afflictioris fortunae angustias sedate ac patienter ferent; cives non cupiditati sed legibus parebunt; principes et quotquot rempublicam gerunt, quorum *non est potestas nisi a Deo* (Rom. xiii. 1), vereri ac deligere sanctum erit. Quid plura? Tunc demum omnibus persuasum fuerit debere Ecclesiam, prouti ab auctore Christo est condita, plena integraque libertate frui nec alienae dominationi subiici; Nosque, in hac ipsa libertate vindicanda, non religionis modo sanctissima tueri iura, verum etiam communi populorum bono ac securitati prospicere. Scilicet *pietas ad omnia utilis est* (I Tim. iv. 8): eaque incolumi ac vigente, *sedebit reapse populus in plenitudine pacis* (Is. xxxii. 18).

Deus, *qui dives est in misericordia* (Ephes. ii. 4), hanc humanarum gentium in Christo Iesu instaurationem benignus, festinet; *non enim volentis opus neque currentis, sed misercntis est Dei* (Rom. ix. 16). Nos vero, Venerabiles Fratres, *in spiritu humilitatis* (Dan. iii. 39), quotidiane et instanti prece id ab Eo contendamus ob Iesu Christi merita. Utamur praeterea praesentissima Deiparae impetratione: cui conciliandae Nobis, quoniam has litteras die ipsa damus, quae recolendo Mariali Rosario est instituta; quidquid Decessor Noster de octobri mense Virgini augustae dicando edixit, publicâ per templa omnia eiusdem Rosarii recitatione, Nos pariter edicimus et confirmamus; monentes insuper ut deprecatores etiam adhibeantur castissimus

Dei Matris Sponsus catholicae Ecclesia patronus sanctique Petrus et Paulus apostolorum principes.

Quae omnia ut rite eveniant et cuncta vobis pro desiderio fortunentur, divinarum gratiarum subsidia uberrime exoramus. Testem vero suavissimae caritatis, qua vos et universos fideles, quos Dei providentia Nobis commendatos voluit, complectimur, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, clero populoque vestro apostolicam benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud St. Petrum, die iv octobris MCMIII. Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIVS PP. X.

TRANSLATION OF TITULAR FEAST

E S. CONGREGATIONE DE PROPAGANDA FIDE

INDULTUM CONCEDENS TRANSLATIONEM FESTI TITULARIS

Beatissime Pater :

Jacobus Cardinalis Gibbons Archiepiscopus Baltimorensis aliique Statuum Foederatorum Americae Borealis Archiepiscopi in annuali conventu una simul congregati, a Sanctitate Tua humiliter petunt, ut ratione habita circumstantiarum eorum locorum, benigne concedere dignetur Indultum vi cuius in quibuscumque Statuum praedictorum ecclesiis, sive in urbibus sive extra, Titulare festum quando inciderit in diem feriale transferri valeat quoad extrinsecam solemnitatem ad Dominicam proxime insequentem, quemadmodum ibidem concessum fuit pro ecclesiis ruralibus et oppidulorum.

Ex Audientia SSmi. habita die 3 Feruarii 1903, SSmus. D. N. Leo Div. Prov. PP. XIII. referente infrascripto S. Congnis de Propag. Fide Secrio, attentis specialibus locorum circumstantiis, benigne indulsit ut in singulis supramemoratis ecclesiis, quibus annis titolare festum in diem feriale incidere, firma manente obligatione celebrandi Missam et persolvendi officium de eodem festo die in Calendario affixa, extrinseca ejus solemnitas cum Missa solemni et Vesperis transferri possit ad Dominicam proxime insequentem, dummodo non occurrat festum ritus duplicis primae classis, vel Dominica juxta rubricas privilegiata. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Aed. S. Congnis de Propaganda Fide die et anno ut supra.

ALOISIUS VECCHIA, *Secrius*.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY: (1.) THE GRANARD WORKHOUSE CASE—(2.) THE STARKIE SCANDAL—(3.) THE RUMOURED DEPARTMENTALISING OF PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION — (4.) THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION—(5.) NOVENA OF ST. PATRICK AND TEMPERANCE

At the meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland held at Maynooth College, on the 14th October, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

I.

We feel called upon to express our regret that the Local Government Board has not given adequate support and protection to the Sisters of Mercy in the Workhouse Hospital at Granard, and, much as we deplore the necessity which deprives the sick poor of their invaluable service, we desire to associate ourselves with the Bishop of Ardagh in the action which he has found it his duty to take in this painful case.

II.

We feel also called upon to declare that the terms of offence and disrespect which the Resident Commissioner of National Education in Ireland allowed himself to use with regard to the great body of clerical managers of National Schools in Ireland, and his unfounded charges of incompetence and neglect against them, have rendered communication between them and the National Education Office extremely difficult; and, furthermore, that the prospect of the fundamental changes in the system of National Education which the Resident Commissioner's statements seem to point to has created a feeling of distrust and anxiety. We are of opinion that some official steps ought to be taken to reassure the Catholics of Ireland, and to restore the relations of Managers with the National Education Board to their normal friendly condition.

III.

Rumours having gone abroad that changes are contemplated in the organisation of Primary and Secondary Education in this country which would have the effect of placing the organisation of our educational systems on a footing similar

to that of the Agricultural and Technical Department, we take the earliest opportunity of entering a protest against the introduction of any such scheme.

IV.

The following Resolution of the Association of Catholic Headmasters having been communicated to the meeting by the Honorary Secretary of the Association, the subjoined letter in endorsement of the Resolution was sent to the Honorary Secretary in reply :—

Resolved— That we, the heads of Catholic Secondary Schools in Ireland, renew, with all the emphasis in our power, our protest against the cruel wrong which is inflicted every year on large numbers of our students, by the system which refuses them suitable facilities for University Education, unless they disregard the voice of conscience, and violate the principles of their religion. Such persecution, under the sanction of laws before which all Irishmen are assumed to be equally entitled to the full rights and privileges of citizenship, is strictly and literally a continuation of the penal code, in spite of Emancipation, a maintenance of religious privilege, in spite of Disestablishment. We earnestly hope that the Government will recognise the gravity of the evil, which has been shown beyond doubt by the proceedings of the recent Royal Commission, and will realise the urgency of their obligation to provide an adequate remedy.—ANDREW MURPHY, *Hon. Sec.*'

The following is the letter sent to the Hon. Secretary of the Association :—

ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH,

14th October, 1903.

REV. DEAR SIR,—The Bishops assembled in General Meeting at Maynooth have had the Resolution of your Association on the Irish University question before them, and they instruct us to say that they cordially approve of the Resolution. They concur in your emphatic 'protest against the cruel wrong' which still continues to be inflicted every year on the students of our Catholic Schools and Colleges, and they join you in the ex-

pression of an earnest hope that the Government will recognise the gravity of the evil and take effective measures to provide a remedy for the intolerable grievance which our Catholic students are forced to endure.

(Signed),

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| ✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, | } Secretaries to the Meeting. |
| <i>Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,</i> | |
| ✠ JOHN, <i>Bishop of Elphin,</i> | |

V.

Where there are public Novenas for the Feast of St. Patrick, such Novenas shall in future be specially offered for the spread of temperance in Ireland.

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|---|---------------------------------|
| ✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS SHEEHAN, | } Secretaries to Meeting. |
| <i>Bishop of Waterford and Lismore,</i> | |
| ✠ JOHN CLANCY, | |
| <i>Bishop of Elphin,</i> | |

FUNERAL ORATION OF LEO XIII

DIE 30 IULII.

Tertio solennes exequiae persolvuntur in Sixtino Sacello. Omnes Emi Purpurati adsunt, exceptis Emo Moran ob itineris tarditatem, et Emo Celesia, ob adversam valetudinem. Rmus. Dnus. Aurelius Galli latinam recitat Orationem pro Pontifice defuncto, cuius tenor est :

LAUDATIO FUNEBRIS LEONIS PP. XIII.

Etsi hoc tanto squalore luctuque catholici nominis flere magis libet quam eloqui, praesertim in hoc augustissimo orbis terrarum consessu, in quo desiderium Parentis publici extat acerbius, sanctissimum tamen officium cum memoris gratiae tum pietatis iubet, Leonis XIII Pontificis Maximi laudes attingere. Eas equidem suspiciens intelligo multo esse maiores, quam ut digne possim dicendo assequi. Etenim cum de Leone XIII agitur, de eo Pontifice res est, quem, ob auctoritatem Pontificatus romani felicissime in omni genere prolatam, vel ingenia mores instituta omnemque actionem sapienter temperando catholicorum, vel

devium a Christo saeculum ad sanitatem animose revocando, aequi rerum aestimatores consentiunt, praestantissimo cuique Decessorum suorum comparandum iure videri. Verum ea me cogitatio recreat, Eminentissimi Patres, vos in hac laudatione non inanem ingenii contentionem requirere, sed magnarum virtutum, ipsam per se frugiferam, commemorationem: eo vel magis quod haec solemnia funeris, itemque extremi iudicii, quae hic spirat, tremenda maiestas clamant, praeterlabente figura huius mundi, sola stare recte sancteque factorum promerita. Neque vero mens est, neque, si velim, his angustiis temporis quam singula persequi, quaecumque Ille in Pontificatu tam diuturno tamque actuoso gesserit. Summa igitur rerum capita percurrens, nitar tanquam adumbratam referre imaginem sanctissimi Senis, atque ita ut satis appareat Ipsum, christianae reipublicae divinitus datum de societate hominum universa non minus, quam de Ecclesia, mirifice meruisse.

Vitam moresque Leonis intuenti, nihil tam est conspicuum quam singulare quoddam providentis Dei numen, simulque perpetuum deditissimae voluntatis obsequium eius providenti Deo. Equidem memini Ipsum audire cum candide profiteretur, illud se in omni vita habuisse solemne, nunquam sollicito animo prospicere in posterum, semper in divinae providentiae benignitate, tanquam in amantissimae sinu matris, conquirere. Prima quidem voluntatis divinae significatio, ad magna adolescentem vocantis, tum facta est, cum Is emenso Romae disciplinarum curriculo, magna cum laude ingenii, pietatis, diligentiae, initatusque sacerdotio, comparabat reditum in patriam, ut operam Episcopo Anagnino navaret. Siquidem Gregorius XVI, hominum rerumque spectator acerrimus, nihil tale cogitantem, inter antistites domus pontificalis adlectum Beneventanae provinciae praeficit; mox ad Spoletinam, dein ad Perusinam provehit. Notum qua fide, constantia, consilio, in summa difficultate rerum, mandata administrarit munera. Inde cum se reipublicae peritiorum, quam pro aetate, probasset (vix enim tertium et trigesimum annum attigerat), dignus est habitus, qui Damiatensis Archiepiscopus renuntiatus legationo begicae praecesset. Rebus ibi etiam bene et e sententia gestis, discedentem honestissimo praeconio Leopoldus rex est prosecutus ad Pontificem Maximum, qui eum Perusinae ecclesiae antistitem dixerat. Non defuere, qui auctores ei essent huius honoris dexteritate quadam detrectandi, quasi aditum sibi ad maiora intercluderet. Ipse autem Pontificis, non secus ac Dei voluntati obtemperandum

ratus, securus caetera, Perusiam ubi iamdudum erat in desiderio, rediit, perampla obedientiae praemia laturus. Nam cum nomnes pastoralis officii partes explere in exemplum videretur, et Patribus Cardinalibus non post multo est adscriptus, et id officium tenuit, cuius potestas est per interregnum maxima, et statim ab obitu Pii Noni, immortalis memoria digni Pontificis, magna suffragatorum consensione ad fastigium Apostolici muneris evectus est.

Hic enimvero, cum non satis firmus et ab aetate ingravescente et a valetudine videretur, tamquam revirescere, dante Deo, coepit; siquidem ad summam senectutem iuveni quadam alacritate processit. Vix dum in celsissimo dignitatis gradu collocatus, circumspexit animo nominis christiani tempora, primas ad universitatem catholicorum dedit litteras, quibus insidentia ubique mala denunciando, unice eis Ecclesiam mederi posse ostendit: hanc propterea liberam nullique obnoxiam esse oportere. Ita cum universam rationem proposuisset Pontificatus gerendi sui, cuius rationis haec summa erat, christianam formam in omni privatae publicaeque vitae cursu restituere, impiger instituit exsequi propositum. Ante omnia cum videret ortam e superioris aetatis procella *socialismi* pestem ipsa aggredi fundamenta convictus humani et societatis, maturavit iurium et officiorum vincula, quibus tenuim et locupletium ordines contineri inter se ex lege naturae praeceptisque evangelicis debent, in conspicuo ponere, graviterque confirmare. His documentis quasi perfectionem absolutionemque suam addidere deinceps de conditione opificum Litterae *Rerum novarum*; illud, inquam, mirabile christianae sapientiae prudentiaeque monumentum, unde civilis societas habet, quemadmodum sibi in causa gravissima consulat. Atque utinam ista plena salutis praecepta faciles in obsequium voluntates vulgo inveniant: iam non forent communitati hominum illa extrema discrimina metuenda, quorum iam ingruit formido. Utcumque erit, haec manebit aeterna Leonem laus, perniciem communium rerum multo ante providisse, eamque ut tempori averteret, laborasse pro viribus.

Quia vero in actione vitae moribusque populorum pervagata ratio philosophandi potest plurimum, ideo Pontifex, quo gliscentis usquequaque *rationalismi* itinera melius interciperet, Thomae Aquinatis disciplinam instaurandam omni ope curavit. Quo providentiae genere, in primis commendabili, tantum abest ut cursus retardarit ingeniorum, ad vetustatemve retruserit, ut potius germanas philosophiae progressionem magnopere incita-

rit, eo nimirum duce et magistro hisce studiis dato, quo nemo ad vestigandam veritatem cavendasque errorum fallacias praestantior. Ita, initia quoque ponenda censuit solidioris cuiusdam in clero doctrinae, utpote in qua, adiuncta, ut par est, pietate, intelligeret momenta ad salutem publicam inesse maxima. Atque huius rei gratia quae quantaque effecerit, docent cum nova condita collegia clericorum et aucta studiorum domicilia, tum opportuna per occasionem de litteris, de sacris doctrinis, de re publica vel consilia instituta vel documenta praebita.

Omnino nihil unquam fecit reliqui quod Ecclesiae interesset humanaeque societatis. Quoniamque utriusque fundamenta continet domestica societas, idcirco in hanc ipsam videmus praecipuas quasdam curas cogitationesque Leonis conversas. Nam vel ab exordiis Pontificatus et sanctitudinem christiani coniugii magnifice asseruit, et civilium statuta legum de divortiis gravissime improbens, hanc publicam familiarum cladem, sicubi gentium impenderet, prohibere, quantum in se erat, non destitit. Nec vero Pontificem fugiebat, unde hoc aequae ac caetera discrimina institutis christianis conflarentur maxime: nempe a malarum audacia sectarum, quae in populis passim serperent, Deo Ecclesiaeque Dei inimicissimae. Harum propterea conscelerata artesque nefarias in Litteris *Humanum genus*, ad ipsarum prohibenda contagia, rursus aperuit rursusque damnavit.

In genere autem politico cum probe teneret quam sit Ecclesiae et civitati perniciosum, civiles rationes a sacris distractas esse, quam utrique opportunum, easdem inter se amice cohaerere, nonne prudentissime id semper egit, ut salutarem vim catholicae religionis in venas rerum publicarum inferret? Nostis Pontificatus eius primordia in id tempus incidisse, cum civitates maximam partem aut suspicioso aut etiam infenso essent animo in Apostolicam Sedem. At nullis rerum difficultatibus deterritus Leo, urgere statim coepit propositum reconciliandae concordiae, cuius subinde praeclaram formam in Litteris de civitatum constitutione christiana exhibuit. Quodsi non omnia quae magno spectabat animo, pro temporum iniquitate est assecutus, successus tamen habuit sane laetabiles, inchoatamque meliorum rerum spem successoribus reliquit. Leone quippe adnitente, retractat hostiles Germania leges, lenius agit cum Polonis Russia, aequam se catholicis Anglia impertit, multae praeterea gentes pacem amicitiamque cum Ecclesia iungunt. Mitto prementia rem catholicam incommoda et illa ibi graviora, ubi

memoria singularium Leonis beneficiorum vicem maioris gratiae reposcebat. Quamquam quae civitas est, cui, necessario tempore, non egregie profuit? Testis Hispania, quam e belli faucibus eripuit, cum motam de Carolinis insulis controversiam splendido arbitrio composuit: et cui postea novo periculo laboranti Ipse dissimili quidem exitu, at simili paterni animi charitate pacis conciliator adfuit. Testes illae australis Americae republicae, quarum dissidia, interposita iudicii sui maiestate, sustulit. Atque eo proinde magis dolendum est, quod e conventu Hagae Comitibus habito ad pacem populis conservandam, Is propter domesticam Apostolici muneris invidiam exclusus fuerit, quem pro amplitudine officii et ob publica ipsius benefacta prae caeteris interesse ibidem oportebat. Quamvis autem italicarum conditio rerum, perquam iniuriosa Ecclesiae, non sineret a defensione dignitatis et libertatis suae requiescere Pontificem, beneficam tamen operam virtutemque Ipsius nempe in primis sensit Italia. Hic excitata vehementius hominum studia ad christiana instituta publice privatimque retinenda: hic potissime data opera ut actiosa catholicorum consilia, tamquam foederatis viribus, ad salutem communium rerum niterentur.

Praeterea ut in Ecclesiae incolumitate iuribusque tuendis, sic in eius finibus amplificandis eximia Pontificis industria eluxit. Universam quippe humanam familiam Apostolico amplexus animo, nullum genus fuit a veritate aberrantium, quod non ad sinum Ecclesiae matris invitarit amantissime. Quanto nominatim studio in id incubuit, ut Orientales ecclesias, quas discidium vetus a Romana seiunxerat, ad redintegrandam unitatem fidei revocaret! Nec timida hominum consilia nec asperitates rerum bona erectum spe Leonis animum ab incepto dimoverunt. Ad haec excitatis in Scotia, in Indiis Orientalibus, in Iaponia ordinibus hierarchicis, earum ecclesiarum disciplinam firmavit, incrementa provexit, decora ampliavit. Quid, quod dissitis etiam insulis oceani, et imperviis Africae regionibus Christus, eo auspice, illatus, et iura evangelicae libertatis asserta?

Porro christianos in populis refovere spiritus, quam diligenter institit! Huc pertinet, et Ordinis Franciscailum tertii instauratus vigor, et sacratissimo Iesu Cordi devotum ab Ipso humanam genus, et Sanctissimae Eucharistiae amplificatus cultus, maxime autem Marialis Rosarii crebris commendata litteris religio; ita plane ut, si caetera deessent promerita quae

fuere amplissima, eius Pontificatus hoc certe nomine, nimirum a pervulgato tam salutaris precationis usu, foret memorabilis. Neque haec dumtaxat : sed ut experrectiores faceret animos in christianarum cultu virtutum, compluries Iubilaeum extra ordinem indixit, oblatamque exeunte saeculo opportunitatem annum sacrum celebrandi, avidè arripuit : quo quidem anno toto alacrem nec sibi parcentem in sanctissimis caeremoniis vidimus augustum Senem. Ita, quod inimicis temporibus floret vigetque tamen popularis pietas, vigilantiae curisque huius tanti Pontificis magnam partam tribuendum est.

Cum igitur vim saluberrimam Pontificatus romani usquequaque adhibere pergeret Leo, feliciter factum est, ut catholicae gentes cum Apostolica Sede arctius, quam unquam antea, coalescerent. Cuius quidem coniunctionis sive testandae sive etiam augendae praeclaras opportunitates habuere eventus illi laetabiles, cum Pontifex annum quinquagesimum ab inito et sacerdotio et episcopatu complevit, et annos Petri in Romana Sede attigit alter excessitque. Scimus per eas faustitates quam industrie certarint inter se catholici passim homines gratulari honoremque habere beatissimo Patri : spectavimus expositam copiam immensam munerum, quae Sacerdos maximus ex omni ora ac parte terrarum acceperat : vidimus frequentiam peregrinorum continuatione quadam huc undique confluentium, ut oculos adspectu, animos precatione sancta Pontificis recrearent.

Multa, ne longior sim, praetereo ; illud praetereundum non est, quantam vel adversariis admirationem privatae ipsae hominis laudes movere consueverint. Fuit enim in Leone ingenium acerrimum, subtile intelligensque iudicium, poeticae quoque vis egregia, plurimae litterae ; fuit, quod caput est, summa integritas morum et, cum caetero virtutum comitatu, excelsi animi magnitudo. Qua constantia quam diutinas aerumnas in tutelam dignitatis suae toleravit Pontifex ! Scilicet Is unus ex Pontificum romanorum numero extitit, qui Apostolici officii munus in Vaticanis aedibus captivus auspicatus, captivus ibidem continenter totum exegerit. Sub exitum vero quam luculente patuit invictum a dolore aerumnisque pectus, erectaque Leonis mens in expectationem bonorum immortalium ! Omnino videbatur per eos dies christianus orbis, velut oblitus caeterarum rerum, suspensio inter spem metumque animo intueri in sanctissimum Senem, qui securitate incredibili cum morte confligebat. Magnum id quidem argumentum fuit communis in Pontificem studii reverentiaeque ; sed quae discessum eius secuta est omnium ex

omni ordine comploratio, eo planius indicat, Leonem XIII ob praeclarissima omne genus merita tale sui desiderium reliquisse, quod nunquam videatur diuturnitas posse delere.

Iamque ave et vale, sanctissime Pontifex, Ecclesiae catholicae ingens et mansurum decus! Nos hic praeconio quamvis impari tuas persequendo laudes, sensum aegritudinis, quam nobis fecisti decedens, temperare nitimur. Te Christus tot tantisque sua causa, defunctum laboribus, munere sempiternae pacis consolari, oramus quaesumusque supplices, maturet. Sed, quoniam auguratur animus Te, iam ad caelestes evectum sedes, Principis Pastorum consortio frui beatissimo, respice moerentem tanta orbitate Ecclesiam, cuius calamitosa tempora ipse indoluisti vel moriens, omnibusque precibus a Deo contende, ut ei rectorem largiatur persimilem Tui.

—Dein decima celebratur Cardinalium Congregatio. Numinis nuperrime cusum *Sede Vacante*, Emis. Patribus distribuitur.

THE DOMINICAN NUNS OF CABRA

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Nobis exponendum curaverunt, iam inde ab anno MDCXCVII rite institutum esse Dublini in Hibernia Monasterium, in quo Sanctimoniales Regulum et probatas Constitutiones secundi Ordinis S Dominici profitebantur. Porro Monasterium istud propter discrimina persecutionis de domo in domum non semel translatum, stabile tandem permansit apud Cabram, praedictae Dublinensis civitatis suburbium, ubi sub titulo S. Mariae de Cabra adhuc viget et floret. Eius autem iurisdictio, quae ad Superiores Ordinis S Dominici ab initio pertinebat, per Apostolicas Literas reverendae memoriae Gregorii XVI Decessoris Nostri ad Ordinarium Dublinensem pro tempore translata fuit. Postea vero ex huiusmodi Monasterio, ubi puellae instituendae excipiuntur, plures Sorores a strictae clausurae legibus rite solutae egressae sunt, ac votis suffragiisque locorum Ordinariorum adprobatae, pias alias illius Instituti domos in Hibernia, praesertim atque in Australiae et Americae regionibus condiderunt. Et cum uberes sint fructus, qui ex earundem S. Dominici filiarum laboribus legantur, in catholica potissimum puellarum institutione, Nos earum preces a Dilecto Filio Nostro Hieronymo Maria S. R. E. Presbytero Cardinali Gotti Praefecto S. Congregationis Christiano

nomini propagando commendatas benigne excepimus, eisque omnibus, quo ipsarum opera magis magisque in Domino augeantur, spirituales gratias libenter impertimur. Quare de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius auctoritate confisi, praesentium vi, indulgemus ac largimur, ut Dominicanae Sorores quae in Monasterio S. Mariae de Cabra et in aliis domibus ubicumque locorum a filiabus dicti Monasterii institutis, ad habitum et professionem iam admissae sunt vel in posterum rite admittentur, participes sint omnium Privilegiorum, Indulgentiarum et gratiarum spiritualium quibus gaudent Moniales secundi Ordinis S. Dominici, et quatenus opus sit, hanc participationem, Auctoritate Apostolica Nostra, denuo concedimus. Volumus vero, ut praedictae Sorores Regulam et Constitutiones, ut nunc apud eas vigent, fideliter observent, et Ordinariorum respective locorum iurisdictioni obsequenter subsint. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die xv Septembris mcccciii, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo.

ALOISIUS CARD. MACCHI.

POPE LEO XIII. ON THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN BOHEMIA

LEO XIII. HORTATUR BOHEMOS UT, NON OBSTANTE SERMONIS PATRII DIVERSITATE, CORDE ET ANIMO UNUM SINT

*Venerabilimus fratribus Theodoro Archiepiscopo Olomucensi
ceterisque Archiepiscopis Bohemiae et Moraviae*

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabiles fratres, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem :

Reputantibus saepe animo, quae sit conditio ecclesiarum vestrarum, occurrunt Nobis, quod nunc fere ubique, plena omnia metus, plena curarum. Illud tamen gravius apud vos incidit, quod, cum res catholica hostium externorum invidiae atque astui pateat, domesticas etiam caucas habet, quibus in discrimen trahatur. Dum enim haereticorum hominum opera palam obscuraque id agitur, ut error pervadat fidelium animos ; crebrescunt quotidie inter ipsos catholicos semina discordiarum : quae nihil sane aptius ad incidendas vires constantiamque fragendam. Potior autem dissensionis ratio, in Bohemis praesertim, repetenda est ex sermone, quo incolae, pro sua quisque origine, utuntur.

Insitum enim natura est acceptam a proavis linguam amare tue-
 rique velle, Nobis quidem a dirimendis de re hac controversiis
 abstinere decretum est. Profecto sermonis patrii tuitio si certos
 intra fines consistit, reprehensionem non habet : quod tamende
 ceteris privatorum iuribus valet, valere hic etiam tenendum est ;
 ne quid ex eorum prosecutione communis rei publicae utilitas
 patiatur. Est igitur eorum, qui publicam rem administrant, sic,
 aequitate incolumi, velle integra singulorum iura, ut commune
 tamen civitatis bonum stet atque vigeat. Quod ad Nos attinet,
 monet officium cavere sedulo, ne ex eiusmodi controversiis peri-
 clitetur religio, quae princeps est animorum bonum ceterorumque
 bonorum origo.

Itaque, Venerabiles Fratres, vehementer cupimus atque hor-
 tamur, ut fideles, cuique vestrum crediti, etsi ortu varii ae sermone
 sunt, eam tamen necessitudinem animorum retineant longe nobi-
 lissimam, quae ex communione fidei eorumdemque sacrorum
 gignitur. Quotquot enim in Christo baptizati sint, unum habent
 Dominum unamque fidem ; atque adeo unum sunt corpus unus
 que spiritus, sicut vocati sunt in una ope vocationis. Dedecet
 vero, qui tot sanctissimis vinculis coniunguntur eandemque in
 caelis civitatem inquirunt, eos terrenis rationibus distrahi, invi-
 cem, ut inquit Apostolus, provocantes, invicem invidentes. Haec
 ergo, quae ex Christo est, animorum cognatio, assidue fidelibus
 est inculcanda omnique studio extollenda. Maior est siquidem
 fraternitas Christi quam sanguinis : sanguinis enim fraternitas
 similitudinem tantum corporis refert, Christi autem fraternitas
 uanimitatem cordis animaeque demonstrat, sicut scriptum est :
 Multitudinis credentium erat cor unum et anima una (S. Maxim,
 inter S. Aug. C.).

Qua in re, homines sacri cleri exemplo ceteros anteire oportet.
 Praeterquam enim quod ab eorum officio dissidet eiusmodi se
 dissensionibus immiscere ; si in locis versantur, quae ab hominibus
 incoluntur, varii generis variaequae linguae, facile, ni ab omni
 contentionis specie abstinere, in odium offensionemque alteru-
 trius partis incurrent ; quo nihil sacri muneris exercitationi in-
 festius. Debent sane fideles re usuque cognoscere Ecclesiae
 ministros non nisi aeternas aestimare animorum rationes nec
 prorsus qua sua sunt studere, sed unice quae Jesu Christi. Quod
 si omnibus universe haec nota est, qua Christi discipuli dignos-
 cantur, ut dilectionem habeant ad invicem ; id de hominibus sacri
 cleri mutuo inter se multo magis tenendum est. Neque ideo

solum, quod Christi charitatem hausisse largius merito censendi sunt ; verum etiam, quod quisque eorum, fideles alloquens, debet Apostoli verbis posse uti ; Imitatores mei estote, sicut ego Christi (Philip. iii. 17). Facile quidem damus id esse factu perarduum, nisi elementa discordiarum mature ex animis eradantur ; tunc videlicet cum ii, qui in cleri spem adolescent, in sacris seminariis formantur. Quamobrem, Venerabiles Fratres hoc studiose curetis ut seminariorum alumni tempestive discant in fraternitatis amore simplici ex corde invicem diligere, utpote renati non ex semine corruptibili sed incorruptibili per verbum Dei vivi (Petr. i. 22, s.). Erumpentes autem animorum perturbationes cohibete fortiter, nec pacto ullo vigere patiamini ; ita, ut qui clero destinantur, si labii unius, ob originis discrimen, esse nequeunt, at certe cor unum sint atque anima una. Ex hac porro voluntatem concordia, quae in cleri ordine eluceat, illud ut iam innuimus, praeter cetera, commodum sequetur, quod sacrorum ministri efficacius monebunt fideles ne in tuendis vindicandisque iuribus, suae cuiusque gentis propriis praetereant modum nimiove studio abrepti iustitiam et communes reipublicae utilitates posthabeant.

Hoc namque, ob regionum vestrarum adiuncta, praecipuum modo esse officium sacerdotum putamus opportune importune fideles hortari, ut alterutrum diligant ; monereque assidue, christiano nomine dignum non esse, qui animo et re mandatum novum a Christo datum non impleat, ut diligamus invicem sicut ipse dilexit nos. Non autem is implet, qui caritatem ad eos tantum pertinere putet, qui lingua vel genere coniuncti sunt. Si enim inquit Christus, diligitis eos, qui vos diligunt, nonne et publicani hoc faciunt ? (Math. v. 46, s.) Nimirum charitatis christianae hoc proprium est, ut ad omnes aequae se porrigat, non enim, ut monet Apostolus, est distinctio iudaei ac graeci : nam idem Dominus omnium, omnes in omnes, qui invocant illum (Rom. x. 12). Deus autem qui charitas est, impertiat benigne, ut idem omnes sapiant, unanimes, idipsum sentientes, nihil per contentionem ; sed in humilitate superiores sibi invicem arbitrantur ; non quae sua sunt singuli considerantes, sed ea quae aliorum (Philip. ii. 2).

Horum vero sit auspex Nostraeque simul benevolentiae testis apostolica benedictio, quam vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, fidelibus cuique Vestrum commissis amantissime in Domino elargimur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xx. Augusti anno MCML. Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

NEW EDITION OF THE CATECHISM OF CARDINAL
BELLARMINE

ET ACTIS LEONIS ET E SECRETARIA BREVIUM

LEO XIII. PROBAT NOVAM EDITIONEM PARVI CATECHISMI
VENERABILIS CARDINALIS BELLARMINI

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabiles Fratres Nostri Episcopi Suburbicarii, ceterique Romanae regionis Antistites, cume in coetum convenissent, in eam unanimes ivere sententiam, ut Catechismus, quem minorem aiunt, a Venerabili Cardinali Roberto Bellarmino compositus, iterum edatur typis, ac nonnullis pro temporum necessitate, adiectis, in ipsorum dioecesibus ad christifideles erudiendos adhibeatur.—Quoniam de eo libro agitur, quem saeculorum usus et plurimorum Episcoporum Doctorumque Ecclesiae iudicium comprobavit; susceptum consilium, sanctum ac saluberrimum, placere Nobis etiam edicimus. Quare, praedictorum Venerabilium Fratrum studia in commissum cuique gregem amplissime laduantes, propositum eorumdem, Apostolica benedictione adhibita, confirmamus.

Ex Aedibus Vaticanis, die III Decembris, MDCCCCI, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

THE PENANCES IMPOSED AT ORDINATION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM. NEO-ORDINATI RECITENT
IMPOSITUM NOCTURNUM, OMISSIS INVITATORIO, HYMNO ET
LECTIONIBUS. DUBIUM.

Sacra Rituum Congregatio in *Granatensi* 11 Augusti 1860 ad XIV declaravit: 'Verba Pontificalis Romani *Nocturnum talis diei* intelligi de unico Nocturno in feriali, vel de prima dominica, ut in Psalterio, id est duodecim Psalmorum cum suis antiphonis de tempore, quem Episcopus ordinans designare potest vel ipsius diei quo habet ordinationem, vel alterius pro suo arbitrio. Quando vero Episcopus nihil aliud exprimit, quam id quod verba Pontificales referunt, dicendum esse Nocturnum feriae, quae respondeat illi diei in qua facta est ordinatio.' Insuper ex decreto eiusdem Sacra Congregationis N. 4042 *Urbis* 27 Iunii 1899 ad I 'Pro Nocturno talis diei intelligendus est Nocturnus ferialis, vel primus Festi, aut dominicae in Psalterio,

prouti Ordinatio in Feria., Festo aut dominica habita sit.' Nunc autem alia quaestio exorta et pro opportuna solutione proposita fuit; nempe: 'Utrum ad hunc Nocturnum etiam Psalmus *Venite exultemus*, Hymnus et Lectiones addendae sint, vel potius sufficiant Psalmi cum respectivis Antiphonis ad talem Nocturnum spectantes?'

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito voto Commissionis Liturgicae omnibusque accurate perpensis, propositae quaestioni respondendum esse censuit: 'Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.'

Atque ita rescripsit, die 10 Iulii 1903.

Ita reperitur ex Actis et Regestis Secretariae Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis, in fidem, etc.

Ex eadem Secretaria, die 10 Iulii 1903.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodic. S. R. C. Secr.

THE BLESSING OF NUNS

VIENNENSIS. SACERDOTES, ETSI AD CONFESSIONES MONAILIUM AUDIENDAS NON APPROBATI, POSSUNT, EX DELEGATIONE ORDINarii, IIS ABSOLUTIONES GENERALES ET BENEDICTIONES APOSTOLICAS IMPERTIRI

Episcopus Orthosiensis, Auxiliaris Emi. Archiepiscopi Viennensis in Austria, relate ad Decretum S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae in una *Bonomiensi* a. d, 11 Februarii 1903,¹ eidem S. Congregationi sequens dubium solvendum proposuit:

'Utrum Ordinarius, sub cuius iurisdictione Moniales Tertiariae degunt, ad absolutiones generales et benedictiones apostolicas eisdem Monialibus impertiendas, delegare possit Sacerdotem sibi benevisum ad audiendas Monialum confessiones non approbatum?'

Porro S. Congregatio ad praefatum dubium respondendum mandavit:

'Affirmative.'

Datum Romae e Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 27 Maii 1903

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ FRANCISCUS SOGARO, Archiep. Amiden., *Secr.*

¹ Latina versio.

INDULGENCES TO A TEMPERANCE SOCIETY

NONNULLAE CONCEDUNTUR INDULGENTIAE SODALIBUS CUIUSDAM
CONSOCIATIONIS A TEMPERANTIA, DE DIOCESI NANNETENSI

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam,

Cum sicut accepimus in Parochiali Ecclesia loci dicti 'Plessé' in Diocesi Nannetensi pia quaedam Consociatio a temperantia sub invocatione B. M. V. a perpetuo succursu canonice ut asseritur erecta vel erigenda existat cuius Sodales praeter abstinenciam a poculis complura pietatis et charitatis opera exercere consueverint seu intendant, Nos ut huiusmodi Consociatio maiora quotidie capiat incrementa, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius Auctoritate confisi omnibus et singulis Christifidelibus qui dictam Sodalitatem in posterum ingredientur, die primo eorum ingressus si vere poenitentes et confessi SSmum Eucharistiae Sacramentum sumpserint, Plenariam, ac tam descriptis quam pro tempore describendis in dicta Sodalitate Sodalibus in cuiuslibet eorum mortis articulo, si vere quoque poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione refecti vel quatenus id facere nequiverint saltem contriti nomen Iesu ore, si potuerint, sin minus corde devote invocaverint, etiam plenariam, nec non eisdem nunc et pro tempore existentibus dictae Sodalitatis Sodalibus qui praefatae Sodalitatis Ecclesiam seu capellam vel oratorium die festo principali dictae Sodalitatis per eosdem Sodales semel tantum eligendo et ab Ordinario approbando, vel uno quo cuique eorum libeat, ex septem diebus continuis immediate sequentibus singulis annis devote visitaverint, ibique pro Christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint, Plenariam similiter omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Insuper dictis Sodalibus saltem corde contritis Ecclesiam seu Capellam vel Oratorium huiusmodi in quatuor aliis anni feriatis, vel non feriatis, seu dominicis diebus per memoratos Sodales semel tantum eligendis et ab eodem Ordinario approbandis ut supra visitantibus et ibidem orantibus, quo die praedictorum id egerint, septem annos et totidem quadragenas; quoties vero quodcumque aliud pietatis seu charitatis opus iuxta Societatis Institutum peregerint, toties sexaginta

dies de iniunctis eis seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones et poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam animabus fidelium in Purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XVI Februarii MDCCCIII, Pontificatus nostri anno vigesimo quinto.

Pro Dno Card. MACCHI.
N. MARINI, *Substit.*

NEW PREFECTURE APOSTOLIC

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE. SUPER NEG. ECCL. EXTR.
PRAEFECTURA APL. ' LA INTENDENCIA ORIENTAL ' ERIGITUR IN
COLUMBIANA REPUBLICA, ET COMMITTITUR CONGREGATIONI
' LA COMPAGNIE DE MARIE '

Ex Audientia SSmi. Die 23 Iunii 1903.

Cum perplures gentis Indicae tribus in territorio Columbianae Reipublicae, in America Meridionali, diffusae inveniantur, quae sine religionis lumine et sine regula morum vivunt, optimo sane consilio inter S. Sedem et Gubernium Columbianum, die 29 Decembris anni 1902, Conventio inita est eum in finem, ut earundem tribuum evangelizationi christianaque institutioni faciliiori ac promptiori modo provideri possit. Idecirco in praedicta Conventione nonnullae apostolicae Praefecturae proponuntur erigendae, quas inter, et magni quidem momenti, missio vulgo '*La Intendencia Oriental*' nuncupata: cui Praefecturae, in appendice ad eandem Conventionem, sequentes limites adsignantur: 'Partiendo del punto en que el tercer meridiano al E. de Bogotá corta el río Meta, sigase la corriente de este río hasta el Orinoco; yendo contra corriente del Orinoco (límite con Venezuela) hasta la Piedra del Cocuy, que es un extremo de la frontera entre la dicha República de Venezuela y el Brasile; recorranse los límites de Colombia con el Brasil y el Perú, hasta llegar al referido tercer meridiano al E. de Bogotá.'

Cum vero eiusmodi Praefectura Apostolica curis missionariorum demandanda sit, expediens visum est illam committere Congregationi '*La Compagnie de Marie*' nuncupatae. Quae

omnia Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni divina Providentia PP. XIII per me infrascriptum Secretarium S. C. Negotiis Ecclesiasticis Extraordinariis praepositae relata, Sanctitas Sua benigne approbare et confirmare dignata est : ea tamen lege, ut Praefectus Apostolicus ab hac S. Congregatione sit nominandus caeterique religiosi sacerdotes eiusdem religiosae societatis, Apostolicae Praefecturae addicti, quoad regularum observantiam, a suo Superiori Generali immediate debeant. Super quibus eadem S. Sua mandavit hoc edi decretum et in acta praeaudatae S. Congregationis referri.

Contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae e Secret. eiusdem S. Cong. die, mense et anno praedictis.

L. ✠ S.

✠ PETRUS, Archiep. Caesariensis, *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MAYNOOTH AND THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION. EVIDENCE BEFORE THE ROYAL COMMISSION. With an Introduction. By the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dea, Bishop of Clonfert. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd.; M. H. Gill & Son. 1903. Price 6*d.* net.

FOR reasons which, we are sure, the author of this pamphlet will not fail to appreciate, we have hitherto found no convenient opportunity of giving it the eulogy it deserves. It is needless to say that we had already seen the evidence itself in the pages of the Blue Book. Indeed before ever it appeared in the published Report, and even before it was submitted to the Commissioners in that gloomy room of Victoria-street, Westminster, on the 23rd of May, 1902, we had some idea of its scope and purport, as well as of the magnitude of the labour that it represents.

As the chief arguments and proposals in the evidence have for a long time been before the public in the newspapers, we must here confine our attention to what is comparatively fresh in the pamphlet, viz., the 'Introduction.'

In this 'Introduction,' Dr. O'Dea grapples with the question of the higher education of the clergy, which is, in many respects, the most crucial and delicate of all the critical questions involved in the University settlement.

Briefly stated, Dr. O'Dea's solution of the difficulty is that Maynooth College should be brought within the lines of whatever scheme or combination is adopted for the University education of Catholics, that its examinations in arts and theology should, as far as they go, count as University examinations, and that no effort should be spared to bring them up to a University standard. On the other hand, he would have in direct contact with the University in Dublin a house of residence, first of all for advanced students in Theology, transferring the Dunboyne establishment bodily to this new Divinity School, and then selected students in Arts whether for special subjects or for the ordinary training of the University. The Faculty of Theology would be both in Maynooth and in Dublin, and the closest connection should be established between the Arts Schools of the two colleges.

On this momentous issue we shall only say here that whatever one's private inclination may be as between the two proposals that have been put forward to meet the special requirements of the clergy, there can be no doubt that the great weight of authority amongst the clergy themselves is opposed to what is known as 'The Dublin Solution' pure and simple. Maynooth must not be broken up, and her Arts School must be maintained whatever it may cost. Practical men will, therefore, not contend for something that is impossible; and those who prefer the Dublin solution must be satisfied to take as much as they can get. In reality Dr. O'Dea gives them a good deal, and the probabilities are that in course of time they would obtain a great deal more. Meanwhile the obvious alternative is to put the University stamp on the work done in the Arts School at Maynooth as far as it goes. Many will still cling on to the belief that the best results will not be obtained for the clergy until they are brought into open competition with the best talents and most gifted minds in the country at large; and that it is only by taking an intelligent and manly part in the University life of the nation we can ever hope to attain that perfection of method and that accurate knowledge of the intellectual forces of the world which are sure to command the respect and win the confidence of our countrymen, no matter how well educated they may be. We have never concealed from ourselves that there may be other considerations to outweigh these advantages. If the experiment were to involve serious danger to the Irish Church it would not be worth the trial.

The difficulty, we fear, in the way of the plan of the Bishop of Clonfert will be to get the non-Catholic public to recognise the force of the causes that compel Catholic authorities to keep to the old lines in these weighty matters. The prejudices against ecclesiastical institutions are blind, unreasoning, and, in many cases, fanatical. It is for men like Dr. O'Dea, who are now in touch with the world, to gauge well the extent and power of this bigoted prepossession, and to judge whether and how far it can be overcome. If there is a prospect of conquering it, by all means let us face it and have the struggle out; if not, we must only concentrate our efforts to secure in Dublin a University that will be to us all a centre and fortress of Catholic life and thought. Dr. O'Dea, we notice, does not make his proposal an essential condition of acceptance of anything that may be offered in

Dublin. He merely suggests a practical method of meeting the needs of the clergy, which, of course, must be met in one shape or another if the solution is to be regarded as final.

J. F. H.

IRISH-AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By the Very Rev. John Canon O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, & Walker. Price, 25s.

WE heartily congratulate Canon O'Hanlon on this latest product of his industrious pen. The amount of reading and research that this work gives evidence of is stupendous, and we thank the author for the diligence which has provided us with a work long desired—a full and accurate history of the origin and development of the great American Republic. As the title of the book may mislead our readers, we inform them that Canon O'Hanlon's work is a comprehensive history of the great North American territory and peoples from a period long before the United States had left the regions of possibility to the first years of Theodore Roosevelt's presidency. Thus the opening chapter deals with the early Irish traditions of Hy Breasail, the great Western Land, the Scandinavian traditions on the same, and the voyages of our early Irish saint and hero mariners in search of the Land of Promise. The probability of St. Brendan's acquaintance with America, and of an early Irish Christian settlement there, is discussed with much learning and research and the sketch of the growth of the Brendan literature and of the influence of the Brendanite traditions on European voyagers—on Christopher Columbus and Vespucci—is as interesting as it is profound.

Another chapter deals with the aboriginal races, the Red men and Mound-builders, with the voyage and discovery of Columbus, and the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. Then, in more detail, the author treats of the early settlement of the English colonists and of the Irish colonization in the eighteenth century. The War of Independence, the Civil War, and the very modern history of America are treated at great length and fulness. The author evidently spared no pains to secure accuracy: every page contains copious foot-notes, with references to authorities and estimates of their value, personal sketches of the less prominent characters that are dealt with in the text, and valuable book notes. Even a cursory glance at

these reveals the amazing amount of reading and labour that this valuable work entailed on its learned author.

We should, however, expose ourselves to the charge of economising truth did we suggest that the book was faultless. We believe the work is one from which the merely literary reader will not derive complete satisfaction, and in which the stylist may find much to complain of. But we do believe that the reader who requires an exhaustive history of the United States of America, and who would have at hand a compendium of historical reference and research, will find Canon O'Hanlon's work of unique utility.

The book is in large quarto, about 700 pages, with complete index. It is printed on paper of medium thickness, with wide margin, and printed illuminated borders of beautiful Irish tracery, with Irish and American emblems inserted on the sides. It contains twenty-five war-maps and a general map of the United States, sixteen full-page illustrations consisting of groups of portraits of presidents and generals and other Irish and American celebrities. The publishers are to be complimented on the excellent quality of their work.

A REPLY TO DR. STARKIE'S ATTACK ON THE MANAGERS OF NATIONAL SCHOOLS. By Rev. M. O'Riordan, Ph.D., D.D., D.C.L. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son and *Leader* Office. 1903. Price 6d.

WE are sorry to say that Dr. Starkie has only himself to blame for the unpleasant things he is now compelled to hear in reference to his unfortunate address to the British Association in Belfast. He made sweeping and unfounded charges against a large body of Irishmen who are doing their duty under very difficult circumstances, and he did so in a brow-beating and hectoring tone that does not reflect much credit on his Trinity College education. Later on, in an effort to justify his tirade, he published a pamphlet in which he quoted numerous extracts from the reports of the Inspectors. His method of selecting these extracts reflects even less credit on him than his original attack. The fact is that he has done his own reputation infinitely more harm than he has done to the managers. One does not like to say hard things if they can be avoided; but Dr. Starkie has left the representatives of the managers little

option. Father Curry, of Drogheda, and Dr. O'Riordan, of Limerick, have ably and successfully defended their brethren. With Father Curry's pamphlet our readers are already familiar. Dr. O'Riordan's reply appeared in the columns of the *Leader*—an organ which deserves the thanks of the country for the innumerable services it has rendered in so many good causes—and is now published in pamphlet form. We give it a cordial welcome, and wish it the widest circulation amongst the clergy and laity.

Dr. O'Riordan's pamphlet is not only a reply to Dr. Starkie, it is full of most valuable information on every phase of the controversy that has been raised—on the reports of the Inspectors; the duties of the managers; the School-Board System, its mismanagement and extravagance; the Model Schools, their history and use; the training of the teachers, how it was managed by the Commissioners until taken in hands by the Church. It is a crushing rejoinder to the Resident Commissioner, from whom we would be glad to avert criticism if we could.

J. F. H.

HANDBOOK OF LAND PURCHASE IN IRELAND. By W. J. Johnston, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-law. 124 pp. small quarto. Dublin: Ponsonby. Price 1s. net.

THIS very neat volume gives the full text of the Land Act of 1903, with the sections of the other Acts incorporated in it. It analyses and explains each section, gives practical hints, and contains a complete index. The book will be found very clear and full enough in treatment. We have no doubt of its usefulness as a handbook to all who have a practical interest in the momentous question of sale or purchase of land under the conditions of the most recent legislation.

THE GREAT ENCYCLICAL LETTERS OF LEO XIII. With a Preface by John J. Wynne S.J. New York, Cincinnati & Chicago: Benziger Brothers, 1903. 8s. net.

WE have here in one compact volume and in good English the principal Encyclical and Apostolic Letters of Pope Leo XIII. Those who require all the acts and pronouncements of the late Pope can get them in seven or eight volumes in Latin from Desclée, Lefevre and Co., of Rome. Father Wynne has simply

made a selection of the more important and memorable pronouncements ; and in these letters the public will find the substance of the teaching of Leo XIII. on all the great questions of his time, on Socialism, Communism, Nihilism, the study of Philosophy, Marriage, Freemasonry, the Constitution of Christian States, Human Liberty, the Condition of Labour, the Study of Holy Scripture, the Unity of the Church, Anglican Orders, the Censureship of Books, Americanism, Christian Democracy, etc. The volume will be useful to preachers, as well as to those engaged in teaching, and to the laity as well as to the clergy.

J. F. H.

IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH. Chapters toward the History of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth. Being a portion of the History of Catholic Ireland, by Don Philip O'Sullivan Bear. Translated from the original Latin by Mathew J. Byrne. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker. 1903.

THERE are few readers of the I. E. RECORD who are not acquainted with the Catholic History of Ireland in the Latin language by Don Philip O'Sullivan Bear. O'Sullivan's work deals with a restricted period in considerable detail, and is a recognised authority on a good part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But besides the fact that the Latin original is not accessible to everyone, it must be admitted that when it is accessible it is not always intelligible. Mr. Byrne of Listowel has accordingly taken the matter in hands and presented to us in excellent English the chief episodes narrated by Don Philip in Latin. The work is prefaced by a very interesting memoir of Don Philip and his family, and by a valuable bibliography referring to the time dealt with in the history. The work will be found very useful for Catholic libraries, and will be a valuable addition to all private collections, particularly in the case of those interested in Irish historical subjects.

PORTA SION. A Psalter-Lexicon. By Rev. J. Ecker, D.D., Ph.D., Professor in the Seminary of Trier. Trier: Paulinus-Druckerei, 1903. Price, 17s. 6d.

OF all the inspired books of the Old Testament the Psalter is the one most read by ecclesiastics, and they know by experience

its beauties and also its obscurities. There are in the Psalms as we have them in our Breviary ever so many passages hard to understand. To comprehend their meaning it is often necessary to consult *probati auctores*, to look at a commentary in which use has been made of the original text, the ancient versions and fathers, modern writers, etc. Not everyone, however, has the opportunity of doing this. Hence Dr. Ecker has published a Psalter-Lexicon (1,935 pages, large 8vo) in which all the Latin words are arranged alphabetically, so that at a glance the reader is enabled to find a reliable explanation of the words in any given passage. The erudition which the work displays is marvellous. *Multum in parvo* might well be its motto, for it contains much more information than does many a pretentious and bulky commentary. Besides St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Euthymius, Theodoret, and the other Fathers, as well as the rabbinical and mediæval commentators, Pagnini, Bellarmin, Agellius, and every other standard writer is laid under contribution. The work might well be called a *Catena aurea in Psalmos*.

Though Dr. Ecker's remarks are all in German, yet a person unacquainted with that language would have in his volume quotations enough in Latin, etc., to make it exceedingly useful. In addition to all this the article on each word contains all the information that could be gathered from the Hebrew text, the Chaldean targums, the Greek and the Syriac versions, etc. In his introduction the learned author treats at length of the canonicity of the Psalms, their titles, and divisions, their authors and the various occasions which led to their composition. Then of the Maseoretic recension and its critical value, and its differences from the Septuagint and the Vulgate. This is followed by an admirable disquisition on Hebrew poetry and parallelism, as well as on the various metrical systems propounded by Gomar and Maibon, Hare, Bellermann, Neteler, Bicknell, Gietmann, etc.

We have not space enough to go into details, but what has been said may be sufficient to show that Dr. Ecker's splendid work is one of the very best that has ever appeared. To those who desire to understand more thoroughly the meaning of what they recite every day, the work can hardly be too highly commended.

HISTORIA SACRA ANTIQUI TESTAMENTI. By Canon¹ Zschokke, S.T.D., Pr.Ap., etc. Vindobonae, Braunüller, 1903.

A BOOK of this kind which has run through no less than five editions may antecedently be pronounced excellent. So much is expected at the present day in everything connected with the interpretation of Scripture, that only the very best books continue to be read. Others are very soon forgotten. Zschokke, till recently Professor of Old Testament exegesis in the University of Vienna, and the author of several standard works (*Theologie der Propheten*, *Biblische Frauen*, etc.), may well rest his chief claim for gratitude on his *Historia Sacra Antiqui Testamenti*. Nowhere will the student find this all-important subject better treated. The work is written in an admirably Catholic spirit and is replete with erudition. It explains everything that a young theologian needs to know about the history, religious rites, and sacred literature of the chosen people. The present edition has been carefully brought up to date with the assistance of two celebrated scholars, and is moreover furnished with maps and plans and chronological tables. To every priest's library the work will be a valuable addition, and to catechists in particular.

R. W.

GENESIS UBERSETZT UND ERKLÄRT. By Gunkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. 2nd Edition, 1903. Price, 12s.

THE only object that any of our readers is likely to have in taking up this work is to acquaint himself with one of the most modern phases of higher criticism. Its author, who is a professor in the University of Berlin, belongs to a very advanced school of rationalists and has many views in common with his colleague, Harnack, respecting the origin of religion. No doubt his commentary, properly so-called, contains much erudition—it treats of the history, archæology, and geography connected with Genesis, but in Gunkel's opinion these are matters of comparatively small importance. 'Wer sich einen Theologen nennt, muss die Religion studieren; alles übrige muss ihm dem gegenüber Nebensache sein.' We think, too, it is not for the sake of these subsidiary studies, but rather from a desire to know Gunkel's critical and religious theories that Catholic professors may be induced

to peruse the volume. While in reference to many subjects it bears evidence of originality, in others it agrees with Wellhausen's *Composition der Hexateuch*. Especially painful is the irreligious tone of the prefatory chapter or essay entitled 'Die Genesis ist eine Sammlung von Sagen,' which has already appeared in English under the title of *The Legends of Genesis*, Chicago, 1901. And throughout the commentary Gunkel's assertions are in accordance with this false principle that the first of the Hebrew Sacred books is nothing more than a collection of mythical narratives. It is noteworthy that in the present edition he is less disposed to admit that there was originally an ethnographical element in them.

As regards the dates of the alleged J and E respectively, Gunkel is inclined to assign the one to the ninth century and the other to the beginning of the eighth, and to put P into the period 500-444 B.C. Those among our readers whose duty it is to know the contemporary non-Catholic treatment of Genesis will find that Gunkel's commentary is indispensable.

R. W.

From the well-known firm of Herder, Freiburg, we have received the following books:—

1. JESUIT EDUCATION, ITS HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES, VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS. By R. Schwickerath, S.J. Woodstock, 1903. Price, 7s. 6d.

This work, which is based on all the authoritative sources of information, will be read with great interest. It describes the whole system of school teaching employed by the sons of the great St. Ignatius, and the marvellous success which has been its result. To those who have been trained according to this system, the book needs no further recommendation.

2. THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN TEACHER ENCOURAGED. Price, 5s. 6d.

THIS is a translation and adaptation of an excellent book by Frère Exuperien who is an eminent religious educator. Principals of colleges, professors, and members of teaching orders will find it useful in many ways.

3. DISCOURSES ON THE PRIESTHOOD, WITH PANEGYRIC OF ST. PATRICK. By the Rev. W. J. Madden. Price, 2s. 6d.

THE eloquent author is, if we mistake not, a native of Cork, where for many years his sermons produced good fruit. Those collected into the volume now before us appear to have been delivered in California, and they will, we are sure, be read with equally great profit.

4. INSTINCT AND INTELLIGENCE IN THE ANIMAL KINGDOM. By Rev. E. Wasmann, S.J. Price, 4s. 3d.

THE author, whose work has now been translated by a modest *incognito*, is one of the foremost writers in Germany. His work, owing to its brevity combined with clearness and completeness, will be found superior to those by Lubbock, Romanes, etc., and it should be in the hands of every student of comparative psychology.

5. A SHORT GRAMMAR OF CLASSICAL GREEK. Price, 5s.
6. GREEK EXERCISE BOOK. Price, 3s.

THESE are companion works by Professor Kaegi of Zürich University, translated and adapted to the requirements of English speaking students by the Rev. J. Kleist, S.J. The originals have achieved extraordinary success in Switzerland and Germany. We may mention that the principle on which these admirable text-books are planned is that 'it is useless and a loss of time to burden the mind of the young student with material he never or seldom meets with in the authors read at college.'

7. RAMBLES THROUGH EUROPE, THE HOLY LAND, AND EGYPT. By Rev. A. Zurbonson. Price, 4s.

IN a pleasantly written narrative the author presents his various interesting experiences. He is an attentive observer. The excellent views of Jaffa, Jerusalem, Alexandria, etc., enhance the value and usefulness of this instructive volume.

J. M. D.



THE LATE MGR. GARGAN

THE late President of Maynooth College was a man of such unique experience and one who exercised so wide and genial an influence in the Irish Church for many years that we think his disappearance from the scene deserves something more than a passing mention in the newspapers of the day. His memory will certainly be cherished by all who knew him intimately; and although his life was undisturbed by any event that is likely to reverberate through the corridors of time it was nevertheless fertile in word and work in the great field in which it was spent.

To have lived to the age of eighty-four years; to have passed upwards of sixty of these in the priesthood of the Catholic Church; to have been engaged during the whole of that long career in the education of the Irish clergy; to have been for many years President of the national college; to have won on all sides the regard, esteem, and friendship of those with whom he lived and laboured, is, indeed, a rare combination of achievements, one that had never hitherto been witnessed in this country and that in all probability will never be witnessed again.

Dr. Gargan was a native of the County and Diocese of Meath, having been born in the neighbourhood of Duleek, in June, 1819. He belonged to an old and respectable family, which still holds its ground in his native county, and was widely connected with the oldest stock of Meath Catholics.

To his dying day he was warmly devoted to his native

diocese and county, and even in recent years was often rallied by his colleagues for what they pretended to regard as his partiality for Meath students. He was by nature and by training a deeply religious man. One of his uncles, the Rev. Edward Gargan, was for many years pastor of Castlepollard. This zealous priest died and was buried in Birmingham, in England, but so attached were the people of Castlepollard to him, that they got his remains disinterred and brought over to rest at the foot of the altar in the parish church where he had so long and so zealously ministered to their wants.

Having made his preliminary studies in the Seminary of St. Finian, at Navan, the future President matriculated at Maynooth in 1836, and, after having read a distinguished college course, was ordained Priest by Dr. Murray of Dublin in 1843. A few months after his ordination he assisted at the monster meeting held by O'Connell at Tara Hill.

The first years of his life as a priest were spent at the Irish College, Paris, where he taught for a short time arithmetic, astronomy, and physics. It was during his sojourn here that he made the acquaintance of the late Archbishop of Cashel, who was then a student just entering on his period of 'storm and stress.' Dr. Croke had many recollections of his former master, and would frequently relate how he once defended a thesis in philosophy against all comers, Dr. Gargan included, and how he upset all Dr. Gargan's elaborate preparations by never minding his 'minor' but denying his 'major.' 'The fact is,' the Archbishop would add, 'I have spent a good part of my life ever since denying majors. I suppose it was because I found it so effective on the first occasion.'

Maynooth, however, was destined to be the scene of Dr. Gargan's life-work. He left Paris in 1845, and was appointed Professor of Humanity in the national college in the same year. He held this chair till 1859 when, on the death of Dr. Matthew Kelly, he was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History. In 1885 he became Vice-President, and President in 1894.

During those years Dr. Gargan published several volumes; the more important of which are his *Ancient Church of*

Ireland in reply to Dr. Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, and an English translation of Cardinal Balluffi's work on the *Charity of the Church*.

The great store of knowledge and learning that Dr. Gargan had acquired during these long years as professor of humanity and history stood him in good stead later on when he was called upon to deal with the principles of sacred eloquence and pastoral theology. Indeed it was frequently drawn upon in the intercourse of private life and in the free play of conversational warfare in which he greatly excelled. For the complaint of a student or a professor he easily found a parallel in the heathen mythology. For the promoters of innovation he could call up ridiculous prototypes from the annals of the Middle Ages. For universal use he had at command a stock of elegant extracts from the Latin and English classics. Often have we heard him reply to those who complained of one thing or another—

How small of all the ills mankind endure
The part that kings or laws can cause or cure !

If he wished to pay a doubtful compliment to some selfconscious critic you heard a recitation of his exalted qualities ascending gradually to the climax—

He wins where he wanders and dazzles where he dwells.

There were some people who were always cool and self-restrained in the midst of the greatest excitement. Dr. Gargan envied them, but could never reach perfection in that respect. He could never be, he used to say,

Like some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm ;
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

He had but little sympathy with the class of character described by Pope—

Bounded by nature, narrowed still by art,
A trifling head and a contracted heart.

Still less with one which Dryden has made famous—

Prompt to assail and careless of defence,
Invulnerable in his impudence ;
He dares the world, and eager of a name
He thrusts about and jostles into fame ;
So fond of loud report that not to miss
Of being known—his last and utmost bliss
He rather would be known for what he is.

Of friendship he knew the value well, and no one stood up for his friends more vigorously than he if he heard them assailed. This he regarded as a duty and the neglect of it a serious ground of self-reproach.

He who denies his friend shall never be
Under one roof or in one ship with me.

While fond of that intellectual sword-play, that refined tilting and parrying that enlivens social intercourse and keeps the edge of the faculties ever sharp and keen, there was no more charitable neighbour than the late President. If he thought that any of his innocent sallies was taken too seriously, he invariably sought some opportunity of showing his 'profound respect' or his warm-hearted friendship. His charity to the poor was generous and uninterrupted. Rarely did he pass to or from the College without enriching some old client of his among the *Pauperes Christi*. He often spoke to the present writer about Bossuet's sermon on the 'Poor,' which he greatly admired ; and on a slip of paper, which he usually kept in his Breviary, he had copied the words of the Old Testament :—

Give alms out of thy substance and turn not away thy face from any poor person ; for so it shall come to pass that the face of the Lord shall not be turned from thee.

According to thy ability be merciful. If thou have much give abundantly ; if thou have little take care even so to bestow willingly a little.

For thus thou storest up to thyself a good reward for the day of necessity.

For alms deliver from all sin and from death, and will not suffer the soul to go into darkness.

Alms shall be a great confidence before the Most High God to all them that give it.—Tobias iv. 7-12.

Though his classes were free and easy, by all accounts and many of his former pupils in history and sacred eloquence may be able to look back to occasions when their enthusiasm went slightly beyond control, yet this natural gentleness and kindness of heart never degenerated into weakness. During the years of his administration as President he showed in more ways than one that he could be strong as well as mild, firm as well as gentle.

For a great many years of his life, Dr. Gargan was accustomed to spend his summer holidays on the Continent. Much as he loved Maynooth, he was anxious to get away from it absolutely for a few weeks each year. In Ireland, he met priests everywhere who would remind him of Maynooth and of his old colleagues, so many of whom had gone before him. This was not change enough, and was not the sort of recreation a weary man wanted. For years he used to travel with Dr. O'Hanlon, and act as treasurer on the tour; for, 'in point of fact,' the old theologian was but a poor hand at economising and dealing with foreigners in actual life, however he might deal with some of their practices from his chair in the class-hall. In later years, Dr. Gargan's favourite resort was St. Moritz in the Engadine. His principle was to waste as little time as possible on the journey. He went as rapidly as the quickest train could carry him from London to Chur or Thusis, and thence by coach for ten or twelve hours over the Schyn and the Albula to his temporary destination. He knew every inch of the ground; could tell you where it was possible to get lunch; where you might dine to the best advantage, and where, if driven to it, you might put up for the night. He had interesting reminiscences of most of the villages on the way—Churwalden, Tiefenkasten, Mühlen, Silva Plana. At Silva Plana, as the diligence halted one day, to change horses for the last stage of the journey, we noticed inscribed on the front wall of the hostelry the well known lines of Horace:—

*Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
Angulus ridet.*

We remarked that it was no wonder he quoted these

lines so often, and corrected anyone who made the slightest mistake in the collocation of the words, seeing that he had such frequent opportunities of reading them in large letters on the wall of a house. This led him into a long and learned disquisition on Horace's Sabine farm, and on the little spot near Tarentum, amidst the vineyards of Aulon, which the Latin poet had in his mind when he wrote the ode in which these lines occur.

At St. Moritz Dr. Gargan was quite at home. There he had his friend the Abbé Navello, who had built a 'basilica' at the famous health resort. In this little church Dr. Gargan spent a good deal of his time every morning and evening. He usually said his Office and his Rosary there, and attended Benediction as often as he could, officiating himself when requested by Navello. After the ceremony he would sometimes go into Navello's house and be introduced to some American or European celebrities, or be regaled with news of the royal families of Europe, on whom the little Abbé loved to dilate. Did not representatives of most of them come to Mass at his 'basilica'? Did they not make it a point to show the Swiss Protestants and the English and Americans that they were still proud to profess the old faith? Had they not presented him with their photographs which were to be seen all round the salon? And did they not come later on to visit him and consult him at Nice where he laboured during the winter? Other great personages, too, had paid him their respects from time to time. Few visitors were allowed to depart without being shown the handsome chalice presented to his church, in the early days of its struggles, by Chief Baron Palles of Dublin.

In his vigorous days Dr. Gargan had done all the walks in the neighbourhood of St. Moritz—the Morteratsch and the Rosegg, Pitz Bernina and Pitz Corvatsch, the Val Suvretta and Pitz-Nair. In later times he confined himself to the walk through the woods to Pontresina, the most cosmopolitan walk in Europe in the summer months. There, as evening came on, he enjoyed watching the cattle returning from the day's forage, and listened with delight to the music

of their bells as they sought the shelter of their sheds before the sun went down. They knew well, he said, what it was to contract a chill, and showed much more common sense in avoiding the danger than a good many human beings of his acquaintance. He himself certainly was not neglectful in this respect. Few men had recourse to more ingenious devices to evade a chill. There was special need for caution in these lofty altitudes: but, high or low, the enemy was not to be trifled with.

The old man got on most pleasantly with all kinds and classes of casual acquaintances. On one occasion that we saw him there, he was for some days tired and depressed, and particular attention was paid to him by a young American named George McClellan. Only a few days ago George McClellan was elected Mayor of New York. We are sure few people would have been better pleased on personal grounds at the success of the young Democrat, had he lived to hear of it, than the late President.

From St. Moritz, Dr. Gargan would sometimes make short excursions into the lower Engadine—to Bormio or Poschiavo, or to Tarasp or Davos, on the other side. But as soon as he felt that the air of St. Moritz and the breezes of a plateau seven thousand feet above the level of the sea had braced him sufficiently, he took the coach to Chiavenna, over the Maloja Pass. He much enjoyed the terror of new travellers as they went down the zig-zag steep of what is probably the most precipitous coach-road in the whole world. He revelled in pointing out the various stages of vegetation along the route; the noble pine and fir trees of the heights; the larch with its grand trunk, straight and tall, and the spreading beech that prevailed further down; and, finally, the chestnuts and mulberrys that predominated on the confines of Italy. On a fine day, when the sky was clear and the sun sent its rays far into the depths of the forest, showing forth the countless tints of the underwood, and the only sound that broke upon the ear was that of the carriage wheels or of the streams and torrents, ‘as rivulet whispered to rivulet and waterfall shouted to waterfall,’ the old man’s spirits went up, and he told good stories about

the most whimsical of his acquaintances, and expressed his views freely on art, science, literature, ecclesiastical education, shadowing forth new projects which he hoped to see carried out in Maynooth, if only those who held him more or less in fetters could be got to consent.

For some days, if the weather suited, Dr. Gargan would linger about Arona or Locarno, and then return by Bellinzona, over the St. Gothard, to Lucerne. From Lucerne he usually lost no time in regaining Maynooth.

In college life the President was venerated and loved. He had been so long associated with the fortunes of the institution that he had come to be regarded almost as an essential part of it. He was endowed, too, with so many qualities that inspired respect that it was willingly given. He was a model of every priestly virtue and had spent his life in the exercise of the most sacred functions that can well fall to the lot of man. He had, moreover, many natural characteristics that won him the good will of his fellowmen and made life pleasant both for him and them. Even his idiosyncrasies revealed a human side that was in itself attractive, and his little weaknesses, which were few and interesting, were marked by the touch of nature that makes the whole world kin.

With the students he was a favourite of the first order. When he appeared before them on great occasions, he was received with thundering applause. The cheers were deafening. Handkerchiefs were waved and caps were thrown high into the air. It was with difficulty he overcame his emotion, and the tears often streamed down his cheeks. He rarely addressed them without reminding them of the duty they owed to the great College that nurtured them and made them what they were; and they never allowed him to retire without renewing their ovation.

At the end of one of these displays some colleague on the staff would maliciously suggest that popular favour was often hollow and deceptive; that anyone who assured a crowd in any part of the world that they were the finest crowd in existence could not fail to win the assent of

that crowd, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred their enthusiastic applause; that the sages of antiquity never set much store by the cheers of the multitude; that, according to a high authority, the flower of such glory withers more quickly than it blooms; and that, for the fleeting breath of a moment's triumph, the foundation was often laid of life-long vanity and self-delusion. 'Ah, but,' he would say, 'where is there a crowd like that one? Where would you find the same intelligence, the same soundness of judgment, the same piety, the same cheerful disposition? Talk of refinement! Where will you find a body of young men of the same age, the same numbers, so refined, so gentlemanly, so absolutely and essentially good? It might not be entirely to their advantage to hold up before them the mirror of their virtues; but, *ex abundantia cordis os loquitur*. There are enough of you telling them their faults; the least I may do is to raise their spirits. You may yet learn the necessity of keeping a large community in good humour. In the meantime I keep a store of sour grapes in my room for the benefit of candid friends. I fear there are not many left: but come and see.'

Any suggestion that Maynooth was not the greatest ecclesiastical college in the world, whether made for the sake of argument or for the purpose of drawing forth his eloquence, was received by Dr. Gargan with a mixture of scorn and good humour. The question did not bear discussion. There was no need of Thor's hammer to crush the froth bells of vanity. The effort to reach the proportions of the ox had ever been fatal to frogs.

During a good part of last century the style of eloquence of Grattan's and Curran's time was still held in high repute and threw its noble mantle over the oratorical efforts of more than one generation. It must be admitted that when unenlivened by any share of the fire and genius of the masters it often enough degenerated into windy declamation and empty phrase-making. Dr. Gargan, though free from the more exaggerated defects of this development, was not quite uninfluenced by the decadent tendencies of the school.

He was fond of high-sounding words and elaborate sentences. In examinations in history he would invariably inquire about the 'Philosophoumena,' and in logic about a 'syn-categorematical proposition.' In the sermons of the present day he noticed three glaring defects—'excessive amplification, redundancy, and heterogeneity.' When asked his opinion as to the pronunciation of some common-place adjective, he would reply, that 'As to the tonic accentuation of the word as distinguished from the quantitative partition of the sounds, orthœpists disagreed with lexicographers.' In his speeches, however, there was a considerable remnant of the old dignity, and in conversation he often expressed his thoughts as tersely as his friends could wish. If, for instance, any of those who served under him were to complain of the tyranny that reigned in high places, and the tendency to absolutism that was making its appearance in colleges as well as in empires, he was likely to hear some such expression as 'Viper, bite not against the file.' When asked whether he was quite certain that vipers did bite files, he disputed the matter with his usual learning. If beaten in the argument he at least delivered the parting shot :—'I admit you know much more about the habits of vipers than I do.'

It is well known that during his last years whatever time Dr. Gargan could spare from his ordinary labours as President of the College, he devoted to the collection of funds for the completion of the College Chapel, and particularly for the erection of the tower and spire. It was wonderful with what energy the old man threw himself into the work. No labour seemed to be too heavy for him. He travelled all over Ireland in frost and snow and rain preaching, exhorting, appealing. His efforts were on the whole very successful. He was received with the utmost kindness by the clergy, most of whom had been his pupils, and all of whom could not fail to be touched at the sight of this venerable old man facing the elements, and going through hardships that many a young man in the prime of life would be glad to avoid. It was a proud day for him when he saw the cross erected on the summit of the spire.

He might then indeed sing his *Nunc Dimittis* were it not that several thousands of pounds still remained to be paid on the building, and he regarded himself as bound in honour to do his best to reduce, and if possible to remove, the debt. He was still engaged in this effort when he was laid prostrate last spring by a severe attack of bronchitis. For a moment his life was in the balance; but his splendid vitality enabled him to overcome the specific disease. He rallied for some months, during which he enjoyed the honour, which he much appreciated, of receiving the King and Queen, on the occasion of their visit to the College. But the fatigue of this and other cares proved too much for his weakened constitution, and on the night of the 26th of August his long career came to a peaceful and happy end. In the circumstances we may aptly apply to him the words of the poet :—

Of no distemper, of no blast he died,
But fell like autumn fruit that mellowed long—
Even wondered at because he dropt no sooner.
Fate seemed to wind him up for four score years,
Yet freshly ran he on some winters more;
Till, like a clock worn out with eating time,
The wheels of weary life at last stood still.

During his last days he felt that the end was not far off. But he was quite resigned. He had settled all his affairs with the utmost care. He had received the last Sacraments with every manifestation of piety. He had no further attachment, he said, to this miserable world; and though he was conscious of many faults, he had absolute confidence in the goodness and mercy of God. A few days after his death an article appeared in the *London Times* announcing his demise. The following remarkable passage in this friendly notice is worth reproducing :—

The late President [says the writer] was a man of distinguished bearing and of kindly manners. He inspired affection and respect in those who knew him intimately and had a considerable reputation for scholarship. He was an active theologian and published one or two controversial treatises, in addition to a sketch of Irish history for the use of the students at Maynooth. Natural philosophy was another of his favourite subjects. He

attached importance to the scientific side of education, and during his presidency this department of the work at Maynooth was developed by the addition of good laboratories and by improvements in methods of teaching. Four events gave distinction to Dr. Gargan's period of chief office at Maynooth. It was his lot to preside some years ago over the College's centenary celebrations. They were conducted upon a very imposing scale, and the President had as his guests in addition to Cardinal Logue and all the Irish Hierarchy, the late Cardinal Vaughan and a number of Roman Catholic prelates from all parts of the world. On this important occasion Dr. Gargan made an excellent master of ceremonies and spoke with effect at the centenary banquet. In his time, also, there was a grant by Bull of the right to confer the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and he saw the erection of the stately College Chapel, which is internally and externally, one of the most handsome church buildings in Ireland. This chapel was the hobby of the President's later years, and is so largely the outcome of his energy and pertinacity that it may almost be regarded as his personal legacy to Maynooth. The last, and from a secular point of view, the most notable event connected with Dr. Gargan's rule at Maynooth was the visit with which the King and Queen honoured this college during their recent tour in Ireland. The venerable President, in his plain black robes, made a striking figure in the centre of the crowd of brilliantly-robed bishops who received their Majesties at the main door of the College. I was myself a near eye-witness of the fine respect and frankness with which Dr. Gargan officiated, and of the unaffected warmth with which the King acknowledged the welcome of the College. The perfection of the arrangement made for the comfort and the pleasure of their Majesties on that historic occasion was a striking tribute to the tact and courtly instinct which the aged President contrived to retain in the semi-monastic seclusion of Maynooth.

If those who devote even a part of their lives to the education of the clergy may indulge the hope that when they pass away from this earthly strife they may count on the kindly remembrance and charity of those for whom they laboured, how much more confidently may not that trust be relied on in the case of one who was, in the truest sense of the word, 'a fine old Irish gentleman,' a teacher and a guide whose long career was spent entirely in the service of the Irish priesthood?

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

‘OUR ISOLATION IN SIDEREAL SPACE’

We can cause darkness by means of light. We can produce silence from sound and cold from heat.

THIS may sound as senseless as the assertion of the Greek philosopher—Anaxagoras—that *snow is black*. That they are not senseless propositions, but scientifically true, does not come within the scope of my present subject to prove; and I have only advanced them in order that the reader may not be too much inclined to question the orthodoxy of the title to this paper, till he has examined its credentials. Most men, when they peer above, on a bright starlit night, and curiously pass from glittering orb to glittering orb—some large or near enough to present a sensible disc—others so small or distant as to appear as mere luminous specks or pin-points in the dark vaults of heaven; most men, I say, would be inclined to conclude that all these celestial objects are in much about the same quarter of the immediate space above their heads. Or when they watch the queen of night calmly sailing midst the nimbus clouds; or the mighty Jove with his attendant satellites; or the bright Venus as an evening star, lingering near the setting sun; or the ruddy Mars striding along the ecliptic; or the well-known ‘Dipper’ in chariot form, commonly called the ‘Plough;’ or the variegated jewel, which crowns the circumpolar stars, in the person of glittering Vega of the Lyre; or the bright but ill-formed familiar W, which constitutes the constellation of the ‘Fair Lady in her chair;’ or even the crownest star of all, because it marks our pole (at present), Alpha Ursae Minoris, ‘Polaris,’ or the mariner’s pet;—the casual gazer is liable to conclude that all these—seemingly so close and contiguous—are much in the same plane, or, at least, in the same region of the sidereal universe. No greater unscientific mistake could possibly be made.

As far as the planets of our solar system are concerned,

we may grant the speculation ; as far as the zone, extending a few degrees north or south of the ecliptic, is considered, the truth is not much at stake : but directly we pass the confines of the orbit, traced by our outside planet, Neptune, we plunge into the depths of a popular error. This erroneous notion I intend to combat, and to prove our 'isolation' in space ; meaning by *our*, not only the isolation of the little planet on which we dwell, but of *our whole solar and planetary system*.

Only two preliminary notions are requisite to attain this end ; an idea of space in general, and the distance of our planetary confines, compared with those of the nearest fixed star.

The popular misapprehension arises from the simple fact that, when we look up at all the sidereal objects, we are inclined to judge them by their apparent size. We remark that the moon *looks* quite as big as the sun, that Jupiter is much bigger than Saturn, and that Venus is bigger than any of the stars. Even if our elementary knowledge proclaims to us that none of this is true, but that, in judging size, we must take distance into account, because *sensible* magnitude always sways the mind more than the more recondite *insensible* phenomena, we lose sight of distances and over-rate the apparent magnitudes. The moon, placed where the sun is, would not be seen at all, without the aid of powerful telescopes. While the tiniest astral speck in the heavens, placed where our moon is, would overwhelm us with its gigantic size and instanter burn us all up.

Now, the crudest idea of space will easily suffice for our present purpose. We need to draw but little upon the philosopher to define what is meant by space. Even without so much as a common dictionary we all have a sufficient concept of space. We need not dive with Locke into the question of the infinity of space ; or whether, because a man can set mental limits to a body and to the extension thereof he cannot to space, where no body exists ; nor into the difference between 'infinity of space' and 'space infinite ;' nor, again, need we discuss, whether it be possible for a man to conceive a *positive* idea of infinite space ; nor, with Kant,

whether it is purely ideal and without objective reality ; nor with Leibnitz, whether it is an actual relation, the order of consistent phenomena, or even whether it is both ideal and objective combined. All these and kindred philosophical questions may be relegated to the schoolmen. We only want (for our present purpose) to agree that space is a continuous or unlimited extension, whether occupied by body or not ; a void containing all things or vacuum ; and that vacuum (whether we affirm or deny its existence) is to be regarded simply as space without body. These, I take it, are the common and popular notions of space.

If it be asked : Does anything at all pervade this space ? the astronomers answer : That these vacuum spaces—in fact, all space—is filled with a subtle fluidal substance, which physicists call *luminiferous ether* ; an imponderable, subtle and perfectly elastic sort of fluid, most nearly resembling an exceedingly rarefied gas. Moreover, it not only pervades all empty space, but actually interpenetrates all matter, interlaying the molecules even of the densest solids. When they style it *luminiferous*, they do not imply that it possesses any luminosity of itself : quite the reverse ; ethereal space is *dark, cold, airless and soundless*. The term ‘*luminiferous*’ distinguishes it both from that very well known tangible liquid, chemical ether, so generally used as an anæsthetic ; and because it serves as the medium through which and by which the vibration of the molecules of any luminous body transmits undulations in all directions with a speed of 186,000 miles per second and falling upon the retina of the eye, affects the optic nerve and thereby produces the sensation of light in the brain. Hence light passing through this ethereal medium is as invisible as the medium itself, from the moment of the molecular vibration in the luminous body, until the ethereal undulations reach or fall upon a body capable of receiving them. I trust my readers will pardon me for alluding to such elementary notions ; but, in order to better grasp what is to follow, I was anxious that they keep the mind dispossessed of any idea that the rays or pencils of light, continually poured thorough space from the innumerable celestial luminous

objects, are so many *visible* streaks of light. Until they enter an atmosphere they are wholly invisible ; so that if a man could accomplish the impossible feat of suspending himself in space some 500 miles outside the earth, when our terrestrial clocks proclaim the sun to be near the meridian, he would not bask in what we call day-light ; but he would uncomfortably realise that *space is dark, cold and soundless*.

Now, before we consider the actual fact of *our* isolation in this ethereal space or stellar void, it may be well to convince the reader of the insignificance, not only of our earth, compared with the major planets of our solar system, but even of that whole system itself, relative to the myriads of solar or stellar systems in the mighty universe of the Creator. On the insignificance of our own earth, I dwelt sufficiently in a former article,¹ entitled, 'Is our Earth alone inhabited ?' wherein the reader will find this insignificance, whether considered relatively or absolutely, convincingly proved. As to the insignificance of our whole solar system, *i.e.*, of our central sun with all his revolving planets, satellites, comets, meteors, etc., besides the occasional data also given in the above mentioned article, I shall here select one or two very staggering examples.

The reader has heard of and perhaps seen a nebula.² Very few can be discerned by the naked eye, and even then only by those gifted with keen vision on favourable nights. I shall first select for my example one which has not only never been seen by unaided vision, but which can only be properly viewed in the most powerful telescopes. It is situated in a small constellation called the Anser or Vulpecula, about midway between Albires in the Swan and the principal star of the Dolphin. Astronomers locate it by its R.A. 19 HR. 52 M. and north declination 22° 16'. It is commonly called the Dumb-bell nebula, because in large telescopes it assumes the shape of a dumb-bell or hour-glass. In the most powerful telescopes—such as Lord Rosse's—the oval is completed

¹ I. E. RECORD, Nov. 1902, vol. xii., No. 419, p. 420, *et seq.*

² See article on the 'Nebular Theory,' I. E. RECORD, April, 1903, p. 341, *et seq.*

by a dim filling in and hence presents a nebulous globe much like our earth in form, viz., an oblate spheroid. Formerly it was suspected to be an agglomeration of small stars, like many other nebulous objects, but the spectroscope has revealed that the greater part of its light emanates from incandescent gas. Now, it is the vastness of the space occupied by this nebula and the magnitude of this celestial object itself, compared with the area which we cover, that I want to bring out. The distance of this nebula from us is uncertain; it is thought to be probably farther away than the nearest fixed stars; consequently over 24 billions of miles. Well, our outside planet, Neptune, is considerably over 2,700 millions of miles distant from our central sun. Consequently the diameter of the orbit or pathway of this planet which it describes around the sun is over 5,400 millions of miles in diameter and in circumference about 17,000 million miles. Now let us suppose the whole of that orbit or area filled in, we should then have a sphere or ellipsoid of the above immense dimensions. Yet this is so far away from the size of the Dumb-bell nebula, that one of our greatest astronomers (modern, lately deceased) was of opinion, that the mighty globe we have conjectured would have to be multiplied *millions* of times before we should have the superficies or area of the Dumb-bell nebula—that tiny cloudlet which no naked eye can glimpse, and which is but a small object in our largest telescopes.¹

Let us now take a nebula (nearly the only one) that can be caught by the naked eye of man and again compare *ourselves*, i.e., our earth and its circuit round the sun. This shall be the famous and well known nebula in Orion. Most readers are familiar with this beautiful constellation, which graces our northern skies during the winter months at hours favourable for observation. The three bright horizontal stars which mark Orion's belt are well known. Depending from the left hand one may be discerned a few smaller ones in a straight line (vertical), which form his sword-handle;

By 'we' I mean our whole solar system.

¹ See *Practical Astronomy*, p. 100.

and the middle one of these (called θ) seems surrounded by a milky-looking haze. This haze is the famous nebula, indistinctly glimpsed by unaided vision. When we apply our large telescopes to this milky speck we find the nebulous matter extends far beyond the immediate region of this star; moreover we find the star itself to be a sextuple. Now, what is the *real* magnitude of this tiny nebulous cloudlet, which in the most powerful telescopes only appears to cover an area twice or thrice the size of the full moon? Sir Robert Ball acknowledges that we cannot ascertain this with any degree of certainty; but, after weighing all things, he offers a proximate calculation. After supposing the whole orbit of our earth's circular path round the sun to represent the circumference of a sphere with a consequent diameter of about 185 millions of miles, he says, that it can be demonstrated that a *million* of these mighty globes, rolled into one, would *not equal* Orion's nebula in bulk.⁵ Imagine that little speck of nebulous light having an extension equal to $185,000,000 \times 1,000,000$ or 185 billion miles.⁶ Compared with this, what is our pigmy earth with its diameter of less than 8,000 miles? What our whole solar and planetary system?

Having grasped the insignificance of our system compared with some, perhaps, of the smaller islands of stellar or sidereal space, let us now see how far we are *isolated* within it. Mighty as the problem seems, it is easy of solution.

Firstly, what do we know?

We know (*a*) the distance our earth is from the centre of our solar system—the sun; we know (*b*) the size or area of our whole solar system; we know (*c*) the distance from our earth to the nearest fixed star; and we know (*d*) the distance from the *outside confines* of our whole solar system to the nearest fixed star beyond it. We shall find this more than enough to prove our complete isolation in sidereal space.

⁵ See *Story of the Heavens*, chap. xxiii.

⁶ Across such a distance light, travelling at the rate of 186,000 miles per second would take 30 years.

(A)—DISTANCE OF EARTH FROM THE SUN

Within the space of the last thirty years astronomers have given various estimates of the mean distance between our earth and its great luminary : but the maximum variation has not exceeded three million miles. Scarcely a generation ago it was generally computed at 95 millions : now one of the latest and reliable calculations is a parallax of $8.80''$, which would give a *mean* distance of 92,897,000 miles. But it is necessary to remember that the *actual* distance is a constant varying quantity ; because, as the earth's orbit is not circular but elliptical and the sun occupies one of the foci of the ellipse, the earth and ourselves are sometimes in the year considerably farther away from the sun than at others. In winter, for instance, we are some three millions of miles *nearer* to the sun (called at perihelion) than in the summer (called at aphelion). For ordinary practical purposes we may assume the *mean* distance to be 93 millions of miles.

Now what distance do 93,000,000 convey to our mind ? It means this, that :—

1. Light travelling at the rate of 186,000 miles per second takes 8 minutes and 20 seconds to reach us from the sun.

2. An express train travelling at the rate of 60 miles per hour, without stopping, would require about 177 years to do the journey.

(B)—SIZE OR AREA OF OUR SOLAR SYSTEM

This is easily computed if we double the radius of a circle, supposing the sun to occupy the centre and the orbit of our outside planet, Neptune, to form the circumference. As Neptune's *mean* distance is about 2,790 millions of miles, if we double this radius, we have $2,790,000,000 \times 2 = 5,580$ millions for a diameter and 17,537 millions of miles for a circumference or area.

Beyond these confines we enter sidereal space and stellar void, until we come to another solar system.

(C)—DISTANCE BETWEEN OUR EARTH AND THE NEAREST
FIXED STAR

All astronomers agree that the nearest computed fixed star is *α Centauri*, the brightest star in the southern constellation of the Man-horse. Its parallax seems to be either 0.75" or 0.76", giving a distance of over 25 *billions* of miles, 25,000,000,000,000 (over 8,000 times the distance of the farthest planet).

Again, what does that distance import ?

1. Light would take over 4 *years* to reach us from this the nearest fixed star, or rather sun !
2. The express train would take 47 *million years* to do the distance !!
3. A cannon ball would take over 3 *million years* !!!

(D)—DISTANCE FROM OUR SOLAR SYSTEM TO THE NEAREST
FIXED STAR

This calculation is an easy task after what we have already given. The confines of our solar and planetary system are known (see letter B). Hence the distance of the nearest star minus the distance we are away from those confines, viz., the Neptuan orbit, will be

$$25,000,000,000,000 - 2,700,000,000 = 4,997,300,000,000$$

twenty-four billions, nine hundred and ninety-seven thousand millions, in round numbers.

What does this import ?

It means that so vast is the space or stellar void between our solar system and the nearest solar system in the realms of the dark, cold, soundless space, that (1) for light to traverse it, it would require over four years ; and (2) for an express train over 46 million years. If we could train it all round our earth, even though we passed through all the varied and beautiful scenery that our planet can produce, we should weary of a journey of 25,000 miles, even in an express. It would take us, without stopping, over 17 days. But what would we think of a journey, unvaried by shining rivers, flowery plains, high-peaked mountains or smiling

valleys, but on, on, on, through dark, cold, monotonous space ; not for days, weeks, or months, not for a hundred or a thousand or a million years, but for 46 millions of years ? To right, to left, north, south, east, west, on every side, in every direction, dark, sunless, or bless, impenetrable space ? Is this not *isolation*—and isolation with a vengeance ?

The difficulty we have to realise it is, because it is impossible for the human mind to grasp such enormous numbers. Why it would take a man $4\frac{1}{2}$ days even to count a million, supposing him to count at the rate of 200 a minute for 18 hours a day. But to count a billion, he would require $4\frac{1}{2}$ million days or over 12,000 years. And yet you have to multiply this by 24 to get the quotient for the nearest solar system to our own, taking mile for unit.* In fact, the distance from us to the nearest fixed star outside our system is in the proportion of about 1 to 9000. And, mark you, that distance, great as it is, is 10 times less than the Pole star ! To repeat—for repetition fixes the concepts—to repeat, to our most distant planet (Neptune) our express train would take over 5,000 years, but to the nearest star in the space beyond, *it would require over 46 million years.*

So striking is this idea, so full of thought for thinking minds, so strange and startling to any but the astronomer that I trust I shall be excused if I seem to labour it. We are dealing with a proposition that we can scarcely over prove.

Let us divide an inch into eight parts ; and let us suppose $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch to represent one million miles. Then, of course, one inch would equal 8,000,000 miles. As the boundary of our system is some 2,700 million miles, we may represent that distance by 338 inches or 28 feet—only a little over 9 yards. Now let us compare that with the distance of the nearest star to us. *The 9 yards have grown to 45 miles.*

I want, before conclusion, to anticipate a double objection. Firstly, it may be urged. We grant the nearest star is a sun ; and, because it is a sun, by induction we may infer that it is, like our own, a centre of a planetary system. Its

* It would take over 300,000 years.

planets, then, would revolve around their sun. In their revolutions they would infringe upon the stellar void between us and their primary; and, consequently, some celestial object would encroach upon that space which constitutes our isolation.

This plausible objection will lose all force as soon as we examine it by the light of inductive science. It is true that the nearest fixed star or sun, like its myriads of compeers in the celestial universe, is most likely attended by encircling planets. Let us suppose its outside planet to be even twice as far away from its central sun, as Neptune is from us. This would assign to it an orbit whose radius would be 2,790 million miles multiplied by two, or 5,580,000,000 miles, a goodly stretch, it is true; but what is it off an area of about 25 billions for its radius? A mere nothing as the juxtaposition of the quantities will shew:—

$$25,000,000,000,000$$

$$5,580,000,000$$

$$24,994,420,000,000$$

It is like a mite compared with a Stilton cheese or a midget with a bullock. The encroachment of the foreign planet on our sidereal space would be so insignificant that *parvum reputetur pro nihilo*.

The other objection, at first sight, may seem more plausible still. It is this:—

We know that the universe is replete with comets and meteors. Comets are so numerous that the great Kepler tells us there may be more comets in the universe than fishes in the ocean.⁹ Belonging to our own solar system, and perhaps passing in and out of our system to distant ones, there may be even millions;¹⁰ but of these we see very few; and of these again which sport themselves *within* our solar system we should take no account: our isolation regards only what I call *stellar void*, which extends from the outside limits of our system to the nearest star. But, comets are

⁹ See Ball's *Story of the Heavens*, chap. xvi., *ad fin.*

¹⁰ Sir Norman Lockyer—*Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, No. 296.

not anything so substantial as stars and planets. They consist of materials in the utmost state of tenuity—for the most part masses of incandescent gas, far more rarefied and of lower temperature than the materials of stars.¹¹ Extended as they often are, their masses are too small for measurement. Even their immense tails, stretching sometimes millions of miles, only represent a *passing* state of the ether set in motion by their interposition before the sun. In stellar void we may say they are devoid of such caudal appendages. Some, following an elliptical orbit or closed curve, return at regular periods; others, following a parabolic orbit, come from whence and depart whither we know not, oft never to return. But what we have to remember, and herein lies the answer to the objection, not only they cannot light up stellar space (though possessed of inherent light), but such tenuous gas cannot be regarded as stellar bodies and hence they may be said to leave us in our stellar void, an isolated sidereal island, in the vast ocean of celestial space. As to meteors, these only heat up and become visible by the friction caused by their immense velocity through an atmosphere, of which there is none in stellar space. As far then, as our proposition is concerned, comets and meteors, meteorites, fire balls, etc., may be viewed as negligible quantities. In conclusion, I would not have the reader infer from all I have said that our case, *i.e.*, the isolation of our sun and all his planets, is by any means *exceptional* in the sidereal universe: in other words, I should be long sorry to deduce from our own isolation in cold, dark, soundless interstellar space, that our position is unique or exceptional in the heavens.

For my part, I verily believe, that what is said of our own solar system may equally be said of every tiny speck of light or distant sun, which the human eye can glimpse on any starlit night.

Projected as they are upon the dark background of the sky, they may often look as close to one another as sheep do when gamboling in a meadow. But the history and cir-

¹¹ I read somewhere—where I forget—that we might compress the biggest comet into a quart pot.

cumstances of what are called *double* stars dispel our optical delusion. Double stars, which, not only to the naked eye, but even in the telescopes of considerable dividing power, appear as single ones, are known to be by scientific calculation, so far apart, that the mileage must be reckoned by hundreds of thousands of millions.¹² As for their distance from us in space, the very thought is staggering.

Who does not know Vega or Wega of the Lyre, that brilliant gem which for ever in our northern hemisphere marks so well the zone of the circumpolar stars? We cannot be *certain* of her parallax and therefore of her exact distance. However her minimum distance may be put down at even one hundred billions of miles and her light passage to take over 20 years. Sir Robert Ball tells us, in his beautiful *Story of the Heavens*,¹³ that, if this brilliant speck were removed 1,000 times more distant, still our largest telescopes would catch it. And what would this imply? That she would then be one hundred thousand billions of miles distant, and for her light to reach our earth over 16,000 years would be required. Though this is imagination *in her case*, it need not be for myriads of those small stellar points we glimpse in our telescopes or catch upon a photographic plate. Sir W. Herschel reckoned that the stars that dot the remotest edges of the length and breadth of the Milky Way are so distant that their light passage would take 20,000 years¹⁴ to pass the whole length of the Milky Way, and that his great reflector could follow a cluster so far that its light would require 350,000 years to reach us: while Lord Rosse's six-foot aperture could pursue the same object 10 times further. Again, this great living Irish astronomer (Sir Robert Ball) writes:¹⁵ 'Doubtless the tiniest stellar point we could get into the most potent telescopes or on photographic plates after hours' exposure, would be *thousands of billions of miles* distant:' and the light passage¹⁶ would take even *billions* of years, according to some other astronomers.

¹² See Dick's *Sidereal Heavens*, p. 157.

¹³ Chap. XXI.

¹⁴ Proctor thinks, perhaps, 100,000 years.

¹⁵ *In High Heavens*, p. 232.

¹⁶ Though travelling 186,000 miles *per second*,

Thus each astral speck is some vast distant central sun, around which planets as numerous as our own may be revolving, each forming a separate and *isolated* solar system, like little stellar islands scattered over a vast and limitless archipelago. Let us draw our breath and exclaim with the royal Psalmist : ' The heavens shew forth the glory of God and the firmament declareth the work of His hands.'¹⁷

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

¹⁷ Ps. xviii, 1.

EVOLUTION IN DOCTRINE AND PROGRESS IN THEOLOGY

IT was to be expected that the hypothesis of Evolution which has been so largely adopted as an explanation of phenomena in other branches of knowledge, should also be applied to the explanation of the Christian revelation. And so, in fact, a number of able and learned men have of late busied themselves about the evolution of theology. Many of them, non-Catholics, consider the Christian religion to be not a revelation of God, but rather a revelation of the divine in man, a manifestation of what he is gradually becoming. As man continually manifests new phenomena in other directions so, too, in religion. The religion of the Christian Church was not only a good and useful, but also a necessary outcome of the circumstances of the times. There is much in Christian teaching which is still true and valuable, but many dogmas require to be interpreted anew, if they are to continue to serve any useful purpose. Thus if the doctrine of original sin be regarded as a somewhat crude if poetic expression of the fact that much of the ape still survives in man's nature, if the doctrine of the divine Sonship of Jesus be considered as the manifestation to the world of God's fatherly love towards mankind, these old dogmas are seen still to be true and helpful.

It is obvious of course that such an evolution of dogma as is here sketched destroys that sameness of doctrine which the Catholic Church was founded to preserve.

It is interesting to compare the attitude of mind of such theological evolutionists with that of the old school of orthodox Protestantism. That school looked upon Holy Scripture as the very word of God to man, as the expression of God's eternal, immutable truth: they believed in its literal inspiration, and looked upon any attempt to exercise reason upon the truths contained in the Bible as little less than sacrilege. The truths of revelation contained in the Bible

were, so to speak, squared blocks of stone, shaped and placed in position by God's own hand. It was impious daring to stir them, to handle them, to arrange them in any other way than that in which the divine architect Himself had done.

The Catholic position lies midway between these extremes. The Church admits progress in doctrine but not change: as the Vatican Council defined in terms used by St. Vincent of Lerins in the fifth century:—

Neque enim fidei doctrina quam Deus revelavit, velut philosophicum inventum proposita est humanis ingeniis perficienda, sed tamquam divinum depositum Christi Sponsæ tradita, fideliter custodienda et infallibiliter declaranda. Hinc sacrorum quoque dogmatum is sensus perpetuo est retinendus, quem semel declaravit Sancta Mater Ecclesia, nec unquam ab eo sensu, altioris intelligentiæ specie et nomine, recedendum. Crescat igitur et mæltum vehementerque proficiat, tam singulorum, quam omnium, tam unius hominis, quam totius Ecclesiæ, ætatum et sæculorum gradibus, intelligentia, scientia, sapientia; sed in suo dumtaxat genere, in eodem scilicet dogmate, eodem sensu, eademque sententia.¹

The subject is important and difficult, and not without a certain actuality. Leo XIII. touched upon it more than once in his public utterances; he warned Catholics against the danger of distorting dogma while trying to accommodate it to the requirements of the time. Thus in his letter on Americanism, after saying that certain new opinions had recently been advocated, he says:—

Id autem non de vivendi solum disciplina, sed de doctrinis etiam, quibus *fidei depositum* continetur, intelligendum esse multi arbitrantur. Opportunum enim esse contendunt, ad voluntates discordium alliciendas, si quedam doctrinæ capita, quasi levioris momenti, prætermittantur, aut molliantur ita, ut non eundem retineant sensum quem constanter tenuit Ecclesia.²

He then points out that this is against the decrees of the Vatican Council. Again in the letter by which he confirmed the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus regarding the

¹ Conc. Vat. sess. III., c. 4.

² *Annalecta Eccles.*, 1899, p. 55.

doctrine of St. Thomas, he pointed out as the chief cause of the difficulties by which the Church is beset :—

Libido novarum rerum, quæ per speciem progredientis doctrinæ, sapientiæ a Deo traditæ obsisteret et repugnaret.

The danger and the difficulty lie not so much in applying unchanging Catholic dogma to new opinions, and testing the truth of such opinions by the received teaching of the Church. The theologian is continually called upon to do this in order to explain the relation of Christian doctrine to the views of the people with whom we have to do. Pope Leo XIII. showed us how to do it in many of his admirable Encyclicals. We are rather concerned here with the growth of Catholic Theology, with those phenomena of life by which the deposit of faith, while ever remaining the same, continually becomes more definite, more clear, and better understood. This living process is guided by the teaching Church and especially by the Roman Pontiff, but it is materially assisted by the labours of theologians. While conscientiously adhering to St. Vincent's canon—*Non nova sed nove*,—they do not disdain to use new discoveries of natural reason wherewith to embellish and adorn the supernatural temple which their labours are raising to the honour of God and for the benefit of man.

Such work is obviously delicate and dangerous, as the history of the Church strewn with the *débris* left by numberless heresies and condemned propositions sufficiently testifies. Many writers have laid down rules by which we may distinguish true growth from the decay of error, true progress from retrogression. As a small contribution to the literature of the subject, I propose to take a concrete case, and to make a short study of the evolution of the doctrine of Probabilism. My purpose is not controversial, I have here no thesis to defend, I wish to treat the subject from the purely historical point of view.

It is commonly said that Bartholomæus à Medina was the first theologian who, about A.D. 1580, formulated the doctrine of Probabilism; one looks in vain in the works of theologians, written before his time, for the chapter

De conscientia probabilis, so familiar in subsequent writers; the very phrases *conscientia*, *opinio*, or *sententia probabilis*, so common in modern authors, scarcely occur in writers anterior to the close of the sixteenth century; I doubt whether they are to be found at all in the works of St. Thomas of Aquin. So notable an historian as Döllinger asserts that the Jesuits made the doctrine their own, and gained one of their greatest triumphs when they succeeded in forcing it on the Catholic Church. What truth is there in these assertions? And if there is any truth in them, how is the acceptance of a new theory of morals compatible with the unchangeableness of the teaching of the Church?

Probabilism is a system of morals which teaches us how to form a certain conscience necessary for lawful action, in spite of the fact that in morals some degree of probability is alone in many cases obtainable. How did theologians, before Bartholomæus à Medina formulated Probabilism, teach men to form a certain conscience in doubtful matters? If we can find out this, and then compare their teaching with that of Medina and Probabilists generally, we shall see whether Probabilism is something new, a change in doctrine, or only a legitimate development of dogma. We shall be enabled to watch the growth of theology in a concrete case, and the lesson cannot but be useful and interesting.

Out of a great number of theologians anterior to Bartholomæus à Medina, who might be chosen to give their evidence on the question at issue, I shall rely chiefly on three who wrote shortly before his time. They are thoroughly representative, as the learned reader will without difficulty acknowledge.

The first is Angelus de Clavasio, of the Order of Friars Minor, who flourished in the year 1480, and among other works left us the *Summa Angelica*.

The next will be Sylvester Prieras, of the Order of St. Dominic, who, about the year 1516, wrote the *Summa*

³ *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten*, Vorwort, p. v

Sylvestrina quæ Summa Summarum merito nuncupatur, as the title page has it.

The third is Martinus Azpilcueta, the celebrated Doctor Navarrus, the uncle of St. Francis Xavier, who, before the year 1560, wrote in Spanish his *Manuale* or *Enchiridion confessoriorum et poenitentium*.

Before consulting our authorities we may premise that it is admitted on all hands that systematized Moral Theology is a comparatively recent product of the labours of theologians. During the first twelve centuries confessors relied on the collections of canons and on the Penitential Books for help in the administration of Penance. In the first half of the thirteenth century St. Raymund of Pennafort composed his *Summa de Poenitentia et Matrimonio*, the first book of its kind specially designed to assist confessors to solve the many difficult cases submitted to them by their penitents. For the solution of disputed cases he gives the following simple rule :—

Perplexitas juris est, cum aliquis circa illud quod sibi occurrit faciendum, invenit diversas auctoritates sibi ad invicem pugnantes. Hæc perplexitas per contrariorum concordiam est solvenda ; nam in jure nulla est contrarietas realis sed superficialis tantum.⁴

St. Raymund was an ecclesiastical lawyer, and alluded here to the well-known legal maxim, *conveniens est jura juribus concordare*, of the Roman law. *L. unica, C. de inofficiosis dotibus ; l. præcipimus in fin. C. de appellationibus*. It was the principle which governed the composition of the famous *Decretum Gratiani*, or the *Concordia discordantium canonum*, as the book was called by its author Gratian, who lived in the twelfth century. The same principle continued to guide moral theologians for the next three hundred years, whenever there was a conflict of opinion on any question. Moral conduct is guided by precepts or laws, and when a difference of opinion arose about the application or interpretation of those laws, the ordinary rules of legal interpretation were followed by each Doctor in giving his

⁴ Lib. iii., tit. *De scandalo, perplexitate*, etc.

solution. What those rules were we may learn from Angelus, or Sylvester, or Navarrus; for they all give substantially the same rules, with the same references to the Canon and Roman law, and their approved commentators. I give them from Sylvester, leaving out, for the most part, his copious references, for the sake of brevity.

Cui opinioni adhærendum ubi est varietas?

Distinguo: Nam una tantum opinionum habet pro se legem, vel antiquam et probatam consuetudinem, alia non, et tunc illa est præferenda: quia minime mutanda sunt, quæ certam sententiam semper habuerunt. L. minime ff. de leg.

Aut non est lex nec consuetudo pro aliqua ipsarum, vel est pro utraque et tunc debent concordari; ut dicatur unam in uno, et aliam in alio casu obtinere, si fieri potest . . . quia conveniens est jura juribus concordare. Et si concordari non possunt communis opinio sequenda est, quia in causa dubii pro multitudine præsumendum est, et communis opinio Doctorum inducit probabilem errorem. Hoc tamen limita verum, secundum Geminianum nisi vera et certa ratio contraria assignetur, et in idem redit limitatio Joannis Andreæ. Sed neque ex multitudine auctorum quod melius et æquius est judicato: cum possit unius et forte deterioris sententia multos in aliqua parte superare, quod menti commendandum est: quia judex potest interpretari legem seu canonem quoad causam vertentem coram eo, ut notabiliter dicit Innocentius. Est autem communis opinio secundum Jacobum de Butrio quando cum opinione glossæ est aliquis solemnis Doctor et bonæ conscientiæ, potest illum judex sequi: sicut faciunt judices ecclesiastici, maxime in causis matrimonialibus. Et hæc nota contra judices amatores novarum opinionum: quia secundum Baldum judex tenens novas opiniones dicitur propter imperitiam facere, et de imperitia punitur; et qui quærunt casus singulares dimittentes regularia, cadunt in latam culpam.

Si autem non apparet quæ sit opinio communis, sed pro utraque sunt famosissimi Doctores judex sequendo aliquam earum non tenebitur in simili casu, secundum quod voluit Innocentius, quem sequitur Bartolus, quod verum dicit, secundum Innocentium, quantum ad hoc ut non puniat in foro seculari, secus tamen in foro conscientiæ, quia debuit eligere eam, quæ validioribus rationibus iuratur, maxime si talis opinio sit subtilior.

Et si una innititur rigori scripto, reliqua vero scriptæ æquitati præponitur æquior, quod tamen fallit in odium Judæorum, contra quos rigor præfertur æquitati. De Judæis, cap. ii. Et dicitur benignior ea quæ lavet juramento, testamento, libertati, matrimonio, religioni, et sacramento.

Et si Doctores contraria opinantes sunt antiqui et moderni præponuntur antiqui : quia temporis diuturnitas videtur aliquam auctoritatem attulisse, nisi ex novis rationibus et causis aliud sentiat : quia aliquando intellectus junioris est perspicacior. Si vero sint Theologi et Canonistæ vel Legistæ præferuntur Theologi in materia juris divini veteris et novi : Canonistæ vero in materia canonica : et Legistæ in legali. Si vero sunt ex quatuor Doctoribus Ecclesiæ, in subtilitatibus quæstionum non textualium maxime anagogicarum præfertur Augustinus, in textualibus Hieronymus, in allegatoriis Ambrosius, et Gregorius in moralibus : quia quilibet horum quatuor in aliquo ex quatuor sensibus Scripturæ dicitur præeminere.

Si vero sit inter papam et concilium . . . in spectantibus ad fidem et mores et in omnibus papa præfertur concilio, quamdiu est caput.⁵

So writes Sylvester, quoting almost *verbatim* from the *Summa Angelica*, or, perhaps, from some authority which both followed. It is obvious that there was no principle of universal application in cases of conflicting opinions, and different Doctors would doubtless apply different rules to the same case. There was also abundant room for the subjective element to enter into the solution—one Doctor would consider that there was a custom, or a common opinion, or famous Doctors on both sides, another would hold the contrary ; one would hold that equity inclined one way, another that it inclined the opposite ; or, as human nature changes little, some young Doctor, to gain a reputation for a perspicacious intellect, would depart from the opinions of his elders, and never want for some good reason for his temerity. Moreover, although all agreed that the common opinion might safely be followed when there was one, yet Navarrus tell us that not the number of authors but their weight made a common opinion, and that an opinion held by eight or ten grave theologians might be called common. Nay, Sylvester warned us in the extract quoted above, not to go by the number of authors, since the opinion of one and a worse theologian, might be better than that of many on some special point. It is not surprising then that there was a variety of opinions on many questions ; each Doctor

⁵ *Summa Sylvestrina*, s.v. *Opinio*.

held that which approved itself to him, and considered himself obliged to follow it in his own conduct. However, the same person might hold and follow one view for one purpose, and another for another, as Navarrus deduced from the *c. Dominus* 'per quæ probatur,' he says, 'unam et eandem mulierem posse et debere credere suum maritum esse illum cui cohabitat quo reddat debitum, et contrarium ad effectum exigendi.'"

These were rules for the theologian to aid him in forming a practical opinion in case of doubt. But what was the layman or simple priest to do in like emergencies? It was the recognised teaching of all theologians that such a one might safely follow the opinion of his own Doctor or master. As Sylvester says:—

Quæritur utrum sequens opinionem Doctoris alicujus non subtiliter investigatam quæ deinde apparet falsa: sive quod idem est, utrum auditores diversorum magistrorum tenentium diversas opiniones quarum scilicet altera necessario est falsa, excusentur si sequantur opiniones suorum magistrorum?

Et dico quod hic videntur esse opiniones et non sunt. [He then quotes St. Thomas and Panormitanus.] Istæ autem opiniones non sunt contrariæ, sed ex utrisque elicitur completa veritas, quia utraque loquitur in spectantibus ad fidem aut mores. S. Thomas dicit quod tales non excusantur in his quæ sunt manifeste et clare determinata alicubi . . . Panormitanus vero loquitur in obscuris, et est verum opposita ratione, dicente Monaldo quod non generatur aliquod præjudicium veritati, cum inter diversas opiniones a magistris approbatas et scripturis authenticis annotatas illam quis amplectitur, quæ sibi videtur magis consona rationi. Et hoc intellige non solum quando quis facit quod in se est ut intelligat veritatem: quia talis etiam in manifeste determinatis excusaretur, cum laboraret ignorantia pro tunc invincibili, sed etiam cum quis in affectione ad suum Doctorem judicat probabiliter, ut sibi videtur, esse verum quod est falsum.

Nec obstat, quod in dubiis tutior opinio est eligenda . . . quia non est in dubio, qui probabilibus rationibus flectitur ad unam partem. Nec quod incertum dimittendum est, et certum tenendum, . . . quia tenet iste certum sibi moraliter: cum in moralibus sufficiat certitudo ex probabilibus secundum Philosophum; 1 Ethic. unde si Joachim tenuit contra fidem et non fuit hæreticus: quia talis articulus nondum erat per Ecclesiam

damnatus : multo magis excusatur sequens opinionem Doctoris non reprobata⁷ cum voluntate non adhærendi si vera non apparet.⁷

Angelus answers the same question in the same sense. Similarly Navarrus :—

In foro conscientiæ, ad effectum non peccandi sufficit eligere pro vera ejus opinionem quem merito censemus esse virum idonea ad id scientia et conscientia præditum.

And :—

Henricus Gandavensis et Conradus respondent non esse eandem rationem [imperiti e periti]. Nam si vir sit peritus et doctus debet opinionum rationes et pondera examinare et excutere, ut prudenter agat : si vero rudis sit et imperitus, ejus non est opinionum fundamenta discutere : quare ut prudenter facitet, satis est si boni et docti viri consilium et opinionem sequatur.⁸

This will, perhaps, throw light on the remark of Henry VIII., uttered in approval of Dean Colet after a celebrated sermon :—‘ Let every man have his own Doctor, and every one follow his liking ; but this is the Doctor for me.’⁹

It was then universally admitted that although the skilled theologian had to form his own conscience, and follow that opinion of several in disputed cases which seemed to him to be true or better grounded, yet the ordinary man might without scruple follow the opinion of some good and learned man, in whose judgment he had confidence.

A practical difficulty sometimes arose. A penitent followed one opinion, his confessor held another, what was the confessor to do in this case ? The question was much controverted, and various opinions were held in the schools. It will be sufficient to quote that of *Goffridus* as reproduced and approved by St. Antoninus.¹⁰

Si dubium sit utrum sit peccatum mortale, et opiniones sunt inter magistros, sicut utrum sit licitum emere reditus ad vitam,

⁷ *Sum. Syl.*, s.v. *Opinio*.

⁸ Ap. Azor, *Inst. Moral.* I., lb. ii., c. 17.

⁹ Lupton, *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 193.

¹⁰ *Summa*, pt. III., tit. 17, c. 20, § ii.

tunc autem confessor est ordinarius ejus, ita quod tenetur audire confessionem ejus, et tunc, si sit illius opinionis, quod illud non sit peccatum, debet eum absolvere simpliciter. Si autem credit, quod sit peccatum, debet ei conscientiam facere, quod confitens diligenter se informet de illo facto, utrum sit peccatum. Sed dato, quod ille non vellet cognoscere illud esse peccatum, nihilominus ex quo est ordinarius, tenetur illum absolvere, nec reputare eum inhabilem ad absolutionem, quia ex ratione et non protervia hæc opinio est. Ordinarius autem in absolvendo debet sequi commune judicium ecclesiæ, non suum. Si autem sit confessor delegatus, qui in nullo tenetur confitenti, nisi velit, si credit illud esse mortale, non debet eum absolvere, quia ex mera voluntate dependet, ut absolvat, vel dimittat : debet enim sequi in absolvendo proprium judicium, et peccaret absolvendo. Hæc Goffridus.

However, Angelus, Navarrus, Sotus, and others had no difficulty in showing that such a penitent from the very fact of being admitted to confession by a priest, thereby acquired a right to receive absolution, which the priest, whoever he was, and whatever opinion he held, was obliged to give.

We have in the above extracts the rules laid down by theologians before the rise of Probabilism for forming a certain conscience in uncertain and disputed cases. Theologians of all schools taught that one who was no expert in theology might in disputed cases act on the opinion of any good and learned man, and that for this purpose it was not necessary for him to try to understand the grounds on which the opinion rested, it was sufficient if he formed a probable judgment that so good and learned a man as the Doctor whom he followed taught the truth on the point. In doing so he did all that could be reasonably expected of him ; he acted prudently, he had a morally certain judgment that he was acting lawfully, and his confessor was obliged to give him absolution, though he might be of a contrary opinion with regard to the doubtful case. More, indeed, was expected of the comparatively few experts who could form an opinion on a disputed point for themselves. But it was sufficient for them to follow the common opinion, that is, an opinion held by eight or ten Doctors of repute, or even by fewer, for weight rather than number was considered ; and if there were no common opinion, but grave authors on both

sides, the expert was at liberty to choose which opinion he preferred. Such a one had moral certainty, which is derived, says Angelus.

*Non ex evidentia demonstrationis sed ex probabilibus conjecturis grossis et figuralibus magis ad unam partem quam ad aliam se habentibus. Dicitur autem probabile quod pluribus et maxime sapientibus apparet verum.*¹¹

In their practical working there would be little difference between these principles and those of the modern Probabilist. If further proof besides an examination of the above rules were required for this assertion, it would be found in the fact that Probabilists still follow the opinions arrived at by the ancient Doctors. Indeed, modern Probabilists, in order to avoid the charge of laxity of opinion, and to escape all danger of the condemnation levelled by Alexander VII. against those who taught that one modern author made an opinion probable as long as it was not condemned by the Holy See,¹² state the doctrine with more apparent strictness. The difference in theory between previous theologians and Bartholomæus à Medina appeared from the different answers which they gave to the question which began to be discussed in the second half of the sixteenth century. That question was: Is it lawful for a man to follow a probable opinion when he thinks the contrary the more probable? Sotus, Conradus, Cajetan and others thought not, because such a one exposed himself to the danger of sinning by choosing what appeared to him to be less certain; he acted against his conscience, which told him that the other opinion was the better. It will be well to give the contrary answer of Bartholomæus à Medina in his own words:—

Sed ex hoc nascitur magna quæstio, Utrum teneamur sequi opinionem probabiliorē relicta probabili, an satis sit sequi opinionem probabilem. Hanc quæstionem difficilem satis explicat doctissimus Soto.

Soto is then quoted, together with Conradus, Sylvester and Cajetan, as maintaining that we are bound to follow the more probable view.

¹¹ s.v. *Opinio*.

¹² Prop. 27a damnata ab Alexandro VII., 24th Sept., 1665.

Certe argumenta videntur optima sed mihi videtur quod si est opinio probabilis licitum est eam sequi, licet opposita probabilior sit: nam opinio probabilis in speculativis ea est quam possumus sequi sine periculo erroris et deceptionis; ergo opinio probabilis in practicis ea est quam possumus sequi sine periculo peccandi. Secundo, opinio probabilis ex eo dicitur probabilis quod possumus eam sequi sine reprehensione et vituperatione: ergo implicat contradictionem, quod sit probabilis, et quod non possumus eam licite sequi . . . Tertio, opinio probabilis est conformis rectæ rationi, et existimationi virorum prudentum et sapientum: ergo eam sequi non est peccatum . . . Sed dices, esse quidem rectæ rationi conformem, tamen quia opinio probabilior, est conformior, et securior, obligamur eam sequi. Contra est argumentum. Nam nemo obligatur ad id quod melius et perfectius est, perfectius est esse virginem, quam esse uxoratum; esse religiosum quam esse divitem: sed nemo ad illa perfectiora obligatur. Quarto licitum est opinionem probabilem in scholis docere et proponere, ut etiam adversarii nobis concedunt: ergo licitum est eam consulere . . . Item, non potest confessarius cogere pœnitentem ut sequatur opinionem probabiliorem: ergo non est obligatio ad sequendam opinionem probabiliorem: antecedens ex prædictis manifestum est. Ultimo, opposita sententia cruciat animos timoratos; nam semper oporteret inquirere quænam sit opinio probabilior; quod timorati viri nunquam faciunt.¹³

It is not surprising that these clear and conclusive reasons produced conviction on the minds of contemporary theologians. A few years later Vasquez wrote that Medina's opinion was commonly taught in the schools, nor did it meet with serious opposition for well nigh a hundred years. There was no new principle of morals introduced, Medina only applied to the solution of the question principles which were admitted on all hands, but in doing so he showed that the rule of Probabilism was of universal extension, that it might lawfully be used as a guide of conduct by learned and unlearned, whether the contrary opinion was thought more probable or not by him whose action was in question. Instead of several different rules, often depending in their application on merely subjective considerations, one objective universal principle had been formulated, which rendered a scientific system of moral theology possible. In

¹³ Barth. à Medina, *Expositio in I.-II. S. T.*, q. xix. a 6.

this sense Bartholomæus à Medina was the founder of Probabilism, a system which was developed and improved by the labours of succeeding theologians, especially by those of the great Suarez.

What these theologians did may be indicated briefly. The principle, as it appears in Medina, is stated without a necessary restriction. As worded by him, there was danger of its being applied not merely in cases where the only question was one of sin or no sin, but where there was question of the validity of an act, or of the indubitable right of another. Where the only question is one of sin, it is obvious that, even if the probable opinion be false, no serious harm can follow from the use of it by a person in good faith. Material sin only will be committed, and that after due diligence has been employed to avoid it. But if there be question of the validity of a Sacrament, or of the genuineness of a banknote, it is clear that the use of a probable opinion exposes one to the danger of transgressing justice and charity. Justice and charity demand that a child should be validly baptised; there is a sin against justice and charity if a priest wilfully and without necessity uses doubtful matter, and so imperils the validity of baptism, which no probable opinion can supply. To guard against the danger of the application of Probabilism to such cases, Suarez¹⁴ proposed to limit its application to questions concerning probability of law, or whether the action in question was prohibited or not, and to exclude questions concerning probability of fact, or where there was question of the validity of an act, or an end to be gained. This distinction of Suarez was a distinct improvement in the statement of the principle of Probabilism, and it has been generally adopted.

Another service which Suarez rendered was to indicate the real, solid basis of the principle. Medina and his immediate followers insisted rather on the nature of a probable opinion in their proof of the lawfulness of its use. The opinion was probable; this means an opinion worthy of

¹⁴ In I.-II., tract. iii., d. 12, sec. 6.

approval ; which may, therefore, be acted on ; and this was expressed in the formula—*Qui probabiliter agit prudenter agit*. This formula seems to imply that probability, not moral certainty, is the guide of action. Suarez, on the other hand, rests his proof of the principle on the sure axiom, familiar to St. Thomas,—*Lex dubia non obligat*. Whenever there is a solidly probable opinion that an action is lawful, there is no certain law forbidding it, and an uncertain law cannot bind the conscience.

From all this we may conclude that the theologians of the Society did not invent Probabilism, nor did they force their new and lax doctrine on the Catholic Church ; they merely accepted the common teaching of all Catholic schools, and they did something to place it on a firmer basis, and to safeguard it against abuse, as Cardinal D'Annibale testifies.¹⁷ They thus helped not to corrupt the doctrine of the Church, but to develop it *in eodem dogmate, eodem sensu, eademque sententia*.¹⁸

T. SLATER, S.J.

¹⁷ *Summula Theol. Mor*, i., p. 9.

¹⁸ *Vat. Sess. III.*, c. 4.

SAVE THE CHILD!

A SUGGESTION TO CLERICAL MANAGERS

[T is a matter of mutual congratulation amongst us to-day that the clouds that lowered on our land are gradually drifting away and allowing our hopeful eyes to see the first rays of a brilliant dawn. The greatest marplot in our destiny—the land question—is in process of disappearing, and everyone hopes that energy, long checked and kept under, will now rapidly manifest itself and make itself felt for the betterment of our land and its people. But it is so seldom that the men who fight the battle enjoy its full fruits. Many a generation followed the barons of Runnymede before the best blessings of the great charter were felt; it is only to-day, when every hand that struck the blow for independence is crumbled to dust, that the American feels the full import of that victory. In like manner the soreness of the gyves will linger for many a year in the limbs of the tenant farmer of Ireland. The men who were in the thickest of the fight will have chanted the *Nunc dimittis* while the redemption is but beginning. It is the children of to-day who are to enter into the full enjoyment of the rights won for them, and it is they who must build on the foundation laid in such suffering and patience. They will come into action at a most critical period, the very turning point of our nation's career, where lines diverge rapidly and widely. They can make or mar the future of our country.

Is it not then worth our while to consider what we are doing for the education of the children? Is it not a sacred obligation on us to secure that the child, when grown to the man, may be able to take his place in the work before him, that his shoulders should be fitted for the burthen, and his head and heart and hand trained for the work? We should be able to say that, though we could not live to help the work, we trained a generation of Irishmen who were fitted for their destiny. My object in writing

this paper is to prove that we are not doing our duty by the child, and to point out how a remedy may be applied.

In the first place, I wish to show my readers what should be thought a lamentable feature in the education of our people. We are unconsciously allowing ourselves to be trailed at the heels of a decadent country. Our methods and our means are English, and are seldom even English at first hand. Long after the English schools had adopted the Tonic Sol-fa method, the poor Irish children were grinding away at the old method. The paper folding and wire working were beginning to drop out of the English curriculum, when they were welcomed here as a bright inspiration, the manual training is with us in its infancy, whilst of adult growth across the water. Nature study is there now, it will probably reach us in a decade or so when its futility is fully apparent to even English educationalists. The snail-paced Euclid is at last being ousted from English schools—here it is still educational heresy to breathe a word against him : in our National Schools mathematics, the backbone of technical progress, is being silently strangled, whilst the force of Continental example is making its study an indispensable item in the English schools, after vainly seeking salvation along the lines the Irish child is forced to tread to-day. Could there be any worse plight for an educational system than to be about ten years behind a country that is decadent in this as in everything else? Are we going to start Young Ireland wrapped up in the cerecloths of England?

In such brief space I cannot adequately describe the barrenness of intellect that exists at present in England whence our systems of education come, and where, together with Scotland, many of our teachers are produced. I suppose I am not wrong in using physical science as a test of what a people can do in the intellectual world. Looking over the progress of this branch of knowledge for the last thirty years we do not find anything very great done as the outcome of English thought and teaching. The science papers teem with discoveries by French, German, Swedish, and other students of the page of nature, but with a few

very brilliant exceptions England is like our Trinity—the Silent Sister. As for the practical or commercial application of science, Stead assures us, in his *Review of Reviews*, that for the past thirty years there has been no notable invention in England, with the exception of Parsons' turbine. The presence of this appalling blight can be submitted to an easy and interesting test. Since the arrival of our science schools there is scarcely a priest that has not got copies of the catalogues of scientific instrument makers. Let him run his eye down their pages, and when he has subtracted the foreign names he will find a painfully small residuum of English ones, and these connected with some brilliant achievement in the way of a new retort-stand or a clip for holding test-tubes. Perhaps they might rise as high as a plausible looking variant on the venerable pyrometer. Of course we shall let pass the fact that many of these instruments with the name of an English maker are 'made in Germany.'

Lest I may seem to be unduly severe on this phase of English thought, I shall quote from the *World's Work* of April. South Kensington is considered the incarnation of science in the English scientific world, and when our local scientific authorities want to be particularly impressive they refer to section so and so, sub-section so and so, numberso and so, of the science decalogue, as issued from South Kensington. Here is the judgment on this idol with the feet of clay:—'The South Kensington Department of Science,' writes Dr. Chalmers Mitchell, 'is probably the most costly, the most wasteful, and the most stupid of our educational shams.' A writer in *Nature* called the classes in its connection 'squads of bottle washers.' To show its inefficiency in applied knowledge, I give as an example what occurred at a recent Nottingham conference of the heads of the boot trade. They were discussing the technology of boot manufacture, and as a result they issued an ultimatum that if this oracle did not mend its ways and strive to do something useful and practical they would be obliged to cut their connection with it! Yet, as a very competent teacher said to me recently, we are being South Kensingtonised here in Ireland.

If we turn to any other province where the mind of man can assert itself we find the handwriting on the wall everywhere. The literature of the England of to-day is the most insipid and banal effort that can be possibly imagined. What can be the calibre of a people that has made a fortune for *Tit Bits*, *Answers*, *Comic Cuts*, etc.? The only literary effort that seems to succeed is the novel with the usual prurient stock-in-trade of sex problems, etc., *ad nauseam*. In these cases it is not the style, or the plot, or the character that brings success, it is some novel fillip to the degraded appetite of the English public. In trade, the present crusade of Mr. Chamberlain is ample proof how the sterile, self-conceited English mind has been beaten by the intellectual nations of the world. It would simply overload your pages did I quote specimens of the unanimous verdict of thinking Englishmen on this matter. Professor Armstrong in the current *Quarterly* acknowledges the German supremacy in many fields of commerce, and attributes their triumph to their superior education. The English breakdown is attributed to the attitude observed by the universities and until they change this they will make little progress. Who that has read the report of the Commission on the late war but is forced to admit that they must be a decadent people, when in their supreme emergency every staff broke and wounded the hand that it should support. The revelation of such incompetency has made this particular department of English administration the laughing-stock of Europe. But how could things be otherwise, when Lord Roberts certifies that some of his officers could not write their own language clearly enough for the transmission of orders.

To sum up, then, it could not be expected that I should follow this indictment to its full length. The *Fortnightly* some time ago called England the ignoramus of Europe. Dr. William Maguire in the *World's Play* of April says, 'The average English public school product of eighteen to twenty is at present the most hopelessly educated man of his age and rank in any civilized state, fit for no position of responsibility at home or abroad.' The primary schools

of England, according to the letters and articles that have appeared during the last six months, are a brilliant success as failures. What then, are we doing here in Ireland? We are taking our inspiration, our methods, our ideals, from a land where even, on the admission of its principal men, failure, stupidity, and barrenness are writ large over everything. Our educational world is controlled by men of English thought, in many cases men who have never travelled beyond England, and who, either congenitally or by acquisition, have acquired a distrust if not a hatred of everything un-English. Water cannot rise beyond its level, and if we trust to these guides we cannot rise out of the morass into which England is at present plunged.

My remedy for this state of affairs, as far as regards primary education, is, perhaps, worthy of consideration. I speak at present of primary education, because, firstly, as a foundation all future work depends on it; secondly, we are in a position now to do something effective. Under the new rules of the National Board the arrangement of a programme is practically left to the manager of a school. It has been said that any programme that is reasonably workable will be sanctioned. Without saying anything derogatory, I suppose it will be admitted that all managers are not equally capable of drawing up such a programme. To do so effectively would require a thorough training in the psychology of teaching, a close acquaintance with the work of schools at home and particularly abroad, and a keen sense of the fitness of means towards attaining the ends of local requirements. Some managers attack the work with conspicuous success, some with indifferent result, and some leave the work to the inspector, who, of course, follows the book.

From this results, as an immediate consequence, that in some cases there is a great chance lost and in the whole country there is a want of uniformity that is simply disastrous to our people. As far as the solid general education goes there should be perfect evenness throughout the length and breadth of the land. This is what raises a most important factor when any scheme for the improvement of a people is in progress. In an evenly educated country, it is taken

up simultaneously ; in one where such uniformity does not prevail the less educated are always a brake on the wheels of progress. Again, when inspectors dressed in brief authority challenge any arrangement there is always the prejudice as for the professional against the amateur, and though the latter by shrewd sense may really have the sounder views, the weight of authority prevails.

Secondly, the managers have at last banded together for concerted action. The provincial managers elect a council for the province, the provincial councils select delegates for the central council for all Ireland. The primary education of the country is thus practically controlled as a unit by this central council. This is a gigantic stride towards success. It secures the uniformity, the co-operation, the strength of unity, much to be desired. To my mind the work has yet to be crowned, and I suggest the following method. For all Ireland, or preferably for each of the provinces there should be secured the services of an acknowledged expert in primary education. This man, or these men, should be perfectly familiar with live modern primary education on the continent or in America, or preferably in both places. The central and provincial councils should confer with the expert authority on everything connected with the schools, the drawing up of a general programme for the primary schools, the efficiency of the work done, and every question that up-to-date information is required about. This expert authority should visit every school within the district and act as the eye of the manager, and report on anything that concerned his sphere. It would be a wholesome deterrent to self-assertive and self-contained officials to know that behind the local manager's arrangements there lay, not his own opinion nor his own experience, but the recognised authority of a man of acknowledged repute. It would be a great source of strength for the managers to know that they were not made play the beggars' part in the 'shave beggar' educational policy that is at present adopted towards Ireland. It would be a comforting thought to the parents of the country that their children were not rushing open-mouthed into the schools to see what decadent England would send

them, and that in their teaching the masters were looking not to a setting but to a rising sun.

This expert authority should be the best available, and to secure such a man a good salary should be paid. There are over 1000 Catholic parishes in Ireland and if each one contributed £1 per year this would secure a salary such as would command one of the best men to be found in the educational world. Surely no man that has a proper idea of the value of education and the importance of securing it in its best form would hesitate at this expenditure. What I should hope for would be that each province would have the undivided attention of an expert, and even though such were paid £500 or £800 a year the money would be well spent. We should break loose from an effete and stupid method of education ; we should be put in touch with all that is best and most progressive in foreign lands ; we should give proof of that vitality of our Church that makes her rise to and cope with every emergency ; and above all, we should feel secure that as far as human efforts could avail we were laying well and truly the foundation for a great Ireland of the future.

The points in this article are but briefly touched upon, but I place them before the readers of the I. E. RECORD rather as suggesting reflection and examination than anything else. I feel convinced, that once those entrusted with the sacred work of training the young generation find that at present they are leading them to broken fountains, and this can be easily verified by a brief survey of the present state of English methods, they will feel bound to seek for a new path, which will lead towards fresh and strengthening waters. I flatter myself, though my plan is only in brief outline, that in this direction lies a sure and straight road.

P. J. DOWLING, C.M.

AROUND THE EUCHARIST

IN the Roman Ritual¹ we read: 'SS. Eucharistiæ particulas frequenter renovabit. Hostiæ vero seu particulae consecrandæ sint recentes; et ubi eas consecraverit veteres primo distribuat vel sumat.' Two things are commanded: the first is that the particles are to be *frequently* renewed, and the second is that only recently made breads are to be consecrated. As to the renewal of the sacred particles, a strict law existed in the early ages of the Church. In later times there are many enactments on the point. The Sacred Congregation of the Council² decreed: 'Renovatio SS. Sacramenti debet fieri qualibet Dominica *non autem* differri ad quindecim dies.' *The Cereemoniale Episcoporum*³ requires the particles to be renewed, 'saltem semel in hebdomada.'

Martene⁴ writes: 'Communis Ecclesiæ Latinæ usus obtinuit, ut semel tantum singulis hebdomadis, aut ad summum singulis quibusque quindenis diebus Eucharistia innovaretur.'

The Congregation of Rites was asked, 12th September, 1884, if the custom in a certain diocese of renewing the Blessed Sacrament 'once or twice in the month' could be continued. The reply was: 'Servetur dispositio (*Cer. Episc.*, L. I., c. vi., n. 2) *Cereemonialis Episcoporum*.' This, therefore, is not a mere counsel, but a decided and grave precept to be strictly and piously observed. Many provincial and diocesan Synods have similarly decreed. In 1850 our National Synod of Thurles enacted: 'Ne autem diutius asservatæ corrumpantur particulae, a parochis et aliis sacerdotibus ad quos spectat, renovandæ sunt octavo quolibet die.'⁵ In Ireland, then, all doubt is removed. Sacred particles kept in a Ciborium, or in a Pyxis, or the one in a

¹ Tit. 4, c. 1, n. 7.

² 5th April, 1573.

³ L. I, c. 6, n. 2.

⁴ L. I., c. 5, iv. 9.

⁵ De Euch. n. 17.

Benediction Lunette, must be renewed every eight days. Kane observes that the minute particles remaining in an exhausted Ciborium or Pyxis should be consumed every week. He also says: 'Speaking of the obligation generally, no one can have a doubt but that it binds *sub gravi*, since it is imposed by the Church in a matter that intimately concerns the honour and reverence due to our Lord in the Holy Sacrament.'⁶ Again he observes that 'to defer the renewal of the particles for fifteen days would not *exceed a venial sin*, unless in case of great damp, or some other special cause accelerating the process of corruption.'

The second point raised by the above quotation from the Roman Ritual is that it is only recently-made Particles or Hosts that can be lawfully consecrated. St. Charles Borromeo in his fourth Provincial Synod ruled, 'Ut octavo quoque die renovetur Eucharistia et quidem ex hostiis *non ante viginti dies* ad summum confectis.' Observe the word '*ad summum*,' marking the utmost limit, even in a dry country such as Northern Italy. Reverence to the Blessed Sacrament would suggest for security sake the renewing of the sacred Particles every week, and the using for Mass Hosts *recently* made, that is not farther back than within the previous week. In *Decretis Synodi Placentini*⁷ on this matter, we find the following:—

Verum, ut in hoc gravi argumento aliquid præcise diceremus, plures viros chymicæ ac physicæ peritissimos consulere volumus; intra quod temporis spatium in hostiis ordinarie corruptio incipiat. Peractis ad rem experimentis, in fine unius integri mensis, corruptionis principium ex microscopio circiter inspicere responderunt, etsi incepta corruptio ex sensu visus minimè percipiatur.

The Rubric of the Missal⁸ enacts:—'Si (panis) coeperit corrumpi, sed non sit corruptus. . . . Conficitur (Sacramentum) sed conficiens graviter peccat.' Hence, if the bread were entirely corrupted, there would be no sacrifice, no Sacrament; but if it be doubtful that corruption had

⁶ C. xi., § 8, n. 620.

⁷ 1899, p. 116.

⁸ *De defectibus*, III. 3.

proceeded so far, the consecration is doubtful, and therefore illicit, as all hold with St. Alphonsus.⁹ Grave obligations here arise for those in charge of churches, and alarming consequences if, by their negligence, the Hosts should become corrupted. It behoves them, or those acting for them, to bear distinctly in mind that unleaven bread is subject to corruption, specially if shut up in musty presses or drawers, although that incipient corruption cannot be easily discovered by the naked eye. Care should be taken that the breads should be made each week and with great care and attention to cleanliness, but not in greater quantity than may be required for consecration to the end of the following week.

It may be added that no less diligence is to be observed by those responsible in securing the proper matter for the Sacrifice of the Mass, viz. : wheaten flour and pure wine. In these days, when adulteration is so easy and so general, extraordinary precautions must be taken to satisfy one's conscience that unadulterated wheaten flour is always used in the manufacturing of the Altar Breads and that the wine used at Mass is undoubtedly the real juice of the grape.

Van der Stappen¹⁰ testifies that in his time there were only two bakers of Altar Breads allowed in Rome for four hundred churches, and that these two had to bind themselves by oath, in presence of the Cardinal Vicar, that they would never sell Hosts baked more than fifteen days. At present in Rome there is liberty for each one to make Altar Breads, so that there and throughout the Church the obligation falls on the rectors of churches to see that the conditions for wine and bread are observed. As so much is at stake, evidently too much pains cannot be taken.

It is also to be remembered that old Particles are not to be mixed with new ones.

M. O'CALLAGHAN, C.M.

⁹ L. 6, n. 207.

¹⁰ Q. 166.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

ORDINATION TO PRIESTHOOD—DIMISSORIAL AND TESTIMONIAL LETTERS

REV. DEAR SIR,—A bishop, in failing health, gives to one of his subjects licence to be ordained priest by the bishop of a neighbouring diocese. For some cause the candidate for orders was unable to present himself for ordination at the place and time appointed. Meantime the bishop who granted the dimissorial letters died. What of the validity of the dimissorial letters? Can the candidate for orders use these letters? Or must he see that the successor of the late bishop consents to his ordination and reissues his dimissorial letters?

ORDINANDUS.

1. If the licence to be ordained were granted, as sometimes happens, for a limited time, manifestly it cannot be used once the specified time has elapsed. Similarly, if, in any case, the licence were granted exclusively for a definite ordaining prelate.

2. If, however, the licence were granted, in the first instance, without these conditions, it remains valid until it is revoked by the Bishop who granted it, or by his successor. The successor may validly revoke the dimissorial letters. But, neither his knowledge nor his consent is necessary to the validity of the letters granted by his predecessor.

In this connection, it is well to note that testimonial letters—as distinct from dimissorial letters—lose their efficacy by mere lapse of time, and the reason is obvious. They contain a testimony of character, and a testimony of character is worthless for the purpose in view unless it comes up to date. It is usually held that testimonial letters for ordination are not valid for more than six months after the date on which they are issued.

**FACULTY TO DISPENSE IN MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS—
DOES IT EXPIRE WITH THE DEATH OF THE BISHOP
BY WHOM IT IS DELEGATED?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—During the time of a vacancy in this diocese the Vicar-General of the late Bishop, forgetting that his faculties expired with his Bishop, continued to dispense in matrimonial impediments by the Formula VI. Were marriages contracted by persons dispensed in this way invalid? And if they were invalid what steps should be taken to set matters right?

C. L.

It is, of course, true that a Vicar-General loses the office and the faculties of Vicar-General by the death or removal from office of his Bishop. But, it is a mistake—into which our correspondent seems to fall—to think that in the case mentioned the Vicar-General dispensed or attempted to dispense in virtue of his office as Vicar-General. For his power as Vicar-General extended to the ordinary faculties of the Bishop, not to extraordinary faculties, such as those of the Formula VI. To say, therefore, that he ceased to be Vicar-General the moment the Bishop died, leaves untouched the further question, whether or not he retained the extraordinary delegated faculties, which he is supposed to have had under the Formula VI. during the lifetime of the Bishop. This question is not, in any way, peculiar to a Vicar-General. It may be raised in regard to any priest who has similar delegation, and the answer will be the same as in the case of the Vicar-General.

Did the Vicar-General then lose his power to dispense under the Formula VI. on the death of the Bishop? And were marriages contracted with the (ex) Vicar-General's dispensations invalid? We think not,

By a decree of the Holy Office, dated 24th November, 1897, it is laid down that habitual Apostolic Faculties, like those granted to the Bishops of Ireland in the Formula VI., do not cease with death of a Bishop, but pass on to his successor in the rule of the diocese. The Vicar Capitular, for example, the moment he is legitimately constituted, *eo ipso* secures all these habitual faculties of the Bishop who has laid down his office; and, in turn, those faculties pass on to the new

Bishop for the unexpired term for which they have been granted. So much is certain. But did these faculties remain with the Vicar-General of the late Bishop, or with any other priest who had been habitually delegated by the late Bishop? Of course, they did not remain if the sub-delegation had been limited by the late Bishop to the term of his own life; or, again, if the Vicar Capitular or the successor of the late Bishop had withdrawn the sub-delegation. But if neither of these hypothesis be verified, there seems no reason to hold, in the present condition of the law, that the (ex) Vicar-General lost the faculties of the Formula VI. at the death of his late Bishop. The dispensations and the subsequent marriages would, therefore, seem to be valid.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

DECRETA S.R.C.: (1.) **NEW OFFICE OF ST. VINCENT—**
 (2.) **REGULARS AND OFFICE OF THE LOCAL PATRON—**
 (3.) **DECORATION OF ALTARS ON HOLY THURSDAY**

CONGREGATIONIS MISSIONIS

Quo magis cultus et pietas in sanctum Vincentium a Paulo Congregationis Missionis et Puellarum a Caritate Parentum et Fundatorem, necnon omnium Societatem Caritatis peculiarem Patronum, foveatur et promoveatur, Rmus. Dominus Antonius Fiat, prae-fatae Congregationis. Superior Generalis, a Sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio Papa X supplex efflagitavit, ut in Ecclesiis et Cappellis Congregationis Missionis et Puellarum Caritatis festum peragi valeat de Patrocinio S. Vincentii a Paulo, die 20 Decembris quotannis recolendum, cum officio et Missa propria, iuxta schema Apostolicae Sedis sanctioni demisse subiectum; prouti aliis Ordinibus seu Congregationibus simile festum de eorum sanctis Fandatoribus concessum est.

Huiusmodi vero Officium et Missam, quum de more Emus. et Rmus. Dominus Cardinalis Vincentius Vannutelli, Episcopus Praenestinus et Causae Ponens seu Relator, in Ordinario Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Coetu, subsignata die ad Vaticanum habito, proposuerit; Emi. et Rmi. Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, omnibus mature perpensis, auditoque R. P. D.

Alexandro Verde, S. Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt : *Pro gratia et ad Enum. Ponentum cum Promotore Fidei. Die 1 Septembris 1903.*

Facta postmodum de his sanctissimo eidem Domino nostro per subscriptum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis Secretarium relatione, Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratam habuit ; ac suprascriptum Officium cum Missa revisum atque emendatum approbare atque cum ipso Festum Patrocinii sancti Vincentii a Paulo die 20 Decembris sub ritu duplici maiori, Ecclesiis et Oratoriis Congregationis Missionis et Puellarum Caritatis recolendum, concedere dignata est : servatis Rubricis : Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 7 iisdem mense et anno.

M. Card. MOCENNI.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

SOCIETATIS MISSIONARIORUM A S. IOSEPH

Hodiernus redactor calendarii Officii divini pro alumnis Societatis Missionariorum a S. Ioseph, sequentis dubii solutionem a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione humillime expostulavit, nimirum : Ex Decreto S.C. pro Neg. Eccl. Extr., die 1 Ianuarii 1900, extensa fuere ad totam Americam Latinam Officium et Missa propria S. Thuribii Archiepiscopi Limani, sub ritu duplici secundae classis ; hinc dubium oritur, utrum alumni dictae Societatis, qui ex maxima parte distributi sunt in America Latina, ut pote ad regiones latino-americanas praecipue destinati, tali Decreto obligentur ; an potius stare debeant proprio calendario a S. Sede approbato, in quo S. Thuribius ritu duplici minori recensetur ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibus perpensis, respondendum censuit : *In casu, affirmative ad primam partem et negative ad secundam.*

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 8 Maii 1903.

S. Card. CRETONI, S.R.C. *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

SANCTI MINIATI

Hodierno Archipresbytero parochi Ecclesiae S. Ioannis

Baptistae in oppido *Fucecchio* nuncupato Dioeceseos Sancti Miniati postulanti : An non obstante Decreto Rmi. Episcopi S. Miniati die 19 Ferbuarii vertentis anni 1903 edito, tolerari posset ut imago seu effigies SS. Redemptoris demortui, vel Deiparae Virginis Perdolentis, in altari separato ab illo, in quo SSmum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum Feria V in Coena Domini publice expositum manet, venerationi Fidelium eadem Feria exhibeatur ?

Sacra Rituum Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, exquisita etiam sententia Commissionis Liturgicae respondendum sensuit : *Negative*, et servetur Decretum Episcopale.

Atque ita rescipit. Die 27 Martii 1903.

L. ✠ S.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

NOTES ON ABOVE DECREES :

1. The new Office in favour of the Patronage of St. Vincent will cause general satisfaction to the members of the Congregation of which he was the illustrious founder and to many others who are drawn to the Saint by a very special devotion. By a Brief, dated 12th May, 1885, the late Sovereign Pontiff, constituted St. Vincent 'Societatum omnium caritatis in toto Catholico orbe existentium *peculiarem apud Deum Patronum.*' It was only natural, then, that a petition should be promoted to the Holy See for an Office and Mass to signalize this title, and it was only in the fitness of things also that the request should be granted. Four Feasts are now associated with the Saint, each of which, by a happy chance, occurs in a separate quarter of the Breviary, viz., the Translation in spring, the principal Feast in summer, the *Natalis Diei* in autumn, and the Patronage in winter. As stated in the Decree, the new Feast is to be celebrated only by members of the Congregation and in the chapels and oratories belonging to the French Sisters of Charity.

In the Office the portions *proper* are the Prayer, and the Lessons of the Second Nocturn which are taken from the Brief already alluded to. In the Mass, except the Prayers, everything is the same as on the occasion of the 'Festum Principale.'

2. As a rule, religious who have a Calendar of their own, approved by the Holy See, are bound to follow it ; but there

are some cases where they are obliged to conform to the Diocesan or local Directory. Thus the Feast of the Principal Patron of the place or diocese, the Feast of the Titular of the Cathedral Church, and of the Anniversary of its Dedication, are among those that are to be celebrated by the Regular in common with the Secular clergy. Whether on these occasions the *celebration* of these Feasts by Regulars means the recital of the special Office granted to the Secular or Diocesan clergy is not so easy to decide, but the weight of evidence seems to be in favour of the affirmative opinion.¹

3. A decision of the S.R.C., dated December, 1896,² forbade the decoration, with images and statues, of the Altar of Repose on Holy Thursday and Good Friday, but allowed Bishops to 'tolerate ancient customs where they existed. The present Decree goes further, and prohibits the decoration in the manner described not only of the Altar of Exposition, but of any other altar in the church in which the ceremonies of Holy Week are carried out. It does not seem that this prohibition extends to churches in which the Holy Week Functions are not held, since its object appears to be to prevent any distraction that would interfere with the Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. On Holy Thursday the Church commemorates the Institution of the Holy Eucharist. But she also, as we gather from the Introit and Gradual of the Mass, makes memorial on this day of the Passion. Hence, after the Solemn Mass, the second Consecrated Host is carried to the Altar of Repose, where it remains, as in a 'sepulchre,' to typify the Saviour's burial,³ till the Mass of the Presanctified on Friday morning. Now, in many places, particularly in Spain, the custom exists of decorating the Sepulchre, or Altar of Repose, with the pictures and statues of those persons who were present at some scene of the Passion—such as the Apostle St. John, the Blessed Virgin, St. Mary Magdalen, the Roman soldiers, etc.—for the purpose of representing the scene with greater

¹ Cf. Appeltern, *Manuale Liturgicum*, II., p. 52; Piacenza *apud Eph. Lit.*, an. 1903, p. 260.

² n. 3939, nov. collected.

³ Cf. *idem Dec.*

effect and more vividness. It is some such custom as this that is alluded to in the Decree of the S.R.C.

ENROLMENT IN THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE SCAPULAR

REV. DEAR SIR,—In order to gain the Indulgences of the Brown Scapular, is it necessary to be enrolled in the Central Registry in Dublin, or is it sufficient that the person's name be entered in the Priest's book?

Consequently, what is to be said of patients in hospitals who are invested with the Scapular immediately before death, and who die before their names can be sent to the Central Registry?

Since the Decree⁴ of the 27th March, 1887, the enrolment of the members' names in a Register is a necessary condition for gaining the Indulgences of the Confraternity of the Scapular. In every church or locality where there exists a branch of the Confraternity, canonically erected, there should be a book where the names of the associates who are duly received may be entered. If this is what our correspondent means by the Priest's Book, entry in it is sufficient. But if there is no Confraternity canonically established in the district, the Priest authorised to receive members usually keeps, in some suitable way, a record of those received, and, at occasional intervals, forwards this list either to the Central Registry in Dublin, or to the nearest Convent of the Carmelite Order. A Priest, then, receiving into the Confraternity a patient in an hospital would, after the ceremony of reception, make an entry of the person's name in a diary or notebook, and afterwards re-enter it in the Parochial Register, if there was one, or, in default of this, forward the name in the manner described. It is not necessary that the names should be sent off at once. It is enough if they be sent off from time to time—once a year Beringer⁵ suggests. From this we may conclude that if a person duly received dies before his name is forwarded, there can be no reasonable doubt about his gaining the Indulgences before death.

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

THE CATHOLIC CLERICAL ASSOCIATION OF MANAGERS OF IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOLS

(UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF
IRELAND)

THE first meeting of the Central Council, held on 17th November, 1903, in Dublin. Right Rev. Dean Byrne, V.G., P.P., Dungannon, was appointed to the chair ; the Very Rev. John Curry, V.F., PP., St. Mary's, Drogheda, was appointed Hon. Secretary, and Very Rev. Terence O'Donnell, D.D., P.P., Fairview, Dublin, was appointed Hon. Treasurer.

The following are the delegates appointed by all the Provincial Councils in Ireland to form the Central Council :—

FOR THE PROVINCE OF ARMAGH—

Right Rev. Dean Byrne, V.G., P.P., Dungannon.
Right Rev. Monsignor M'Glynn, V.G., P.P., Stranorlar.
Very Rev. John Curry, V.F., P.P., St. Mary's, Drogheda.

FOR THE PROVINCE OF DUBLIN—

Right Rev. Monsignor Murphy, V.G., P.P., Maryboro'.
Very Rev. P. Canon Phelan, V.F., P.P., Slieverue.
Very Rev. T. O'Donnell, D.D., P.P., Fairview.

FOR THE PROVINCE OF CASHEL—

Right Rev. Monsignor Keller, V.G., P.P., Youghal.
Very Rev. Dean Kinane, V.G., P.P., Cashel.
Very Rev. Canon Hutch, D.D., V.F., P.P., Middleton.

FOR THE PROVINCE OF TUAM—

Very Rev. John Canon Barrett, V.G., P.P., Headford.
Right Rev. Monsignor Kelly, D.D., V.G., P.P., Athlone.
Very Rev. Jerome Fahy, D.D., V.G., P.P., Gort.

All the Delegates attended the meeting except Mgr. M'Glynn, who was unavoidably absent owing to duties in England.

The following were adopted as the Objects, Constitution, and Rules of the Association :—

(a) The objects of the Association are the safeguarding of

Catholic Education, the advancement of Primary Education, and the protection generally, of Catholic Clerical Managerial interests in Ireland. It is also intended that the Association will aid in improving the religious, intellectual, social, and financial condition of National School Teachers.

(b) Its constitution has been outlined in the following resolutions adopted unanimously by the Bishops of Ireland on the 8th October, 1902 :—

1°. An Association of Clerical Managers of Schools shall be formed in every diocese forthwith, membership to be open to every Clerical Manager in the diocese.

2°. The members of each Diocesan Association will elect three representatives as members of a Provincial Association, which will meet quarterly.

3°. Each Provincial Association will elect three delegates to constitute a central body, which will meet in Dublin once a year at least.

4°. Each Association, Diocesan, Provincial, and Central, will elect its own chairman and secretary.

5°. The Secretary of each Association will, in case of urgency, convene a meeting of the Association on the requisition of four members.

6°. Seven members shall form a quorum for a meeting of the Central Association.¹

(c) For the effective working of the Association, it was resolved :—

1°. That the members annually subscribe 5s. each toward the funds of the Association, such payments to be made before the 30th April in each year.

2°. That the Diocesan Treasurers collect the annual subscriptions in their respective dioceses, and, after paying Diocesan expenses, forward one moiety of the surplus to their respective Provincial Treasurers and the other to the Central Treasurer.

3°. That the funds of the Association are to be available for—

(a) The travelling and other out-of-pocket expenses of the members of the committees in doing the work of the Association.

(b) Secretarial expenses, Stationery, Printing, Postage, &c.

(c) The general purposes of the Association.

4°. That the balance sheets of the Diocesan Treasurers be submitted to the Provincial Councils, and those of the Provincial Treasurers to the Central Council before the 15th May in each year.

5°. That one of the Provincial meetings be held annually in May ; and that the Central Council meet annually in the month of June.

6°. That the Secretaries of the Provincial Councils send a report of their meetings to the Central Council.

7°. That vacancies on the various Committees be filled as they occur, by the votes of those who originally made the appointments.

The following resolutions were also adopted :—

1°.

That, in the name of all the Catholic Clerical School Managers of Ireland, we tender our filial homage to Pope Pius X., the Vicar of Christ and Head of the Catholic Church, and to assure him of our devoted allegiance to his sacred person and Throne.

2°.

That we respectfully request his Eminence Cardinal Logue, Primate of all Ireland, to forward the foregoing resolution to our Holy Father, and to ask the Apostolic Benediction for our school-children, our teachers, and ourselves.

3°.

That we pledge ourselves to safeguard by every lawful means the sacred interests of Catholic Education amongst the youth of our country.

4°.

(a) That we regard the Board of National Education, as at present constituted, as not sufficiently representative of Catholic principles. With a bare moiety of Catholic members, in great part controlled by one who has gratuitously and unjustly maligned the Catholic Clerical Managers of the country, it is not a governing body with which we can co-operate without feelings of insecurity and distrust ; and we declare the time has come for the substitution in its stead of a board that will direct the education of the youth of the country, an overwhelming majority of whom

are Catholic, with due consideration of Catholic interests. A proportionate majority of its members should be of the Catholic religion as long as the mixed system of education is maintained, and that majority should be of persons of such religious soundness in their tenets and practices as would command the confidence of the Catholic bishops of the country.

(b) That any change in the constitution or reconstruction of the National Board, or any changes in its rules, will be uncompromisingly resisted by us if it, in the slightest degree, impair the right of Managers in the appointment and dismissal of teachers as at present arranged by the Bishops of Ireland, and in the supervision and safeguarding of the faith and morals of pupils during their attendance at school.

5°.

That we ask for the removal of restrictions on religious practices and on the use of religious emblems in schools that have been and are Catholic and unmixed as to the religion of the pupils, and that we consider the children attending them should be free to privately practice devotions that will not interfere with their secular instruction, and to wear such emblems of piety as to them and their parents may seem fit.

6°.

That we call for equalisation of School Remuneration, by raising their capitation Grants, for our Convent and Monastic Schools with that of the other National Schools of the country. The work done in the former is of a more satisfactory nature than that done in the latter, judging from official reports; and it is inequitable and unjust that a remuneration of £1 17s. 11½d. per pupil be given in the Convent and Monastic Schools, while £2 8s. 5d. per pupil are given in ordinary Schools.

7°.

Inasmuch as Model Schools never fulfilled the expectations formed regarding them, and are no longer needed or used for supplying the country with teachers, and as they are costing the State twice the amount per pupil for work similar to that done in ordinary National Schools, we consider their existence unjustifiable and their continuance a huge public scandal. We respectfully call for their reduction, in all respects, to the rank of ordinary National Schools, and we ask that the money saved

thereby be employed in strengthening the teaching power in the National Schools and improving their sanitary condition.

8°.

That we request that an increase be made in the grants for building and enclosing new schools, and in the loans for building Teachers' Residences, proportionate to the increase that has taken place in wages and materials since the existing scale of prices was introduced ; and that much larger accommodation per pupil, to meet the requirements of the new system, be provided in all new schools, than is contemplated by the present rules ; that schools partly built by the State should be partly maintained by the State, to thus save public property ; and that we offer to co-operate with the Board of Public Works to the extent of one-third of the outlay, for the maintenance and preservation of Vested Schools so built, or to be built, in our respective parishes.

9°.

That, in many of our Schools, the teaching staff allowed by the Rule of the Board of Education is inadequate for efficiency in teaching. We consider that (a) every School with an average of 50 pupils should be entitled to an assistant teacher and to an additional assistant for every additional 30 ; that (b) every teacher the average attendance of whose School is up to 40 should be regarded as eligible for promotion to the highest grade of teaching ; that (c) the yearly average should be calculated on a basis of 200 days' attendances, the days to be selected by Manager and Teacher ; and that (d) the equipments required for the New Programme should be supplied to all Schools by the National Board.

10°.

For the sufficiency of a supply of teachers and to attract eligible persons to the service, we regard the initial salaries as too low, and promotion as too slow, and that the former should be considerably augmented. No male teacher, we submit, should have a fixed salary of less than £60 a year, and no female teacher one of less than £50 a year. We think that the salaries of assistant teachers should be progressive to a higher maximum than at present.

11°.

We are aware of several instances in which, in the arrangement of emoluments in the New System of Payment less money

is awarded a teacher appointed within three years before the New System came into force than should be awarded him had the old system remained in force. We regard this treatment as unfair and as contrary to the pledge given by the Government when the New System was being introduced. We regret that no satisfactory investigation has taken place in the instances referred to, and we trust that an impartial investigation be made, so that such injustices may be rectified.

12°.

That we suggest that the School Programme be recast, so that an additional standard may be introduced in every School in which the Manager, on consultation with the Inspector, may deem it desirable to bridge over the gap now found to exist between the National and Intermediate Schools.

13°.

In the interests of teachers and of schools we believe there should be periodic examination of teachers up to a fixed age and a fixed period of service—say, three examinations at intervals of two years. The existing system encourages idleness and supplies no stimulus to the acquisition of new knowledge needed for up-to-date education.

14°.

That we deplore the change in the system of Inspection that has recently been introduced. It tends to destroy the personal interest inspectors formerly took in the progress and welfare of their schools. It throws too much of the responsibility or overseeing and examination on the Managers, and its methods of stimulating energy and zeal on the part of the teachers are deplorably insufficient.

That we deem it necessary, therefore, that there be a return to the system of detailed and individual examination of pupils by the Inspectors.

15°.

That there be a rearrangement of higher Arithmetic and Euclid for the 5th and 6th standards.

16°.

That promising pupils be eligible for promotion to higher standards without their being required to spend a full year in any one standard.

17°.

That we request the Commissioners of National Education to exercise greater supervision in the selection of Text-books prescribed for examination ; and we further request the immediate withdrawal of Scott's *Ivanhoe* from the programme set for the Examination of Second Year's Monitors in 1904, as we consider this work highly offensive to the religious feelings of Catholic Teachers and Pupils.

18°.

That as the material prosperity of Ireland depends mainly on Agriculture, we request the Commissioners of National Education to provide in each rural parish at least one Demonstration Plot, where the pupils of the district may acquire practical scientific training in Agriculture and allied Industries, under the immediate supervision of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland.

19°.

That all incentives to Emigration, through books, copy-books, or otherwise, be excluded from our National Schools.

20°.

That we encourage in every way in our power the teaching of Irish in our schools, and that a suitable Irish Historical Reader be introduced into them.

21°.

That we request the National Board to establish a system of Scholarships by which the most talented pupils, after competition, can secure for four years an intermediate scientific education at some efficient secondary school approved of by the pupils' parents.

22°.

That, as the cost of carrying out our recommendations and requests can be partly met by the cessation of useless expenditure, particularly in connection with Model Schools, and by the retention of as much as possible of the Equivalent Grant for Primary Education in Ireland, we request that such be done.

23°.

That copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to the Arch-

bishops and Bishops of Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief and Under Secretaries, the members of the Board of National Education, the Irish Members of Parliament, and the daily metropolitan and provincial newspapers.

PIUS X. AND GERMAN CATHOLICS

PIUS X GRATULAR DE MOX CELEBRANDO COETU CATHOLICORUM
GERMANORUM, COLONIAE AGRIPPINAE
DILECTO FILIO CAROLO CUSTODIS PRAESIDI PRIMO CONVENTUI
CATHOLICORUM PARANDO—COLONIAM AGRIPPINAM

Dilecte Fili,

Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Quas nuper ad Nos misisti litteras nomine Coetus conventiu catholicorum parando, eae duplici ex causa postulant ut grati benevolentisque animi Nostri non mediocrem iucunditatem testemur. Porro commune gratulationes officium, quod, propter summi Pontificatus munus Nobis divina favente clementia concreditum, deferre voluistis, filialem pietatem demonstrat, quae in Apostolicae Sedis obsequium vos omnes apte coniungit. Quinquagesimus autem annus, ab instituto Sodalitio vestor, iam iam sese feliciter expleturus, illud ipse de se iubet certe sperare fore ut conventus, quem propediem habendum nuntiatis, quam qui umquam sollemnior atque frequentior evadat. Qua ex re iusta ac secunda omnibus aequae gaudendi offertur occasio: scilicet et Nobis, quos ex summo huius Apostolatus apice, quasi de montis vertice speculantes, recreat idemque iuvat tot fidei vindices, e Sodalitii vestri agmine eductos, contra gliscentes errores strenue praeliantes cernere: et vobis, qui, memoriam praeteriti temporis repetentes, egregie factorum recordatione animos suaviter erigitis, ex quo uberiorum fructuum auspicia in posterum etiam capiatis. Itaque dum inter effusas laetitias Deo, omnium bonorum auctori, de agendarum gratiarum officio cogitatis, Nostri esse ducimus promeritae laudis praeconium tribuere: idque eo libentius, quo magis antea certi exploratique erant admirationis studiique sensus, quibus Leo XIII, Noster immortalis memoriae Decessor, in Coetum vestrum ferebatur: eo sollemnius, quo ex hoc Pontificii amoris testimonio, in laboribus pro Ecclesia subeundis non paratior modo, sed etiam alacriores pergetis. Neque in tanta rerum vestrarum iucunditate domesticam Ludovici Windthorst aliorumque clarorum

virorum¹ excitare memoriam ; quos patria et religio desiderant : qui conventus vestros conspectu suo diu honestarunt, eosdemque auctoritate sua sunt moderati. Neque secundum locum obtineat ipsum Leonis XIII inclitum nomen, qui Sodalitium vestrum nullo non tempore fovit et auxit : qui paternae benevolentiae suae, in germanam gentem iteratae saepius, monumentum praeclarum nuper reliquit, quum civitatis istius, in quam coibitis, Antistitem egregium amplissimo Patrum Cardinalium ordini pro meritis voluit cooptandum. Communi gaudio vero veluti cumulus omnium bonorum, quae enixe vobis precamur a Deo, Apostolica Benedictio accedat, quam omnibus Coloniam conventuris effuso amoris animo atque in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae, die XVII Augusti A. MCMIII Pontificatus Nostri Anno I.

PIUS PP. X.

THE AGE FOR MARRIAGE

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DE NON ADMITTENDIS AD MATRIMONIUM PUELLIS, QUARUM AETAS
IGNORATUR

Fer. IV, 18 Martii 1903.

Huic Supremae Congregationi S. Officii proposita fuerunt enodanda sequentia dubia :

I. An quando ignoratur aetas iuvenulae quae matrimonium inire cupit, possit et debeat parochus vel missionarius confidere illius exterioribus signis, praesertim quoad conformationem pectoris etc. ?

II. In casu vero quo praedicta pubertatis signa deficiant, et aetas ignoratur, matrimonium iam initum considerarine potest et debet ut invalidum, aut ad minus uti dubium ?

In Congregatione generali coram EEmis. ac RRmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Ad I. Affirmative et ad mentem—Mens est ; quod Missionarii puellas, de quibus in casu, ad matrimonium non admittant, nisi postquam Ordinarius vel Vicarius Apostolocus ex prudenti iudicio compertum habeat eas nobiles existere, ac proinde malitiam in illis aetatem supplere declaret.

Ad II. Ut proponitur, negative ; ideoque si aliquis huius

generis matrimonii casus Missionarius occurrerit, illud nullum nequaquam declaretur, nisi prius a Vicario Apostolico confecto processu, indubiis probationibus puellam, de qua agitur quaestio, ante duodecimum aetatis suae annum, iugali vinculo fuisse sociatam, et in ea, tempore quo nuptui data fuit, revera malitiam non supplevisse aetatem certo constet. Aut si de matrimonio ageretur quod a puella, antequam christianae religioni nomen daret, fuit celebrandum, nullum non pronuncietur, nisi prius Missionarii, iisdem supranotatis probationibus, certiores fiant, puellam illam, dum huiusmodi nuptias contraxit, non fuisse doli capacem.—Et detur Decretum die 10 Decembris 1885, relatum in Collectanea S. Congregationis de Prop. Fide sub No. 1383.

Sequenti vero Fer. V, die 19 eiusdem mensis et anni, SSmus. D. N. Leo Pp. XIII, per facultates Emo. Cardinali huius Supremae Congregationis Secretario impertitas, resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobare dignatus est.

J. Can. MANCINI, S.R. et U.I. Not.

THE POWER OF DISPENSING IN MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS 'IN ARTICULO MORTIS'

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

IN FACULTATE DISPENSANDI SUPER IMPEDIMENTIS MATRIMONII IN ARTICULO MORTIS COMPREHENDITUR ALIA LEGITIMANDI PROLEM

Fer. IV, 8 Iulii 1903.

Huic Supremae Congregationi S. Officii propositum fuit enodandum sequens dubium :

Utrum per litteras diei 20 Februarii 1888, quibus locorum Ordinariis facultas conceditur dispensandi aegrotos in gravissimo mortis periculo constitutos super impedimentis matrimonium iure ecclesiastico dirimentibus, firmis conditionibus et exceptionibus in iisdem litteris expressis, ac per posteriores litteras diei 1 Martii 1889 quibus, declaratur huiusmodi facultatem parochis subdelegari posse, intelligatur concessa etiam facultas declarandi ac nuntiandi legitimam prolem spuriam, forsitan concubinariis, vigore dictae facultatis dispensandis, susceptam, prout a S. Sede in singulis casibus particularibus dispensationum matrimonialium concede solet ;—an contra pro susceptae prolis legitimatione necesse sit novam gratiam a S. Sede postea impetrare.

In Congregatione Generali S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis habita coram EEmis. ac RRmis. Cardinalibus in rebus

fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus, proposito supra-scripto dubio, praehabitoque RR DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Affirmative quoad primam partem, excepta prole adulterina et prole proveniente a personis Ordine Sacro aut solemnī Professione Religiosa ligatis, facto verbo cum SSmo.—Quoad secundam partem, provisum in prima.

Sequenti vero Fer. V, diei 9 eiusdem mensis et anni, SSmus. D. N. Leo Pp. XIII, per facultates Emo. Cardinali huius Supremae Congregationis Secretario impertitas, resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobare dignatus est.

J. Can. MANCINI, *S.R. et U.I. Not.*

POWERS OF THE ORDINARY IN MATRIMONIAL CASES

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DE COMPETENTIA ORDINARIORUM CIRCA CAUSAS MATRIMONIALES

Ordinarius Colonien. ad pedes S. V. humiliter provolutus sequentia dubia enodanda proponit :

I. Num in omnibus causis matrimonibus, in quibus de validitate matrimonii agitur ; praeter forum domicilii mariti, etiam forum contractus et forum connexionis sive continentiae tamquam sufficiens sit habendum ; et quatenus affirmative ;

II. Num aliquis ordo sit servandus, ita ut praeteris Ordinariis, quibus ratione contractus vel continentiae procedere fas sit, is Episcopus sit competens et processum instruere debeat, in cuius dioecesi maritus domicilium habeat.

Feria III loco IV, die 23 Iunii 1903.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, re mature perpensa, praehabitoque DD. CC. voto, Emi. ac Rmi. DD. Cardinales in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitores Generales decreverunt :

Standum Instructioni pro Statibus Foederatis Americae anno 1883 editae¹ et ex ex Decreto S. O. anno 1891 ad Dioeceses Regni

¹ En verba cit. Instr. quae ad rem faciunt : ' Coniuges in caussis matrimonialibus subsunt Episcopo in cuius Dioecesi maritus domicilium habet. Exceptioni locus est si coniugale vitae consortium aut per separationem, a toro et mensa, aut per desertionem malitiosam a marito patratam, sublatum sit. Priori casu quaelibet pars ius accusandi contra alteram ipsi competens coram Episcopo dioecesis, ubi haecce domicilium habet, exercere debet. Posteriori casu uxor apud Episcopum, intra cuius dioecesim domicilium eius situm est, actionem instituere potest. Postquam citatio iudicialis intimata est, mutatio quoad coniugum domicilium facta mutationem respectu iudicis competentis minime operatur.'

Borussici extensae, ac responsioni ad I. in Decreto S. O. lato fer. V loco IV, die 30 Iunii 1892, quae ita se habet: 'Coniuges in causis mixtarum nuptiarum subsunt Episcopo, in cuius dioecesi pars catholica domicilium habet; et quando ambo sint catholici quia pars haeretica in Ecclesiam reversa sit, subsunt Episcopo, in cuius dioecesi domicilium habet maritus.'

Quando vero agitur de matrimonio mixto contrahendo cum haeretico separato per divortii sententiam tribunalis civilis ab haeretico, erit Episcopus domicilii partis catholicae, ad quem spectat iudicare an contrahentes gaudeant status libertate.

Sequenti vero ferio VI, die 26 eiusdem mensis et anni, Smus. D. N. Leo div. prov. PP. XIII, per facultates Emo. Card. Secretario largitas, resolutionem Emorum. adprobavit.

J. Can. MANCINI, S.R. et U.I. Not.

THE POWER OF CONFERRING MINOR ORDERS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

ORDINES MINORIES COLLATI ABBATE TITULARI, EX INTEGRO
ITERUM CONFERRI DEBENT

Beatissime Pater,

Archiepiscopus N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus, quae sequuntur exponit:

Prior quidam Ordinis Cisterciensium, Abbas Titularis, tonsuram et Ordines minores contulit cuidam fratri in suo monasterio degenti, obtenta in casu ab Archiepiscopo Oratore opportuna delegatione. Nunc vero sibi innotuit non posse Abbatem Titularem gaudere praedicta facultate, et proinde implorat benignam sanationem.¹

Feria IV, die 15 Iulii 1903.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, proposito suprascripto supplicii libello, re mature perpensa, attentis omnibus tum iuris tum facti momentis, praehabitoque DD. CC. voto, Emi. ac Rmi. DD. Cardinales, in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitores Gen. decreverunt:

Repetendam in casu Ordinationem ex integro a collatione sacrae Tonsurae inclusive.

Eadem feria ac die SS. D. N. Leo div. prov. PP. XIII, per facultates Emo. Secretario factas, resolutionem Emorum. PP. adprobavit.

J. Can. MANCINI, S.R. et U.I. Not.

¹ Ex quo patet quod illa ordinatio sanari nequit, sed iterum ex integro iterari debet ab habente legitimam potestatem. (N. D.)

DEFECTS IN ORDINATION

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

VALIDA EST ORDINATIO PRESB. ETIAMSI PAULO PLUS QUAM
QUINTA PARS AQUAE INFUSA FUERIT CUM VINO IN CALICE

Beatissime Pater,

Occasione cuiusdam Sacrae Ordinationis, compertum fuit in calicem qui ad Ordinationem Presbyterorum fuerat adhibitus, a ministris infusum fuisse cum vino tantum aquae, ut credatur haec paulo superasse quintam partem. Hisce positis, quaeritur :

I. Utrum valida censi possit Ordinatio praefata ?

II. Quatenus negative, quid sit agendum ?

Fer. IV, die 11 Martii 1903.

In Congregatione Generali coram Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Acquiescat.

Sequenti vero Fer. V, die 12 eiusdem mensis et anni, Smus. D. N. Leo PP. XIII, per facultates Emo. Cardinali huius Supremae Congregationis Secretario impertitas, resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobare dignatus est.

J. Can. MANCINI, S.R. et U.I. Not.

**PIUS X. CONFIRMS THE COMMISSION OF CARDINALS FOR
THE CELEBRATION OF THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE
PROCLAMATION OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION**

PIUS X. CONFIRMAT COMMISSIONEM CARD. PRO ORDINANDIS
SOLEMNIIS CELEBRANDIS RECURRENTE 50 ANNIV. A DEFINIT.
DOGM. IMMAC. CONC. B.M.V.

*Ai diletti Figli Notri Vincenzo Cardinale Vannutelli—Mariano
Card. Rampolla del Tindaro—Domenico Card. Ferrata—
Giuseppe Calasanzio Card. Vives.*

Signori Cardinali,

Se è Nostro dovere di far tesoro in tutto dei documenti e degli esempi lasciatici dall' augusto Nostro Predecessore Leone XIII. di s. m., lo dobbiamo in modo speciale in quei mezzi che riguardano l'incremento della fede e la santità del costume.—Ora il venerato Pontefice pel cinquantesimo della definizione dogmatica dell'Immacolata Concezione di Maria Santissima, aderendo al desiderio dei fedeli di tutto il mondo, che questa ricor-

renza venisse celebrata con solennità straordinaria, nello scorso maggio nominava una Commissione Cardinalizia¹ che ordinasse e dirigesse i provvedimenti opportuni per commemorare degnamente il fausto avvenimento. Noi, compresi dai medesimi sentimenti di devozione alla SSma. Vergine, e persuasi, che nelle vicende dolorose dei tempi che corrono, non ci restano altri conforti che quelli del cielo, e tra questi l'intercessione potente di quella Benedetta, che fu in ogni tempo l'aiuto dei cristianti, confermiamo Voi, Signori Cardinali, a membri di questa Commissione; ben certi che le vostre sollecitudini saranno coronate dal più splendido successo, per l'opera altresì di quegli egregi i quali alle tante altre benemerenzze sono ben lieti aggiungere ancor questa di mettersi in tutto a vostra disposizione per eseguire fedelmente le vostre decisioni.

Oh voglia il Signore in questo anno giubilare esaudire le preghiere, che Gl'innalzeranno i fedeli per l'intercessione di Maria Immacolata, dalla Triade augustissima chiamata a parte di tutti i misteri della Misericordia e dell'amore, e costituita dispensiera di tutte le grazie!

In questa cara speranza V'impartiamo ben di cuore, Signori Cardinali, l'Apostolica benedizione.

Dal Vaticano li 8 settembre 1903.

PIVS PP. X.

INDULG. 300 D. CONCEDITUR SEMEL IN DIE RECITANTIBUS
SEQUENTEM ORATIONEM:

ORAZIONE

Vergine Santissima, che piaceste al Signore e diveniste sua Madre, immacolata nel corpo e nello spirito, nella fede e nell'amore; in questo solenne giubileo della proclamazione del Dogma, che Vi annunziò al mondo universo concepita senza peccato, deh riguardate benigna ai miseri che implorano il vostro potente patrocinio! Il maligno serpente, contro cui fu scagliata la prima maledizione, continua purtroppo a combattere e insidiare i miseri figli di Eva. Deh Voi, o benedetta Madre nostra, nostra Regina e Avvocata, che fin dal primo istante del vostro concepimento, del nemico schiacciaste il capo, accogliete le preghiere, che uniti con Voi in un cuor solo vi scongiuriamo di presentare al trono di Dio, perchè non cediamo giammai alle insidie che ci vengono tese, così che tutti arriviamo al porto della salute, e fra tanti pericoli la Chiesa e la società cristiana cantino

¹ Cfr fasc. praec., p. 237.

ancora una volta l'inno della liberazione, della vittoria e della pace. Così sia.

A quanti reciteranno la presente preghiera accordiamo per una volta al giorno l'indulgenza di 300 giorni.

Dal Vaticano li 8 settembre 1903.

PIVS PP. X.

THE TRANSMISSION BY POST OF THE HOLY OILS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DE S. OLEIS NON MITTENDIS PER CURSUS PUBLICOS

Beatissime Pater,

Episcopus . . . exponit in sua dioecesi ob extraordinarias distantias, ob parvum numerum viarum ferrearum et difficultates inde oriundas, necnon ob magnas expensas in itineribus faciendas multos parochus interdum esse coactos, ut omittant vel saltem diu differant annuam renovationem SS. Oleorum. Quare humiliter petit facultatem, ut possit transmittere dicta SS. Olea per cursus publicos, servata maxima decencia et amota meliori quo fieri potest modo qualibet profanatione.

Fer. IV. 14 Ianuarii 1903.

In Congregatione generali S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis habita coram EEmis. ac RRmis. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus generalibus, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Ut in Leavenworthien. feria IV. die 1 Maii 1901.

Porro citatum decretum in Leavenworthien. sic se habet.

' I. Licetne Sacra Olea transmittere ad Sacerdotes per " The Express," seu societatem quamdam mercatoriam ex acatholicis, ut plurimum, et ethnicis, quae res varias exportandas recipit ?

' II. Licetne eadem Sacra Olea ad Sacerdotes mittere per viros laicos, quo ipsorum Sacerdotum convenientiae consulatur ?

' Suprema haec S. C. respondit :

' Ad I. Non licere.

' Ad II. Deficientibus clericis, affirmative, modo constet de laicorum, qui ad id deputantur, fidelitate.'

Sequenti vero Fer. V, die 15 eiusdem mensis et anni, SSmus. D. N. Leo Pp. XIII, per facultates Emo. Cardinali huius Supremae Congregationis Secretario impertitas, resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobare dignatus est.

J. Can. MANCINI, S.R. et U.I. Not.

**DELEGATION OF A SIMPLE PRIEST TO ADMINISTER
CONFIRMATION**

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DE FACULTATE DELEGANDI SIMPLICEM SACERDOTEM AD ADMINIS-
TRANDUM SACRAMENTUM CONFIRMATIONIS

Beatissime Pater,

Episcopus SSmae. Conceptionis de Chile ad pedes S. V. pro-
volutus exponit, quod in sua Dioecesi, in qua decies centena
millia hominum numerantur, non potest ipse administrare omni-
bus Christifidelibus Sacramentum Confirmationis; quapropter
S. V. orat, ut sibi concedat facultatem benevisum Sacerdotem
delegandi, qui inter limites suae Dioecesis dictum Sacramentum
conferre valeat.

Fer. IV, 4 Martii 1903.

In Congregatione generali S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisi-
tionis habita coram EEmis. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum
Inquisitoribus Generalibus, proposito suprascripto dubio, prae-
habitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres
respondendum mandarunt:

*Iuxta decretum 9 Maii 1888, quod ita se habet: Supplicandum
SSmo. pro facultate subdelegandi unum vel alterum presbyterum,
concedenda per Congregationem Negotiis Ecclesiasticis Extraordi-
nariis praepositam non solum Episcopis petentibus, sed etiam aliis
qui in similibus circumstantiis reperiuntur, durante eorum munere.*

Sequenti vero fer. V, die 5 eiusdem mensis et anni, SSmus.
D. N. Leo Pp. XIII, per facultates Emo. Cardinali huius Supre-
mae Congregationis Secretario impertitas, resolutionem EE. ac
RR. Patrum adprobare dignatus est.

J. Can. MANCINI, S.R. et U.I. Not.

**INDULGENCES OF THE THIRD ORDER OF OUR LADY OF
MOUNT CARMEL**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

SUMMARIUM INDULGENTIARUM, PRIVILEGIORUM, INDULTORUM,
SODALIBUS TERTII ORDINIS SAECULARIS B. MARIAE VIRGINIS
DE MONTE CARMELO, CONCESSORUM

I.

INDULGENTIAE PLENARIAE.

(A) Tertiariis ex utroque sexu vere poenitentibus, confessis
ac S. Communionem refectis:

1°. Die ingressus in tertium Ordinem;

- 2°. Die quo primitus profitentur ;
- 3°. Semel in anno, die quo professionem renovaverint ;
- 4°. Quo die una simul ad concionem menstruam seu *conferentiam* conveniunt ;
- 5°. Quoties potioris vitae studio per octo dies continuos statis animi meditationibus operam daturi vacaverint ;
- 6°. Semel in mense ad libitum.

(B) Iisdem Tertiariis, si uti supra dispositi ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint :

I. Bis in anno, Benedictionem nomine eiusdem Summi Pontificis accepturis ;

II. Sequentibus festis diebus, quibus Absolutionem Generalem acceperint ;

- 1°. Nativitatis D. N. Iesu Christi ;
- 2°. Paschatis Resurrectionis ;
- 3°. Pentecostes ;
- 4°. SSmi. Corporis Christi ;
- 5°. Purificationis, }
- 6°. Assumptionis, } B. Mariae Virg. ;
- 7°. S. Ioseph, Sp. eiusdem B. V. ;
- 8°. S. Theresiae Virg. ;
- 9°. Omnium Sanctorum Ordinis.

(C) Eisdem Tertiariis, qui uti supra dispositi, Ecclesiam Ordinis, vel ubi Sedes Sodalitii invenitur constituta, vel eorum defectu respectivam Ecclesiam parochialem devote visitaverint diebus festis sequentibus :

- 1°. SS. Trinitatis,
- 2°. Circumcisionis, }
- 3°. Ascensionis, } D. N. Iesu Christi ;
- 4°. SSmi. Cordis Iesu ;
- 5°. Purificationis, }
- 6°. Assumptionis, } B. Mariae Virginis ;
- 7°. Annuntiationis, }
- 8°. Visitationis, }
- 9°. Nativitatis, }
- 10°. Praesentationis, }
- 11°. Imm. Conceptionis, }

- 12°. S. Andreae Corsini Ep. Conf. (4 Februarii) ;
- 13°. S. Petri Thomae Ep. Mart. (15 Febr.) ;
- 14°. S. Avertani Conf. (25 Febr.) ;
- 15°. S. Cyrilli Conf. (6 Martii) ;
- 16°. Feria V in Coena Domini ;

- 17°. d. S. Ioseph Sponsi B. M. V. (19 Martii) ;
 18°. B. Baptistae Mant. Conf. (23 Martii) ;
 19°. S. Bertholdi Conf. (29 Martii) ;
 20°. S. Alberti Ep. Conf., Ordinis Legisl. (8 Aprilis) ;
 21°. Patrocinii S. Ioseph (Dom. III. post Pascha) ;
 22°. S. Angeli Mart. (5 Maii) ;
 23°. S. Simonis Stock Conf. (16 Maii) ;
 24°. S. Mariae Magd. de Pazzis Virg. (25 Maii) ;
 25°. B. Mariae V. de Monte Carmelo, *toties quoties* (16 Iulii) ;
 26°. S. Eliae Prophetæ, Ordinis Patroni (20 Iulii) ;
 27°. S. Annae Matris B. M. V. (26 Iulii) ;
 28°. S. Alberti Conf. (7 Augusti) ;
 29°. S. Ioachim Patris B. M. V. Conf. (Dom. intra Octavam Assumpt.) ;
 30°. Transverberationis Cordis S. Theresiae Virg. (27 Augusti) ;
 31°. S. Brocardi Conf. (2 Septembris) ;
 32°. S. Theresiae Virg. (15 Octobris) ;
 33°. Omnium Sanctorum Ordinis B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo (14 Novemb.) ;
 34°. Die commemor. omnium defunctorum Ordinis, pro defunctis tantum (15 vel 16 Nov.) ;
 35°. S. Ioannis a Cruce Conf. (24 Nov.) ;
 36°. BB. Dionysii et Redempti Protomartyr. Ord. (29 Novembris).

(D) In mortis articulo, si, uti supra dispositi, vel saltem contriti, SSmm. Iesu Nomen ore, si potuerint, sin minus corde invocaverint.

II.

INDULGENTIAE STATIONUM URBIS.

Diebus Stationum in Missali Romano descriptis iidem Tertiarii, si Ecclesiam Ordinis aut eam in qua sedes Sodalitii est constituta, earumque defectu propriam paroeciam, visitaverint, ibique ad mentem Summi Pontificis oraverint, easdem Indulgentias consequuntur, quas praefatis diebus lucrarentur, si personaliter visitarent Ecclesias Urbis vel extra eam, caeteris tamen adimpletis conditionibus.

III

INDULGENTIAE PARTIALES :

(A) *Quinque annorum totidemque quadragenarum*, si Sanctissimum Sacramentum, dum ad infirmos defertur, comitati fuerint

vel interfuerint antiphonae *Salve Regina*, quae diebus Sabbati et in vigiliis festorum B. M. V. in Ecclesiis Ordinibus a Fratribus solemniter cani solet.

(B) *Trium annorum totidemque quadragenarum* in qualibet ex festivitibus B. M. V., quae celebrantur ab universa Ecclesia, si devote visitaverint Ecclesiam Ordinis, vel Sodalitii, vel utraque deficiente, suam parochialem Ecclesiam.

(C) *Tercentorum dierum* quoties aliquod pium opus pietatis vel charitatis corde saltem contrito ac devote exercuerint.

Omnes et singulae hucusque recensitae Indulgentiae, excepta tamen plenaria in articulo mortis lucranda, sunt etiam applicabiles animabus in Purgatorio detentis.

IV.

PRIVILEGIA.

1°. Sacerdotes Tertiarii ad quodlibet Altare missam celebrantes, gaudent indulto Altaris privilegiati personalis tribus in qualibet hebdomada diebus, dummodo simile indultum pro alia die non obtinuerint.

2°. Missae omnes, quae in suffragium celebrantur Sodalium defunctorum sunt semper et ubique privilegiatae.

V.

INDULTA.

1°. Tertiarii degentes in locis ubi nulla extet Ordinis Ecclesia, lucrari valeant omnes Indulgentias fidelibus easdem Ordinis Ecclesias visitantibus concessas, ea conditione, ut respectivam Ecclesiam parochialem visitent, caeteris servatis de iure servandis.

2°. Tertiarii, si sint infirmi, aut fuerint ob aliud quodcumque permanens impedimentum praepediti, ne foris e domo prodeant, lucrari possunt easdem Indulgentias, dummodo, alia opera imposita adimplentes, loco communis et visitationis Ecclesiae, opus aliquod a confessario constitutum perfecerint.

3°. Tertiarii, qui in collegiis, seminariis aliisque communitatibus degunt, lucrari valent Indulgentias Sodalitati proprias, privatum respectivae domus Sacellum, loco Ecclesiae Sodalitii visitando, caeteris adimpletis conditionibus.

DECRETUM.

Quum per Decretum huius S. Congnis. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae diei 18 Iulii 1902, undequaque abrogatis omnibus Indulgentiis, quibus Tertiarii Saeculares cuiusvis Ordinis

ob communicationem cum primo et secundo respective perfruebantur, Supremis Moderatoribus Religiosorum Ordinum proprium Tertium Ordinem habentium praescriptum fuerit, ut novum Indulgentiarum Indicem pro suis Tertiariis Saecularibus proponerent, Praepositus Generalis Ordinis Carmelitarum Excalceatorum tali mandato obtemperans novum praedictum Indicem elaboravit, illumque huic S. Congrni. humiliter subiecit, quae, adhibita etiam quorundam ex suis Consultoribus opera, illum ad examen revocavit. SSmus. vero Dnus. Noster Pius Pp. X in Audientia die 28 Augusti 1903, audita de his omnibus relatione facta ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto, ex Indulgentiis in supra proposito Elencho enumeratis, eas, quae olim Tertiariis directe tributae fuerant, benigne, confirmavit, alias vero loco earum, quibus vi communicationis gaudebant, clementer est impartitus; simulque mandavit ut in posterum utriusque Ordinis Carmelitarum, sive Antiquae Observantiae, sive Excalceatorum, Sodales Tertiarii in saeculo viventes, earum tantummodo participes evadant Indulgentiarum, iisque potiantur Privilegiis et Indultis, quae in praedicto Elencho recensentur. Quam concessionem eadem Sanctitas Sua perpetuis quoque futuris temporibus valituram esse voluit, absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congnis. die 18 Septembris 1903.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANC. SOGARO, Archiep. Amid., *Secr.*
IOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Substit.*

CONFESSORS OF VISITATION NUNS

DUBIA CIRCA ELECTIONEM, DIMISSIONEM ET MUTATIONEM TRIENNALEM CONFESSARII PRO SANCTIMONIALIBUS A VISITATIONE

Beatissime Pater,

Ordinarius Tirasonen. exponit, quod extat in sua dioecesi monasterium a Visitatione in quo lex de triennali confessarii ordinarii mutatione haud servatur. Haec enim consuetudo, quae adversatur iuri communi, innititur tum Constitutioni XIX Instituti, quae refertur ad Confessarios, tum responsioni a Sacra Congregatione Episcoporum et Regularium super re data die 19 Augusti 1825. Quum enim Superiorissa Monasterii Almae Urbis rogasset Smum., ut Institutum sine impedimento uti

praefata Constitutione posset. Sacer Consessus respondit : Nihil esse innovandum.

Itaque, etc.

Sacra Congregatio Negociis et Consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, super expositis respondit :

Communicentur Dubia et Resolutiones Congregationis Generalis diei vigesimae Martii 1891. Dubia haec fuere :

1. Se e come alle religiose della Visitazione competa il diritto di eleggere il confessore ordinario ?

2. Se alle religiose della Visitazione competa il diritto di licenziare o dimettere il confessore ordinario ?

3. Se le religiose della Visitazione possano conservare il loro confessore ordinario a tempo indeterminato, con esenzione cioè, dalla legge della durata triennale in officio ?

1. Ius eligendi confessarium ordinarium ex approbatis ab Episcopo ad Sacramentales confessiones sanctimonialium suscipiendas in casu sustineri iuxta modum.

Modus est quod forma electionis praescripta in Constitutione XIX integre servetur, et quod confessarius sic electus indigeat confirmari ab Episcopo, qui si adsit legitima causa, potest etiam eum non confirmare.

2. Providebitur in tertio.

3. Locum habere etiam pro monialibus Visitationis legem triennii pro duratione confessarii ordinarii in officio et ad mentem. Mensest: quod si adsint graves causae amovendi (durante triennio) confessarium ordinarium, servata forma eiusdem Constitutionis XIX, eas manifestent moniales Episcopo, eiusque stent iudicio, salvo semper recursum ad S. Sedem si opus fuerit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria Sacrae memoratae Congregationis, die 30 Septembris 1903.

L. ✠ S.

F. Card. CASSETTA.

THE POSITION OF CURATES IN FRANCE

VICARII PAROCHORUM, PRAESERTIM IN GALLIA, POSSUNT TRANSFERRI, NEDUM EX CULPA, SED ETIAM PRO OPPORTUNITATE ET MAIORI BONO ECCLESIAE, IUDICIO ORDINARI

Eminentissime et Reverendissime Domine mi Obsme,

Vehementer obstupui de interpretatione quam in quodam opusculo datam inveni litteris, de mandato Smi. D. N. ab infrascripto

S. huius Congregationis Concilii Secretario conscriptis patrono sacerdotis Allegret.

Harum litterarum duplex est pars. In prima nunciatur Sanctitatem Suam, attentis omnibus, censuisse non expedire causam sacerdotis Allegret in generalibus comitiis S. C. disceptari. In altera assertitur, attenta factorum serie, et habita ratione ed iis quae Eminentia Vestra retulit, bono nomini et honori huius sacerdotis nullum allatum fuisse detrimentum.

Iamvero ex denegato a Sanctitate Sua novo causae examine confirmata evasit resolutio S. huius Congregationis, quae semel et iterum admittere noluit querelam sacerdotis Allegret contra Ordinarium ob translationem ab una ad aliam paroeciam, pro munere vicarii exercendo, atque hoc ipso ratam habuit archiepiscopalis curiae Parisiensis dispositionem.

Quae, etsi sac. Allegret adversa, iustam esse et canonicis legibus consonam in dubium revocari non licet, cum vicarii seu coadiutores paroeciales, natura sua, amovibiles sint, et nedum ex culpa et ex causis disciplinariis, sed etiam pro opportunitate et maiori Ecclesiae bono, iudicio Ordinarii sui, in Gallia praesertim, de uno in alium locum transferri possint, quin querelam de iniuria aut de damnis movere queant.

Quod quidem in casu sac. Allegret eo minus fieri licebat, quia ex ipsa eius confessione constat disciplinarem causam ad remotionem seu translationem non defuisse. Pervicacia enim eius in exigenda cuiusdam confratris sui condemnatione, et reluctantia quiescendi iudicio Ordinarii sui, ordini et ecclesiasticae disciplinae sin minus adversabatur, et aliqua coërcitione digna erat.

Verum quia error in agendo et aliquis excessus in modis, praesertim si ex iustitiae zelo, utique intempestivo, proveniat, non dehonestat hominem, et cum aliunde de moribus et honesta vita sac. Allegret Eminentia Vestra bonum praeberet testimonium, ideo in dictis litteris addita sunt verba quae sac. Allegret laudi et honori utique sunt, sed in curiae archiepiscopalis Parisiensis condemnationem non possunt ullo pacto verti. Etenim ideo sunt addita quia, cum in suis instantiis sac. Allegret praetenderet honorem sibi in translatione laesum, iudicatum est iis verbis et favorabili S. Sedis testimonio praecipuam querelarum causam auferri.

Verum cum dolore nunc video hunc sacerdotem mala pro bonis rependere, suo sensu abreptum cum scandalo conari quae

in bonum finem sunt scripta in aliorum perniciem torquere, et ad viam declinare quae in ruinam ducit. Quapropter rogo E. V. ut de his omnibus graviter moneat hunc sacerdotem, et, pro ea qua pollet paterna charitate et potentia, satagat ad saniores sensus eundem reducere.

Faxit autem Deus ut haec paterna monita audiat sac. Allegret, et caveat ne in his calamitatibus temporum sibi et Ecclesiae causa sit novi mali et doloris.

Et manus Eiusdem E. V. humillime deosculor.

E. V.

Romae, 9 Iunii 1903.

Humillimus, addictissimus servus verus

VINCENTIUS, Card. Ep. *Praenest. Praefectus*

R. *Archiepiscopus Nazianzenus, Secretarius.*

Emo. Card. Archiepiscopo Parisien.

THE GUARANTEES REQUIRED IN MIXED MARRIAGES

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DUBIUM DE CAUTIONIBUS EXIGENDIS IN MATRIMONIIS MIXTIS

Beatissime Pater,

Cautionibus ab Ecclesia requisitis de conditionibus implendis ad hunc usque diem scriptis satisfactum est. Attamen magna oritur difficultas pro obtinendis hisce cautionibus, quando mulier catholica matrimonium inire intendit cum milite acatholico in gradu saltem maiore constituto. Viget enim in N. regionibus decretum regium sub gravibus poenis prohibens quominus milites ullas cautiones praestent per litteras reversales, sive per iuramentum, sive per simplicem promissionem. Quare ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus Ordinarius N. directionem certam hisce in casibus expostulat, et quidem quaerit :

I. An ab impedimento mixtae religionis dispensari possit, si pars acatholica (quaecumque est) cautiones requisitas per litteras reversales, sive per iuramentum, sive per promissionem saltem omnimode recuset ?

II. An sufficiat assertio partis catholicae sub iuramento data, partem acatholicam de conditionibus implendis sibi fidem praestasse ?

III. An permitti possit, ut ante vel post matrimonium pars catholica etiam coram ministello acatholico ad praestandum consensum matrimoniale se sistat, si pars catholica in scriptis

declaraverit mere passive se gerere et nullo modo ritui protestantico adhaerere velle ?

Et Deus.

Feria IV, 10 Decembris 1902.

In Congregatione generali S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis, Emi. ac Rmi. DD. Cardinales in rebus fidei et morum Generales Inquisitores, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, ac prae-habito voto RR. DD. Consultorum, respondendum decreverunt :

Ad I. *Negative, et detur Instructio 15 Novembris 1858.*¹

Ad II. *Per se generatum negative, et ad mentem.* Mens est : Quod si in aliquo casu extraordinario talia concurrant adiuncta, ut Episcopus valeat sibi comparare moralem certitudinem tam de huiusmodi cautionum sinceritate pro praesenti, quam de earum adimplemento pro futuro, specialesque omnino adsint rationes impediennes ne consueto modo cautiones praestentur, ipsius conscientiae et prudentiae. Caeteroquin non obstante decreto regio, opportuna exhibeantur in scriptis cautiones, sicut hucusque factum est ; neque detur dispensatio nisi Episcopus moraliter certus sit eas impletum iri.

Ad III. *Negative, et detur Instructio 17 Februarii 1864.*²

Feria VI die 12 Decembris 1902, facta autem a R. P. D. Adessore S. O. relatione de his omnibus SSmo. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, idem SSmus D. N. Emorum Patrum resolutionem approbavit.

J. Can. MANCINI, S.R. et U.I. Not.

INDULGENCES GRANTED BY POPE PIUS X.

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

INDULGENTIAE QUAS SANCTISSIMUS DOMINUS NOSTER PIUS PAPA X IMPERTITUR CHRISTIFIDELIBUS, QUI RETINENTES ALIQUAM EX CORONIS, ROSARIIS, CRUCIBUS, CRUCIFIXIS, PARVIS STATUIS, NUMISMATIBUS, AB EADEM SANCTITATE SUA BENEDICTIS, PRAEScripta PIA OPERA ADIMPLEVERINT

MONITA

Ut quis valeat Indulgentias lucrari, quas Summus Pontifex Pius X impertitur omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus, qui retinent aliquam ex coronis, crucibus, crucifixis, parvis statuis, ac numismatibus ab eadem Sanctitate Sua benedictis requiritur :

¹ Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. ix., p. 16.

² Cfr. *Collectanea S. C. Prop. Fide*, n. 1431, p. 533.

1°. Ut Christifideles in propria deferant persona aliquod ex enunciatis obiectis.

2°. Quod si id minime fiat, requiritur ut illud in proprio cubiculo, vel alio decenti loco suae habitationis retineant, et coram eo devote praescriptas preces recitent.

3°. Excluduntur ab apostolicae benedictionis concessione imagines typis exaratae, depictae, itemque cruces, crucifixi. parvae statucae et numismata ex stanno, plumbo, aliave ex materia fragili seu consumptibili confecta.

4°. Imagines repraesentare debent Sanctos, qui vel iam consueta forma canonizati, vel in martyrologiis rite probatis descripti fuerint.

Hisce prae habitis, Indulgentiae, quae ex Summi Pontificis concessione ab eo acquiri possunt, qui aliquod ex supradictis obiectis retinet, et pia opera quae ad eas assequendas impleri debent, recensentur.

Quisquis saltem in hebdomada semel recitaverit coronam Dominicam vel aliquam ex coronis B. V. Mariae aut rosarium eiusve tertiam partem aut divinum officium, vel officium parvum eiusdem B. Virginis aut fidelium defunctorum, aut septem psalmos poenitentiales aut graduales, vel consueverit catechesim christianam tradere, aut carceribus detentos, vel aegrotos in nosocomiis misericorditer invisere, vel pauperibus opitulari, aut missae interesse, eamve peragere, si fuerit Sacerdos : quisquis haec fecerit vere contritus et peccata sua confessus ad S. Synaxim accedet quolibet ex infrascriptis diebus, nempe Nativitatis Dominicae, Epiphaniae, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis, Pentecostes, itemque diebus festis SS. Trinitatis, Corporis Domini, Purificationis, Annuntiationis, Assumptionis, Nativitatis et Conceptionis B. V. Mariae, Nativitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistae, S. Iosephi Sponsi eiusdem B. Mariae Virginis, SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Andreae, Iacobi, Ioannis, Thomae, Philippi, Iacobi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis et Iudae, Mathiae, et Omnium Sanctorum ; eodemque die devote Deum exoraverit pro haeresum et schismatum extirpatione, catholicae fidei incremento, pace et concordia inter principes christianos, aliisque S. Ecclesiae necessitatibus ; quolibet dictorum dierum Plenariam Indulgentiam lucrabitur.

Quisquis vero, corde saltem contritus, haec omnia peregerit in aliis festis Domini, et B. V. Mariae, quolibet dictorum dierum Indulgentiam septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum

acquiret: quavis Dominica vel alio anni festo Indulgentiam quinque annorum totidemque quadragenarum lucrabitur: sin autem eadem alio quocumque anni die expleverit, centum dierum Indulgentiam acquiret.

Praeterea quisquis consueverit semel saltem in hebdomada recitare aliquam ex coronis aut rosarium, vel officium parvum B. Mariae Virginis, vel fidelium defunctorum, aut vespas, aut nocturnum saltem cum laudibus, aut septem psalmos poenitentiales cum litanis adiectisque precibus, quoties id peregerit centum dierum Indulgentiam consequetur.

Quisquis in mortis articulo constitutus, animam suam devote Deo commendaverit, atque iuxta instructionem fel. rec. Benedicti XIV in Constitut. quae incipit *Pia Mater* sub die 5 Aprilis 1747, paratus sit obsequenti animo a Deo mortem opperiri, vere poenitens, confessus et S. Communione refectus, et si id nequiverit, saltem contritus invocaverit corde, si labiis impeditus fuerit, SSmum. Nomen Iesu, Plenariam Indulgentiam assequetur.

Quisquis praemiserit qualemcumque orationem praeparationi Missae, vel Sanctae Communionis, aut recitationi divini officii, vel officii parvi B. V. Mariae, toties quinquaginta dierum Indulgentiam acquiret.

Quisquis in carcere detentos, aut aegrotantes in nosocomiis inviserit, iisque opitulatus fuerit, vel in Ecclesia christianam catechesim tradiderit, aut domi illam suos filios, propinquos et famulos docuerit, toties biscentum dierum Indulgentiam lucrabitur.

Quisquis ad aeris campani signum, mane vel meridie aut vespere solitas preces, nempe *Angelus Domini*, aut eas ignorans recitaverit *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*, vel pariter sub primam noctis horam, edito pro defunctorum suffragio campanae signo, dixerit psalmum *De profundis*, aut illum nesciens recitaverit *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*, centum dierum Indulgentiam acquiret.

Eamdem pariter consequetur Indulgentiam, qui Feria sexta devote cogitaverit de passione ac morte Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, terque Orationem Dominicam et Salutationem Angelicam recitaverit.

Is qui suam examinaverit conscientiam, et quem sincere poenituerit peccatorum suorum cum proposito illa emendandi, devoteque ter recitaverit *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria* in honorem SSmae. Trinitatis, aut in memoriam Quinque Vulnerum D. N. Iesu Christi quinquies pronunciaverit *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*, centum dierum Indulgentiam acquiret.

Quisquis devote pro fidelibus oraverit, qui sunt in transitu vitae, vel saltem pro iis dixerit *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*, quinquaginta dierum Indulgentiam consequetur.

Omnes Indulgentiae superius expositae a singulis Christifidelibus vel pro seipsis lucriferi possunt, vel in animarum Purgatorii levamen applicari.

Expresse declarari voluit Summus Pontifex supradictarum indulgentiarum concessione, nullatenus derogari indulgentiis a Praedecessoribus Suis iam concessis pro quibusdam operibus piis superius recensitis : quas quidem indulgentias voluit omnes in suo robore plene manere.

Iubet deinde idem Summus Pontifex Indulgentias Christifidelibus concessas, qui retinent aliquod ex praedictis obiectis, iuxta decretum sa : me : Alexandri VII editum die 6 Februarii 1657, non transire personam illorum pro quibus benedicta fuerint, vel illorum quibus ab iis prima vice fuerint distributa : et si fuerit amissum vel deperditum unum alterumve exiisdem obiectis, nequire ei subrogari aliud ad libitum, minime obstantibus quibusvis privilegiis et concessionibus in contrarium : nec poss pariter commodari vel precario aliis tradi ad hoc ut indulgentiam communicent, secus eandem indulgentiam amittent : itemque recensita obiecta benedicta, vix dum pontificiam benedictionem receperint, nequire venundari, iuxta decretum S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis tuendis praepositae editum die 5 Iunii 1721.

Praeterea idem Summus Pontifex confirmat decretum sa : me : Benedicti XIV editum die 19 Augusti 1752, quo expresse declaratur, vi benedictionis crucifixis, numismatibus etc. uti supra impertitae, non intelligi Privilegio gaudere altaria ubi huiusmodi obiecta collocata fuerint, neque pariter Missas quas Sacerdos eadem secum deferens celebraverit.

Insuper vetat, ne qui morientibus adsistunt benedictionem cum Indulgentia Plenaria in articulo mortis iisdem impertiantur cum huiusmodi Crucifixis, absque peculairi facultate in scriptis obtenta, cum satis in id provisum fuerit ab eodem Pontifice Benedicto XIV in praecitata Constitut. *Pia Mater*.

Tandem Sanctitas Sua vult et praecipit praesentem elenchum indulgentiarum pro maiori fidelium commodo edi typis posse non solum latina lingua vel italica, sed alio quocumque idiomate, ita tamen ut pro quolibet elencho, qui ubicumque, et quovis idiomate edatur, adsit approbatio S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum.

Non obstantibus quolibet decreto, constitutione, aut dispositione in contrarium etiamsi speciali mentione dignis.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 28 Augusti 1903.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✕ S.

Pro R. P. D. FRANC. SOGARO, Archiep. Amiden., *Secret.*

IOSEPHUS M. Can. COSELLI, *Subst.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

UNDER THE CEDARS AND THE STARS. By the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, D.D. Dublin: Published for the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland by Browne & Nolan, Limited, 1903.

THE plan adopted by Dr. Sheehan in his new book is a favourite one with men of letters who have a message to communicate to the world. It has been availed of by Count Tolstoi, who, in a series of paragraphs or short disquisitions, gives us his views about life, society, power, religion, riches, labour, militarism, art, science, good and evil, error and truth. It has been made to do service by Maurice Maeterlinck in *La Sagesse et La Destinée*, giving the author an opportunity of spreading some of his inward gloom over the universal domain of men and things. It has been turned to account by Paul Bourget, who in his little volume, *Sensations d'Italie*, makes his visits to various Italian towns the occasion of imparting his views on art, history, philosophy, and politics, with a mixture of classical learning and mediæval simplicity, that win the ear and the heart of the reader, even though they do not always secure the assent of the sterner faculty. Indeed it has long been a favourite medium of communication in French literature, and in a generation that is now receding into the distance it was utilized with effect by such masters of the art as Lammenais, Louis Veuillot, and Prévost-Paradol.

In English literature it has never quite come into vogue. Indeed the nearest approach to it with which we are acquainted would be the *Imaginary Conversations*, *The Essays of Elia* or the short papers in Carlyle's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*. We might add, perhaps, Emerson's *Papers*, Augustine Birrell's *Men, Women, and Things*, and *The Lectures of a Certain Professor* of Father Joseph Farrell.

It is needless to say that the author of *My New Curate*, the name we prefer to give him, has produced an interesting and elegant book. His paragraphs, besides being very finished compositions, are remarkable for their variety. They take us over an enormous field, from the ancient philosophers to mediæval doctors, and from the essayists of the

eighteenth century to the novelists and poets of the twentieth. The language all through is musical and expressive in the highest degree. The spirit, it is unnecessary to add, is ardently Catholic, and the tone maintained at a high standard in keeping with the dignity of the subject. The work deserves all the praise that we could give it. We wish it a wide sale, and hope that it may find a place in all Catholic libraries.

J. F. H.

AUTOUR D'UN PETIT LIVRE. Par Alfred Loisy. Paris :
Alphonse Picard.

A YEAR ago a little book was published in Paris which created no small sensation in the French capital and very soon afterwards, as usually happens, all over the intellectual world of Christendom. The title of the little volume was *L'Evangile et l'Eglise*, and its author was a priest who had been some years previously Professor of Scripture in the Catholic Institute, but on account of his advanced views and liberal adoption of rationalist theories in the criticism of the Old Testament was relieved of his chair by the Catholic authorities and compelled to retire from the Catholic University school. The professor was not subjected to any ecclesiastical censure ; but his teaching was considered dangerous, and a short article contributed by him to a review called *L'Enseignement Biblique* brought matters to a crisis. In this article he adopted the extreme views of Biblical critics. He unhesitatingly set forth in it that the Pentateuch, in the form in which it has come down to us, is not the work of Moses, that the first chapters of Genesis do not contain an exact account of the origin and early history of mankind, that all the historical books of Scripture, even those of the New Testament, were composed after a plan and method entirely different from those followed by modern scientific historians, and that the right to a certain liberty of interpretation is the legitimate consequence of the liberty of composition. He further contends that the notion of God, of human destiny, and of moral law, contained in the Bible shows evidence of a real development in the case of these doctrines ; that in the matter of independent exegesis the Sacred Books, in all that relates to the knowledge of the kingdom of nature,

have no authority beyond the common opinions of antiquity ; and that vestiges of these opinions are to be commonly found in the Bible and in Biblical systems of belief.

The writer of the article, who was already well known for his learning and ability, [having published several volumes on the Canon of the Old and New Testament, on the Book of Job, the Synoptic Gospels, the Versions of the Old Testament, the Myths of Babylon, and many other questions in Biblical science] now proceeded to utilize his leisure in writing in the *Revue du Clergé Français*, a series of articles on 'La Religion d'Israël.' Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, took exception to these articles as opposed to the Constitution *Dei Filius* of the Vatican Council, and the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* of Leo XIII., and forbade the continuation of the series in a review conducted in the interests of the Church. The notoriety obtained by these proceedings obtained for the Abbé Loisy, the professor in question, a chair in the section of religions, in the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, an establishment connected with the State University of Paris, more or less directly under government control, but to some extent independent in its management. This is the vantage ground from which the Abbé Loisy last year addressed the world in *L'Evangile et L'Eglise* and from which he now replies to his critics in his new volume, *Autour d'un Petit Livre*.

We may, perhaps, be allowed to mention here that the Abbé Loisy is a native of the diocese of Chalons, and that he was a disciple of the late Cardinal Meignan. The Cardinal himself was the most distinguished scriptural scholar in France in his day, a man who in his early years had spent a good deal of his time in Germany, and had learned the necessity of meeting the objections of his time by something more than appeals to authority and protestations of devotion to the Church. It was, we believe, under the protection of the Cardinal that the Abbé Loisy got his first introduction to the Catholic Institute through the late Mgr. d'Hulst.

Although severed from the Catholic Institute the Abbé Loisy resolved not to abandon his Biblical studies but rather to press on the attention of the public the views which, according to his contention, were now the established conclusions of science. A very favourable opportunity soon presented itself of winning the public ear.

Dr. Adolf Harnack, the famous theologian of the University

of Berlin, had some years before delivered a series of addresses on 'The Essence of Christianity' (*Das Wesen des Christenthums*). These lectures which had been published in a small volume were the talk of all Germany and were hotly debated in theological circles to say nothing of social and literary circles throughout the German-speaking world. Those who are acquainted with Harnack's idea of dogma and with his history of its development will not need to be told that with him the 'Essence of Christianity' was reduced to vanishing point. Everything the world has hitherto been accustomed to regard as Christian belief was practically eliminated, and the 'Essence of Christianity' finally reduced to—the belief in God the Father whom Christ has revealed. It is scarcely necessary to add that the distinctive doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church were put out of court with little ceremony. The Abbé Loisy now decided to enter the lists against the champion of Liberal German Protestantism. Harnack could, however, he thought, be met only by one who accepted, as the German *savant* did, what are called the results of modern scientific criticism, and accordingly he proceeded, not for the sake of argument or with any reserve whatever, to concede almost everything that German rationalists have been demanding for close on a century, and to abandon every outpost and fortification that Catholic apologists had held since the days of Celsus and Porphyry.

The Abbé, however, constructs a citadel for himself in which he fancies himself perfectly secure. If the Protestants admit an extreme liberal *formula* that represents the essence of their system, why should not Catholics do likewise? The Abbé does it as a matter of fact; and when he has brushed aside all irrelevant and extraneous matter such as the Gospel of St. John and many of the doctrinal texts of the Synoptic Gospels, he finds all that is left practically summed up in the words 'Prepare for the Kingdom of Heaven.' We cannot expound here the process by which this conclusion is reached and we should be sorry to repeat the terms in which the divine knowledge of the Saviour, the *Scientia Christi* of theologians, is denied all historical foundation. The work in which this startling doctrine was set forth was at once condemned by Cardinals Richard and Perraud, and by a large number of French bishops. The author withdrew the book from circulation in deference to the judgment of his Archbishop,

and probably on this account the volume escaped the condemnation which it could scarcely have failed to incur in Rome.

Here it was thought the matter had come to an end ; but all is not over yet. The author now comes out with a new volume reiterating and emphasising all that he had said before, and clearly admitting that his submission to the judgment of Cardinal Richard by no means implied the retractation of any of his opinions. On the contrary, he now proclaims them in language clearer and more concise than any he had hitherto used.

He speaks, he says, as a historian and critic, not as a theologian. It is not his business to reconcile the teaching of the Church with the conclusions of science, but merely to show what these conclusions are. Let theologians do the rest. His work is an elaborate plea for the reconsideration of dogma. With that object in view he proceeds to enlighten us as to how the propagandist interests of the first disciples made them adopt methods of human device which coloured the whole groundwork of Christianity. In the light of this newly discovered truth the mysteries of religion, such as the Divinity of Christ, His Infinite Knowledge, His Resurrection, His Ascension assume an entirely different complexion, from that which they had hitherto presented. The Church, too, and all that it implies, its Sacraments, rites, priesthood, hierarchy, pontificate, might without any opposition to the essential and unquestioned teaching of Christ, be cast in an entirely different mould from that in which we have hitherto recognized them. In a word the Christ of history and the Christ of faith are totally different personages. The fact that the Saviour "emptied Himself of the Divinity"—to use the expression of St. Paul—and made Himself in all things, sin alone excepted, like unto us, may account for many things that are otherwise unintelligible.

Such are the dominating ideas of this strange book, which, if allowed to go unchecked—which we think impossible—will undoubtedly revolutionize theology and Christianity in the modern world. We think it will take something more than the authority of a man who is, on his own confession, fond of novelties and daring speculations to change the creed of ages. There are scholars in the Catholic Church, who are, to say the least of it, as competent as the Abbé Loisy to judge of the value of texts and of their historical authenticity who reject and repudiate his so-called conclusions. We may rest assured that it is their voice and not his that will prevail.

J. F. H.

RECORDS OF THE LEAGUE OF ST. COLUMBA IN ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, MAYNOOTH. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. Price, 1s. net.

THIS pamphlet marks a distinct advance on the previous Records of the proceedings of the Columban League. Its writers have gone a good way to recognise the fact that the greatest enemy of the noun is the adjective, although it agrees with it in gender, number, and case ; and that a verb that can stand upright on its own pedestal is a far more serviceable pillar in a sentence than one that is propped up by a cluster of rickety adverbs. Many of the articles give promise of excellent work in the future. The young contributors have interested themselves in a great variety of subjects within the limits of the programme of the League ; and some at least of the papers are fit to appear in the most fastidious of reviews. It would not, perhaps, be advisable for us to select any one of them for special encomium.

We are sure, nevertheless, that the young gentlemen who are responsible for this pamphlet do not belong to the category of which an American critic has said :—‘ There is no blame too light for the sensibility of their cuticle, no praise too ample for the elasticity of their swallow.’ In reality we believe that they deserve unstinted praise. There is nothing finer or more hopeful than the ardour that enlivens these pages. Men who are Irish born and bred, whose characteristics are all essentially Irish, whose lot is to be cast in the Ireland of the future, instead of turning their back on all that is good and interesting in Ireland's history, have resolved to maintain the natural connection, to claim their full share of the national inheritance, and leave nothing undone to qualify themselves for the task of making good the claim. Too long has this domain been left to strangers and adventurers to explore. In future Ireland will do her own work and the members of the Columban League will lead the way. Language, art, music, archaeology, history, poetry, the drama, fiction, biography will find adherents and champions amongst them. From this forward life will be worth living, and in whatever direction the philosophical and theological activities of the coming generations may be exerted the claims of the motherland will never again be ignored. That

is the anticipation for which this pamphlet, so full of life and vigour, gives adequate security. For in addition to the excellent papers on subjects that cover the whole ground of the Columban programme there is in the pamphlet evidence of an organized life that is the surest pledge of what may one day be expected. The generation who would now allow the Columban flag to be lowered or allow the movement of which it is the symbol to slacken its pace would be remembered in future ages as unworthy of Ireland.

We would remind our young friends, however, though many of them seem to realize it well enough, that investigation of the past and the faithful presentation of the conditions of life and thought in other days is not in itself the highest form of activity in which they can engage. The race that can only contemplate its own achievements is exhausted. 'You will find this a good gauge or criterion of genius,' wrote a celebrated thinker of the last century, 'whether it progresses and evolves, or merely spins upon itself.' If Irish writers were merely to spend their time relating the achievements of the past, and the Irish public endeavouring merely to reproduce them there was an end to all progress. If the power that is capable of evolving new life and better life from these dead and mouldering ruins, the power that can shape and create as well as identify, is wanting, then all the labour spent in mere inquiry goes practically for naught. We know quite well that it is not always the same mind that prepares the materials and designs or constructs the edifice: and that the work of preparation is in its own place as important as the erection of the structure. There is so little to be expected nowadays in the way of discovery that what we seek chiefly is old information in a new and attractive form. It does not do, therefore, merely to reproduce; we must recast and redecorate. We must get rid of a good deal of the old flamboyant rhetoric and oriental imagery and return to the classic lines of the best age.

Directness and plain speech are the order of the day. Ornamentation is welcome within limits and a great help when not exaggerated. A profusion of detail is not required particularly when there is danger of shutting out the main theme of the subject. As the American critic above-mentioned delicately puts it—'There is no meaning in bringing a wren's egg to

market in a large hamper, or in smothering a promising idea in feather beds of verbiage, or in whirling about a sober and businesslike item of information in the festive enthusiasm of a fugue.'

We trust that all Irish priests, particularly the members of the Maynooth Union, and all ex-members of the Columban League, will buy a copy or two of this *Columban Record*, and thus encourage the efforts of these young men who, for the first time, have ventured to present the account of their transactions to the public. We have waited until the present moment to make this recommendation; because the League being now in session and hard at work again, will have a favourable opportunity of considering our suggestions, and because the clergy, like all other people, usually become more generous as Christmas approaches.

J. F. H.

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT IRELAND. By P. W. Joyce, LL.D., M.R.I.A., Commissioner for the Publication of the Brehon Laws. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1903.

DR. JOYCE has crowned his series of services to Irish history by the production of these two splendid volumes. It is only those who at one time or another have had occasion to seek for information on some of the questions dealt with here can realise what a boon has been conferred on all classes of Irishmen by the publication of this truly valuable work. We sincerely hope the labours of Dr. Joyce may meet with the reward they deserve. It is possible, indeed, to get most of the information imparted in these volumes in various other tomes and treatises; but to get it all together, in a form so compact, so clear, and so well illustrated, is quite impossible. In this respect Dr. Joyce's work is new and has no rival. It fills a vacancy that sadly needed filling and does for Ireland something better of its kind than anything that has hitherto been done either for England or Scotland.

Dr. Joyce covers so much ground, deals with so many questions, raises so many issues open to controversy, and gives so definitely and unhesitatingly his own view in all matters of the kind that in a short notice such as this we can do no more than indicate the general scope and purpose of the work.

In the first volume Dr. Joyce deals with the general system

of government that prevailed in ancient Ireland, with the structure of society, its organisation, laws, military system, and administration, its religion, learning, and art. The second volume goes into minute details under each of these headings, and introduces us into the social and domestic life of the nation. There are chapters on 'The Family,' 'The House,' 'Food, Fuel, and Light,' 'Dress and Personal Adornment,' 'Agriculture and Pasturage,' 'Workers in Wood, Metal, and Stone,' 'Corn Mills,' 'Trades connected with Clothing,' 'Measures, Weights, and Mediums of Exchange,' 'Locomotion and Commerce,' 'Public Assemblies, Sports, and Pastimes,' and various other social customs and observances, such as 'Pledging, Lending, and Borrowing,' 'Provision for Old Age,' prophecies, wills, funerals, modes of burial, cemeteries, etc. There is a very interesting chapter or part of a chapter dealing with the metrical system of Irish poetry.

The amount of labour involved in all this is simply enormous. Nothing bearing directly on his subject seems to have escaped the author. The illustrations are very fine and very numerous. An excellent map appropriately stands at the head of the first volume: and a beautiful ornamented page of the Book of Mac Durnan, now in Lambeth Palace, is reproduced in *facsimile*.

There are, in our opinion, still some *lacunae* to be filled up and we hope they will be filled up in a second edition. We should make a plentiful use of notes of interrogation and even exclamation all through the volumes.

We can only say now, however, that we congratulate Dr. Joyce on the production of this splendid work which reflects the greatest credit on a man who was a laborious public servant for so many years and has devoted his unimpaired energies to so noble a purpose.

TREASURE OF THE SANCTUARY. A New Prayer Book.
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

WE have much pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to this new and beautiful little prayer-book, which has just been issued by Messrs. Gill & Son, with the *Nihil Obstat* of Father Edward Kelly, S.J., and the *Imprimatur* of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. It not only contains all the chief prayers of Catholic devotion, the prayers of the Mass, litanies, morning and night prayers, prayers before and after Confession and

Communion, prayers for the sick, the dying, and the dead, but also a great collection of beautiful prayers suited for novenas, devotion to the Sacred Heart, the Blessed Virgin, and the saints, and for all sorts of circumstances in life, that could scarcely be excelled. The little book, which is indeed a real treasure, is handsomely brought out and we trust that it may have as wide a sale as it deserves. It is convenient in size, well printed, nicely bound, and in every way suited to its purpose.

J. F. H.

THE CITY OF PEACE. By Those who have Entered It.
Dublin: Published for the Catholic Truth Society of
Ireland by Sealy, Bryers, & Walker. 1903. Price,
2s. 6d.

THIS is a book of general interest; but we fancy it will prove particularly useful to priests who have to deal with converts either before or after their conversion. It is a book written by converts not necessarily for converts, but with a view to helping those who are in doubt and perplexity and of giving Catholics who are already safely anchored in the ship some idea of the difficulties that beset the path of those who are still drifting without rudder, compass, or pilot. It is also a book that anyone may read with pleasure and profit.

The contributors to the collection who narrate their experiences, are Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B.; Rev. Joseph Darlington, S.J.; Rev. Henry Browne, S.J.; Miss Alice Wilmot Chetwode, Mrs. Bartle Teeling, Sister Teresa Swift, and a clergyman whose name is not given.

As one might expect these writers do not seek to put their lives in the form of a syllogism. They do not aim at presenting an elaborate argument from which there is no escape. That argument exists for each one of them; but their object in writing these papers was not to set it forth in all its fulness; they merely touch on it and on the countless impressions, thoughts, influences, that combined to urge them on the way of grace. For instance, Dom Bede Camm scarcely formulates an argument of any kind. He barely refers to the difficulty and the solution, but devotes a good deal of space to the impressions he received from visits to Rome, Florence, Bruges, Maredsous, Ober-Ammergau, etc.

The writer who reviewed this book in the October number of the *American Ecclesiastical Review* might, it seems to us, have adverted to this view of the contributions. Whilst giving unmeasured praise to Dom Bede Camm, he apparently goes out of his way to have a fling at Father Darlington, because this learned Jesuit did not do what neither Dom Bede Camm nor any of the other contributors did. He might, however, have taken care not to misrepresent Father Darlington, or make it appear that he was formulating an argument on Anglican Orders which was intended for controversy and supposed to be conclusive by itself. Father Darlington did nothing of the kind. He relates modestly, humbly, and plainly the reasons that weighed with him in giving up a comfortable and well-paid benefice in the Anglican Church, and in cutting himself off from friends and relatives, to face the poverty and hardships that he saw before him. In doing this he dwells more upon his dissatisfaction with Anglican Orders than on any other motive : but he touches on a great many others such as the defect of unity, authority, and obedience in the Anglican Church. On none of these subjects did he mean to write a treatise and the readers of the book will feel profoundly grateful to him that he did not give them one on Anglican Orders.

Not the least interesting of the contributions is that of Miss Swift, entitled 'To the Church through the Salvation Army.'

Father Browne's contribution is, perhaps, the most argumentative and analytical of the series. It is exceedingly interesting ; and from the human or personal point of view, as well as from the doctrinal, its perusal cannot fail to be profitable.

We recommend the book very specially to the clergy. It is an edifying book for anyone to read, and to many it is sure to prove useful. The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland is to be sincerely congratulated on having produced such a book.

PRAELECTIONES DE LOCIS SACRIS. S. Many, S.T.D. et J.C.D. ; Congr. S. Sulpitii. Paris : Letouzey et Aine. 1903.

THIS is the second part of the *Praelectiones Juris Canonici* now being delivered in the Institut Catholique. The learned professor has had the happy thought of publishing a volume on each of the great divisions of his subject. The one now before us is the companion of the '*Praelectiones de Missa*,' a notice of

which appeared some time ago in these pages. L'Abbé Many has brought into handy compass the vast and varied legislation regarding churches, oratories, altars, and cemeteries. Every question that either a professor of liturgy or a master of ceremonies is likely to require information from the canon law on will be found treated of here. We notice that quotations from all the authentic sources are made in abundance, and that the most recent decisions of the Congregations are given. Besides all this, the historical summaries prefixed to each chapter show the gradual formation of ecclesiastical law and usage, and the operation of the manifold causes which resulted in its growth and development. Without such a historical commentary many parts of the Decretals of Gregory IX. and other parts of the Corpus Juris would be difficult to understand. It only remains to say that the present work can be heartily recommended.

ERRATA.

'Professor Zimmer on the Early Irish Church.'

Page 391, line 7, *for* 596, 592, 597, *read* 696, 692, 697.

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„ „ 10, „ 594, 596, 597, „ 694, 696, 697.

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